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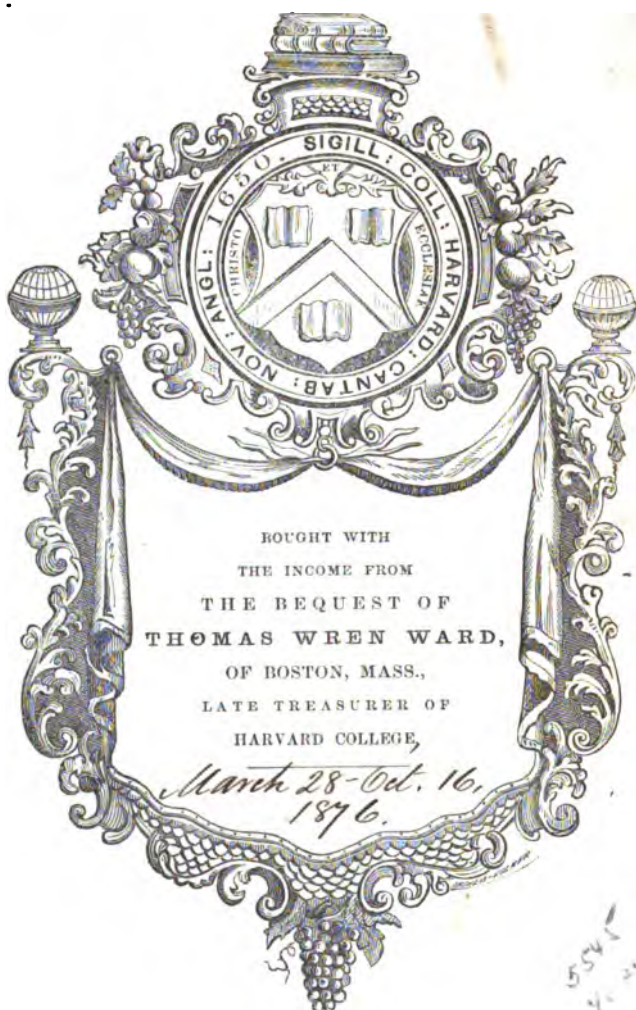
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THE
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AND
PRINCETON REVIEW.

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LYMAN H. ATWATER: HENRY B. SMITH.

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THE
PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY
AND
PRINCETON REVIEW.

NEW SERIES, No. 17.—JANUARY, 1876.

Art. I.—THE AUBURN DECLARATION.

By Rev. E. D. MORRIS, D.D., Professor of Theology in Lane Theological Seminary.

AMONG the treasures preserved in the Library of Lane Seminary, is the original draft of what is widely known as the AUBURN DECLARATION. More than thirty years after its preparation, just when the separated Presbyterian Churches were happily uniting, this interesting historical document was presented to the Institution by its author, the venerable BAXTER DICKINSON, D.D. It was also accompanied by valuable memoranda with respect to its authorship, and to the circumstances which occasioned its preparation. Its contents have at various times been made public through the press, and have recently been incorporated under another name in the Presbyterian Digest. Its doctrinal quality and its important historical relations to the Presbyterian Church, both as separate and as united, are such as justify its further introduction to public notice in the columns of our denominational REVIEW. What will be attempted in the present article, is a narrative of the origin of this declaration, an analysis of its contents, and a brief discussion of its doctrinal significance and value, as one among the interesting memorials of our beloved Zion.

It is hardly needful to say that this task is undertaken in no conscious mood of partisanship, and with no anticipation of awakening old animosities or arousing new oppositions, but

rather in the hope of contributing something alike to historical and theologic knowledge, and to that broad and generous temper of unity which now reigns so worthily in our united church. It is impossible for the writer to be so unfaithful to the true spirit of history, and to the irenic tendencies of the times, as intentionally to use the courtesies now granted him in these pages for the purpose of promoting the interests of a party, or of introducing discord or division into the Presbyterian household. He is inspired simply by the belief that the welfare of a great denomination, both in the present and in the future, may be essentially subserved in several important respects by such an inquiry, historical and doctrinal, as is now proposed.

I. A sufficient account of the manner in which the Auburn Declaration came into existence will hardly require any general survey of the exciting events which marked the history of the Presbyterian Church during the fourth decade of the present century. We need not enter into an examination of the *Act and Testimony* of 1834, considered as a statement of Calvinistic doctrine, or analyze the deliverance of the Assembly of 1835 against "such opinions as are not distinguishable from Pelagian or Arminian errors." We need not undertake an account of the various parties and tendencies which came into view during the following years, or of the fierce strifes which both saddened and embittered that critical period in our denominational life. The narrative may properly commence with the convention of 1837, held in Philadelphia just prior to the meeting of the General Assembly. That Convention consisted, according to its own record, of one hundred and twenty-four members, of whom one hundred and twelve were designated by fifty-four Presbyteries, and twelve by minorities in eight other Presbyteries, and all of whom were ministers or ruling elders in the Presbyterian Church. It was assembled in general for the purpose of consultation respecting the serious issues then pending, and in the expectation of influencing the action of the approaching Assembly. Its most decisive act was the preparation of a *Testimony and Memorial* to be presented to the Assembly, relating to certain errors, not merely in church order and discipline, but also in doctrinal teaching, which were supposed by the Convention to be widely prevalent within the church. The document thus prepared was brought in to the Assembly as a memorial,

together with a petition that that venerable body would take such action in the premises as, in the judgment of the memorialists, the gravity of the case required.

Concerning the general propriety or desirableness of such a method of influencing church judicatories, nothing need be said in this connection; neither is it essential to refer further to the irregularities in ecclesiastical order and discipline of which the Convention complained. Our attention must be limited to the series of doctrinal errors, sixteen in number, which the memorialists described as prevalent in certain sections of the church, and against which they felt constrained to enter an earnest protest. These errors are stated, as follows:

1. That God would have been glad to prevent the existence of sin in our world, but was not able, without destroying the moral agency of man; or, that for aught that appears in the Bible to the contrary, sin is incidental to any wise moral system.

2. That election to eternal life is founded on a foresight of faith and obedience.

3. That we have no more to do with the sin of Adam than with the sins of any other parent.

4. That infants come into the world as free from moral defilement as was Adam when he was created.

5. That infants sustain the same relation to the moral government of God in this world as brute animals, and that their sufferings and death are to be accounted for on the same principles as those of brutes, and not by any means to be considered as penal.

6. That there is no other original sin than the fact that all the posterity of Adam, though by nature innocent, or possessed of no moral character, will always begin to sin when they begin to exercise moral agency; that original sin does not include a sinful bias of the human mind and a just exposure to penal suffering; and that there is no evidence in Scripture that infants in order to salvation do need redemption by the blood of Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Ghost.

7. That the doctrine of imputation, whether of the guilt of Adam's sin, or of the righteousness of Christ, has no foundation in the word of God, and is both unjust and absurd.

8. That the sufferings and death of Christ were not truly vicarious and penal, but symbolical, governmental, and instructive only.

9. That the impenitent sinner is by nature, and independently of the renewing influence or almighty energy of the Holy Spirit, in full possession of all the ability necessary to a full compliance with all the commands of God.

10. That Christ never intercedes for any but those who are united to Him by faith, or that Christ does not intercede for the elect until after their regeneration.

11. That saving faith is a mere belief of the word of God, and not a grace of the Holy Spirit.

12. That regeneration is the act of the sinner himself, and that it consists in a change of his governing purpose, which he himself must produce, and which is the result, not of any direct influence of the Holy Spirit on the heart, but chiefly of a persuasive exhibition of the truth, analogous to the influence which one man exerts over the mind of another; or that regeneration is not an instantaneous act, but a progressive work

13. That God has done all that *He can do* for the salvation of all men, and that man himself must do the rest.

14. That God cannot exert such influence on the minds of men as shall make it certain that they will choose and act in a particular manner, without impairing their moral agency.

15. That the righteousness of Christ is not the sole ground of the sinner's acceptance with God, and that in no sense does the righteousness of Christ become ours.

16. That the reason why some differ from others in regard to their reception of the gospel is, that they make themselves to differ.

Studying these sixteen propositions in their connections, and in comparison with our doctrinal system, we at once perceive that they constitute in the aggregate a very wide, if not fatal, departure from the Westminster symbols. And if, indeed, these errors—as the Convention affirmed—were at the time held and taught by many persons professing to receive our standards, were accepted by almost entire presbyteries and synods, and were virtually sanctioned even by preceding General Assemblies, most persons will admit that it was not merely the privilege, but also the duty, of the memorialists to solicit to these errors the prompt attention of the assembly, and to invoke its aid in their repression. It was justly said, that to bear public and open testimony against such departures from the Gospel, and so far as possible to banish them from the household of faith, was a duty which the Presbyterian Church owed to her Master.

The presentation of the *Testimony and Memorial* to the General Assembly of 1837 became the occasion of the series of acts by which the Presbyterian Church was formally divided, and the New School body came into being. In this series of acts we need to note only so much as relates to the question of doctrine. On the recommendation of its committee on bills and overtures, the Assembly took up and considered this list of doctrinal errors, and bore solemn testimony against them,

"whenever, wherever, and by whomsoever taught." It also enjoined the inferior judicatories to adopt all suitable measures to "keep their members pure from opinions so dangerous;" and counselled the presbyteries to visit with discipline any minister who should give currency to such opinions. The propositions of the Convention thus became the statements of the Assembly, and were incorporated in its Minutes, with a few verbal alterations, and with an explanatory expansion of the eleventh proposition, as follows: That saving faith is not an effect of the special operation of the Holy Spirit, but a mere rational belief of the truth, or assent to the Word of God.

"During the exciting scenes of that remarkable Assembly," writes the author of the Auburn Declaration, "the New School members were in the practice of holding separate meetings in the evening for consultation. On one of these occasions," he adds, "I stated that it seemed to me due to ourselves and to the New School body at large, to disavow the errors charged, and to say distinctly what views we held as opposed to them. The suggestion was at once approved; and by way of carrying it out, I was requested to prepare a paper to be laid before a future similar meeting. . . . The paper thus prepared, being the original of the Declaration, was presented by me, as my report, at a subsequent meeting. It was discussed at length, amended somewhat, and unanimously approved as a correct expression of the theological views held by the New School generally on the points of doctrine presented in the list of errors."

After the Assembly had already taken the action recited, it became important in the judgment of those interested that the document thus prepared, and which was then styled *Errors and True Doctrines*, should in some way be brought formally before that body. This was done by incorporating it in a general protest, which was received by the Assembly, and without formal answer, placed in its minutes. This protest, while presenting other considerations against the course adopted by the Assembly on the whole subject, claimed especially that the errors named were not held by the New School party, and in the name of that party it explicitly disavowed and rejected them as unworthy of countenance in the Church. The paper presented in each case, first the error charged, and then

underneath, what was conceived to be the true view. Omitting here the series of errors, the True Doctrines, as found in the minutes of the Assembly, are as follows :

1. God permitted the introduction of sin, not because He was unable to prevent it consistently with the moral freedom of His creatures, but for wise and benevolent reasons which he has not revealed.

2. Election to eternal life is not founded on a foresight of faith and obedience, but is a sovereign act of God's mercy, whereby, according to the counsel of his own will, he has chosen some to salvation : 'yet so as thereby neither is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established ;' nor does this gracious purpose ever take effect independently of faith and a holy life.

3. By a divine constitution Adam was so the head and representative of the race that, as a consequence of his transgression, all mankind became morally corrupt, and liable to death, temporal and eternal.

4. Adam was created in the image of God, endowed with knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness. Infants come into the world not only destitute of these, but with a nature inclined to evil, and only evil.

5. Brute animals sustain no such relation to the moral government of God as does the human family. Infants are a part of the human family, and their sufferings and death are to be accounted for on the ground of their being involved in the general moral ruin of the race, induced by the apostasy.

6. Original sin is a natural bias to evil, resulting from the first apostasy, leading invariably and certainly to actual transgression. And all infants, as well as adults, in order to be saved, need redemption by the blood of Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Ghost.

7. The sin of Adam is not imputed to his posterity in the sense of a literal transfer of personal qualities, acts, and demerits ; but by reason of the sin of Adam, in its peculiar relation, the race are treated as if they had sinned. Nor is the righteousness of Christ imputed to his people in the sense of a literal transfer of personal qualities, acts, and merit ; but by reason of his peculiar relation, they are treated as if they were righteous.

8. The sufferings of Christ were not symbolical, governmental, and instructive only ; but were truly vicarious, *i. e.*, a substitute for the punishment due to transgressors. And while Christ did not suffer the literal penalty of the law, involving remorse of conscience and the pains of hell, he did offer a sacrifice which infinite wisdom saw to be a full equivalent. And by virtue of this atonement, overtures of mercy are sincerely made to the race, and salvation secured to all who believe.

9. While sinners have all the faculties necessary to a perfect moral agency and a just accountability, such is their love of sin and opposition to God and his law, that, independently of the renewing influence and almighty energy of the Holy Spirit, they never will comply with the commands of God.

10. The intercession of Christ for the elect is previous, as well as subsequent, to their regeneration, as appears from the following Scripture, *vis.* : 'I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me, for they

are thine. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word.'

11. Saving faith is an intelligent and cordial assent to the testimony of God concerning his Son, implying reliance on Christ alone for pardon and eternal life, and in all cases it is an effect of the special operation of the Holy Spirit.

12. Regeneration is a radical change of heart, produced by the special operations of the Holy Spirit, "determining the sinner to that which is good," and is in all cases instantaneous.

13. While repentance for sin and faith in Christ are indispensable to salvation, all who are saved are indebted, from first to last, to the grace and Spirit of God. And the reason that God does not save all, is not that he wants the power to do it, but that in his wisdom he does not see fit to exert that power further than he actually does.

14. While the liberty of the will is not impaired, nor the established connection betwixt means and ends broken, by any action of God on the mind, he can influence it according to his pleasure, and does effectually determine it to good in all cases of true conversion.

15. All believers are justified, not on the ground of personal merit, but solely on the ground of the obedience and death, or, in other words, the righteousness of Christ; and while that righteousness does not become theirs, in the sense of a literal transfer of personal qualities and merits, yet from respect to it God can and does treat them as if they were righteous.

16. While all such as reject the Gospel of Christ do it, not by coercion, but freely, and all who embrace it, do it not by coercion, but freely, the reason why some differ from others is, that God has made them to differ.

After the Assembly had closed its sessions, and the rupture of the church had become inevitable, it was resolved by the signers of this protest, and other representatives of the New School party, to call a convention of delegates from the separated portions of the church, to consider the existing state of affairs, and to determine upon the course of duty in the future. This Convention assembled at Auburn, N.Y., during the month of August, in the same year, and was composed of one hundred and eighty persons. Nine synods and thirty-three presbyteries were represented by ninety-eight ministers and fifty-eight laymen; and twenty-four other ministers, not commissioned, were admitted as corresponding members. Of this truly representative body the venerable Dr. Richards, who, after an honored pastorate in New Jersey, had served the denomination for fourteen years as teacher of theology in the seminary at Auburn, and who was now, in his seventieth year, an acknowledged and revered father in the church, was by acclamation

made president. While the Convention was primarily called to consider certain practical questions of policy arising out of the peculiar exigency of the time, it was felt to be a matter of great importance to protect the New School body against the somewhat general impression, that it cherished, or at least allowed, the errors which had been so forcibly condemned by the Assembly. Although the members were generally averse to the interpretations put by the opposite party upon certain doctrines of the Confession, and preferred modes of statement as to these doctrines which, in their judgment, were less liable to be misunderstood, and less likely to become injurious, they were not conscious of any departure, on their part, from the essential principles of the Calvinistic system. They believed that both themselves and the body they were representing, were thoroughly loyal to the Westminster symbols; but in order to prevent misunderstanding as to their position, they deemed it wise to make some definite and adequate declaration of their common faith. In this spirit they took up the paper entitled *Errors and True Doctrines*, and after full deliberation adopted it as expressing their matured views, and those of the churches they represented, on the several topics involved. They also declared that they cordially disapproved and condemned the list of errors to which the True Doctrines stand opposed; and further affirmed their cordial acceptance of the Confession of Faith as the best formula of Christian doctrine in existence.

Whatever position may be taken on the question, whether the statements of their Declaration do, in fact, harmonize generally and essentially with the teaching of our standards, the opinion that the Convention sincerely believed in such harmony will hardly be questioned. In the heat of exciting controversy it was indeed alleged, not merely that these statements constituted a series of strange, if not fatal, departures from sound doctrine, but also that the members of the Convention must be aware of such serious incongruity. It was even suspected that this Declaration was made, not as the actual and full belief of the New School party, but rather as a screen to hide still more heretical and disastrous deviations from the truth. But at this day there are none who suppose that this Convention was consciously covering up cherished Arminian errors with Calvinistic wrappings, or that its avowal of loyalty to our symbols was

otherwise than sincere and cordial. All will unite in according to these men Christian sincerity and Christian frankness, as well as boldness, in their utterance of what they regarded as revealed truth and as sound Presbyterianism.

One interesting confirmation on this point may be introduced here. In the autumn of the following year (1838) the venerable president of the Auburn Convention wrote an open letter, designed to quiet misapprehensions and to certify to the essential loyalty of the New School body to the accepted standards. His testimony must be regarded as intelligent, honest, conclusive. In respect to the ministers, he declares that they have all solemnly professed to believe the Confession of Faith as containing that system of doctrine taught in the Scriptures; not, indeed, accepting every proposition contained in it, but such truths as are "vital to the system, and which distinguish it from Arminianism and Semipelagianism." They believe, he says, in the doctrine of total depravity by nature; in regeneration by the sovereign and efficacious influence of the Holy Spirit; in justification by the righteousness of Christ as the only true and meritorious cause; and in the perseverance of the saints and the interminable punishment of the wicked. As to the churches, he testifies, after an examination of twenty-six formulas of admission to membership, which he had gathered by application to as many presbyteries: "If I have any judgment as to what belongs to orthodoxy, they are as sound as a roach, with the exception of the article on atonement. They favor the idea of general atonement, as John Calvin and the early Reformers did."

II. With this brief review of the origin and history of the Auburn Declaration in mind, we may pass, in the next place, to an examination of its doctrinal contents, in comparison, especially, with the teaching of our standards. In such an examination the first step is a just recognition of the general characteristics of the document, regarded as a theological symbol. Here it will be observed at the outset, that, like the canons of the Synod of Dort, it does not profess to be a complete summary of Christian doctrine, but is simply a condensed statement of opinion on the specific topics named in the *Act and Testimony*. Drafted for a particular exigency, and, in fact, to answer certain specified charges, it is more directly concerned with the disa-

vowal of imputed error than with the exposition of revealed truth. In its structure it is consequently negative rather than positive, and fails more by conciseness than by redundancy. Avowedly abstaining from direct affirmation upon some of the more metaphysical and difficult questions suggested in the list of *Errors*, it sometimes says less than is said in our Confession—pausing carefully where our standards would have justified further advance. In its terms and phrases it carries us back not merely to the specific controversies in which it arose, but also to those prolonged struggles around anthropological and soteriological issues in which the religious thought of the country had, ever since the revival period of the preceding century, been so largely engaged. It especially reveals, at several points, the presence of that remarkable influence which had flowed down upon the Presbyterian Church, as indeed upon all evangelical communions, from the imperial mind and heart of Jonathan Edwards. It could have originated as a symbol in no other land than ours, and under no other set of conditions than that in which the author and his associates were historically placed. Its contents, its form, its method are alike American. In respect to the spirit it reveals, it must be regarded as decidedly irenic rather than polemic; and in its aim and tendency, it is much more practical than speculative or abstract.

In attempting an analysis of this Declaration, we do not propose to enter upon any defense of the doctrines presented, or to name the considerations by which these doctrines were justified in the eyes of their advocates. Still less shall we undertake to criticise the propositions of the Declaration, or to show, by any line of argument, their falsity or their inadequacy. We desire simply to place the reader, for the time, out of connection with ecclesiastical parties or schools of thought, and to bring him to the study of the document, as if it belonged to another land and age—as if it had just come to light as some new creed of the Reformation, or some recovered symbol of the medieval church. Though the language may frequently carry him back in memory to controversies raging only a generation ago, he should, as a student of theological opinion, be able to rise above the influence of those controversies, and weigh these propositions with a firm and generous impartiality. In order

to conduct such an examination successfully, the teachings of the Declaration should be grouped under three main divisions:

1. The first of these includes *the introduction and transmission of sin*, and *the condition of mankind as fallen*. All theories respecting the relations of God to the introduction or permission of human sin, represent him either as constrained to admit it wherever free agency exists or a moral system is established, or as allowing it in order that he may overrule it for the benefit of our race, especially through the compensations and blessings of the Gospel. In man as a moral being, in the nature of a probationary system, in the higher economy of providence, or in the consummating plan of redemption, taken separately or in some form of conjunction, the effort is made to find the key and explication of the solemn fact that under a divine constitution and arrangement sin exists. It is not strange that many minds turn away from every such explanation, and prefer to rest simply in the belief that, however inscrutable the mystery may now appear, God has some method in which the existence of sin is not merely permitted, but made subservient to his own holy purposes and to his eternal glory. This is the attitude of the Auburn Declaration. While, in answer to the error charged, it rejects the notion that God cannot prevent sin without destroying the moral agency of man, it does not attempt to account theoretically for the actual permission of sin, but simply remands the problem to the realm of divine sovereignty, maintaining only that the fact, however perplexing, is not one which should be suffered to shake our faith in the ability or wisdom, the equity or the love of Deity.

Recognizing sin as something which for wise and good reasons God has permitted, the Declaration proceeds to affirm, in opposition to all individualistic theories, the fact of its transmission from our first parents through all succeeding generations of mankind. In relation to this fact, as maintained and taught in the various Calvinistic Confessions, three theories or explanations have extensively prevailed. The first conceives of Adam as so far including and incorporating in himself the human race, that his primal transgression becomes, in effect, the generic offense of his entire posterity, and his fall naturally and of necessity involves every human being, as

sprung from him, and acting in him, in a common culpability and ruin. The second regards the connection, so far as the transmission of sin is concerned, as rather federal than natural, and Adam as representing and acting for the race by divine appointment, in such a sense and degree that they fell through his fall, and must therefore share with him in the penal issues of his sin. The third simply asserts, without attempting to define its exact nature, the existence under the divine constitution of such an established connection between Adam and his posterity, that sin on his part involved consequent sinfulness and guilt in them as his posterity. The Declaration evidently aims primarily to bring out the essential fact in the case, that sin originated with our first parents, and has in some manner flowed down from them, both as a taint and as a shame, upon their entire posterity. But, theoretically, it prefers rather to refer this fact simply to this divine constitution of things, than to explain it upon either the realistic or the federal theory. It indeed rejects the conception of a direct imputation in any such sense as involves a literal transfer of personal qualities, acts, or demerit, and chooses rather simply to say that by reason of the sin of Adam, and in view of his natural relation as head and representative, the race are treated as if they had sinned. The imputation in the case is viewed as mediate rather than immediate, and the intermediate element is their possession of his corrupted and sinful nature. As possessing such a nature, all mankind are regarded not only as morally corrupt, but as liable to death, temporal and eternal—a liability which, to the divine mind, became certainty, and which invariably changes into fact in the case of every responsible soul.

In regard to the nature and reach of the moral corruption thus affirmed, the Declaration takes what may be characterized as a strong Calvinistic position. Though it declines to present any theory respecting the divine permission of sin, and speaks cautiously in regard to the method in which sin is transmitted, it affirms most clearly the fallen and lost estate of man without the Gospel. It presents a marked contrast between the original character of our first parents, as created in knowledge righteousness, and true holiness, and the estate of their posterity as coming into the world, not only destitute of these

qualities, but in fact inclined to evil and evil only. It teaches that this bias to evil is so strong as to lead on, invariably and certainly, to actual transgression, and that consequently even infants, as possessing it, need redemption through atoning and regenerating grace. It further recognizes this moral corruption as accounting for the existence of human misery, for the fact of temporal death, and for the general moral ruin in which mankind appear to be involved. To the notion that there is nothing back of personal choice which involves exposure to penal consequences, that we have nothing whatever to do with the sin or guilt of Adam, that infants are born free from all transmitted defilement, and consequently need no salvation, if they die in infancy, the Declaration certainly gives no countenance.

In general, it will be seen that the anthropological teaching of this document is not merely Calvinistic, as tested by the consensus of the Reformed symbols, but is substantially in harmony with the Westminster standards. So far as the divine relations to sin are concerned, it pauses where the Confession pauses, at the central mystery of an absolute and holy and glorious sovereignty. So far as the Confession favors either the theory of natural or that of federal headship (and there are passages which would justify both affirmations) the Declaration would rather be classed with some other essentially Calvinistic symbols, which content themselves with asserting the simple fact of transmission under a divine constitution, without attempting any additional explanation. As to the fallen and corrupt estate of man, while it does not repeat the statement of the Confession, that mankind are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil—a statement regarded by some as unguarded in terms, and requiring careful explanation—the Declaration is still thoroughly Augustinian, alike in doctrine and in spirit.

2. The second general topic treated in the Auburn Declaration is *the Divine and the human in regeneration, and in the spiritual life*. Controversies around this topic had agitated the American Church, and especially the Calvinistic portion of it, even from the time of Edwards. In the Presbyterian body such controversies had become intensely earnest, practical, divisive; and it was within this field that the larger part of the errors

named by the Assembly of 1837 were grouped. It was, therefore, indispensable that the language of the Declaration, on the several points in question, should be distinct, positive, and unmistakable.

The first of these points relates to the kind and amount of ability possessed by the sinner in the direction of holiness. It had been affirmed that many in the church taught that, independently of the renewing influence and energy of the Holy Spirit, the sinner possesses all the ability necessary to a full compliance with every divine command. And it was justly inferred that such teaching was not only in great degree subversive of the gospel, regarded as a scheme of grace, but also likely to lull the souls of men into false confidence and imperil their prospect of salvation. In contrast with this error, the Declaration plants itself on the old and familiar distinction between an ability that is constitutional, and a disability that is moral: and teaches on one side that men have all the natural faculties necessary to a perfect moral agency and to a full accountability, and on the other side, that their moral disposition is so perverse—their love of sin and opposition to God and His law so strong—that they in fact never do exercise these faculties in the right direction. It further declares that this moral inability, which has its root in the natural bias to evil already recognized as resulting from the first apostasy, involves certain continuance in sin, and will never be changed except by a direct and mighty interposition of the Spirit of God; and further, that from such an interposition alone can true regeneration come as a sovereign, gracious, undeserved bestowment.

In conformity with this general position, the Declaration further defines regeneration, not as a product of the native faculties or independent activities of man, but as an immediate work of the Holy Spirit; a work involving nothing less than a radical and permanent change of heart, by which the soul, in the language of our symbols, is determined toward all good and away from all transgression. This change of heart is declared to be instantaneous rather than progressive, and to be instantaneously effected, not through the independent influence of the truth, nor by some voluntary reversal of our governing purpose, but through the special operation of the Spirit of God. As to the connection between such special operation of the Spirit

and the inherent liberty of man; as a moral agent, the Declaration teaches that here, as in the original purpose of election, there is no infringement upon human freedom; that man acts and acts freely in conversion, while at the same time the Spirit effectually works within him regeneratively, to will and to do according to the divine pleasure. Room is preserved for the established connection between means and ends, for the liberty or contingency of second causes, for the free play of every vital force remaining within the soul, while at the same time it is affirmed that all outward agencies, all means of grace, all human devices and energies, would be utterly fruitless, excepting as the Spirit of God should thus begin, carry forward, and complete in sovereign potency and grace the specific work of regeneration.

Respecting saving faith as the prime condition of regeneration and the new life, the Declaration is careful to distinguish between such faith and any mere rational belief of the truth, or simple assent to the gospel plan of redemption, and describes it rather as a spiritual consent, involving the heart and will as well as the intellect, to all that God has said respecting our salvation through Christ. As thus defined, saving faith is eminently a true, cordial reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ for pardon and eternal life; and such faith, instead of originating in man, or being developed through human influence, comes into being only through the Spirit, and is a supernatural witness to his presence within the soul. In like manner, true repentance, which is the unvarying concomitant of true faith, is described as different from all mere regret or remorse, or other natural feeling, and as developed in the breast only when the Holy Spirit has come in with illuminating and quickening power.

The Christian life, thus originating in regeneration and marked by the presence of saving faith and its concomitants, is ascribed in the Declaration, from first to last, to the grace of God, and is thus recognized as supernatural, alike in its beginning and in every subsequent development. It is true that the document emphasizes more frequently and fully than our symbols the element of conversion, or the human side of that process by which the soul passes from death unto life. It aims especially to protect the doctrine of freedom, and the consequent doctrine of responsibility, from all such inferences as might result from

excessive conceptions of the immobility, the stupor, the deadness of the natural man. But it nowhere admits any Pelagian misconceptions of what regeneration is, or of the essentially supernatural life that flows from regeneration. It does not rest in the notion of a general influence of the Spirit, or a merely secondary and temporary work wrought by him, or a holy life sustained and blooming apart from his aid. It points directly to his special operation as the true cause and source, and ascribes the result, from first to last, to his sovereign and gracious agency. Nothing in the Confession itself is more clear, more weighty, more convincing, on this cardinal doctrine.

3. *The nature, characteristics, and extent of the plan of redemption, through the atonement of Christ*, constitute the third main topic of the Auburn Declaration. That such a plan of redemption is, and, from the nature of the case, must be, elective and segregative in its application, that it involves a particular and personal setting apart unto life in the case of each one who enjoys its privileges, and that such election is based, not on any foresight of faith and obedience in them, but is simply an act of infinite mercy, of which the will of God is the sole and the absolute source, this document very clearly affirms. It is careful, however, to protect this doctrine against the inference that free choice in man is thereby rendered impossible, quoting the strong statement of the Confession on this point: "Yet so as thereby neither is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established." It also guards against another natural and kindred objection, by further declaring that this divine election is invariably realized and made manifest to us only in and through conscious faith and true holiness of life. And to this there should be added its further teaching, that such election is neither an accidental or fortuitous result, controlled by no rational consideration, nor a merely arbitrary manifestation of sovereign will, irrespective of any claims of justice, but is rather an act of ineffable and holy love, brooding over our lost race, and tenderly drawing some proportion of that race upward into itself. On such an election, inspired by divine love, specific and personal in application, and verified through a holy life in the elect, the plan of redemption is thus directly and definitely based.

In respect to the nature of that atoning work of Christ by which salvation becomes possible, the Declaration teaches explicitly that his sacrifice was not instructive, nor symbolical, nor governmental merely, but was truly vicarious—an actual substitution for the punishment due to transgressors. It takes up literally the error described in the *Act and Testimony*, and in the very language of that document affirms the contrary. It does, indeed, reject the statement that the sacrifice of Christ was penal, in the sense that He endured the exact and literal penalty of the law, or Himself felt, in any form, remorse of conscience or the pains of hell, as those whom He redeems would have done. That sacrifice is viewed simply as an equivalent for such punishment—an expedient by which the same results are secured at the bar of justice and in the sphere of moral administration which would have resulted from the condemnation of a world of sinners—an expedient, therefore, which the infinite wisdom and infinite equity of God will permit Him to accept, and which His infinite mercy inclines Him to accept, in place of the punishment due to those whom Christ has redeemed. Thus defined, the death of our Lord becomes something infinitely higher than a method of revealing dramatically the divine love, or of teaching men the truth concerning God, or of sustaining the divine government simply—it becomes a real substitution, an actually vicarious sacrifice, through which God may be just and yet justify the sinner.

In accordance with this view, the Declaration further affirms that this atonement not only secures the salvation of all who believe, but also, in some real sense, provides a possibility of salvation for all mankind. The transaction is of such a nature, and of such value, that, on the basis provided in it, overtures of mercy may be made, and are sincerely made, to the entire human race. While the divine plan becomes efficient only in such as believe, it is held to be sufficient for all men, so that nothing more would be needed on the part of God, were all mankind to accept the gracious provision here made. The sovereignty of God is indeed recognized in the elective purpose, in the prescribing of faith and repentance as the generic conditions, and in the bringing of gracious instrumentalities to bear upon men, in order to their acceptance of the gospel. But, on the other hand, the freeness and fullness of the gospel

scheme, the general as well as the specific relations of the atonement and the possibility of redemption as a door opening into Heaven, through which whosoever will may enter and share freely in the feast of grace, are specifically and prominently presented. It is probably at this point that one observes the widest divergence between the Declaration and our standards—a divergence, however, which is, possibly, more apparent than real, and concerning which varieties of opinion have always existed, and still exist, harmoniously within the Presbyterian church.

Respecting the manner in which this atonement is applied the Declaration further teaches that the sinner is saved, not by any personal merit, nor through any independent compliance, on his part, with the prescribed conditions, but simply and solely on account of the righteousness of Christ, made manifest in His holy life, and especially in His obedience unto death. This righteousness, it is said, does not become the possession of believers through any direct transfer to them of his personal qualities, acts, or merits; it is, however, by reason of his righteousness, and in virtue of his peculiar relation to them and their responsive relation to him, that they are treated as if they were righteous. Their salvation is attributed exclusively to what He has done. His work for them is prior even to their faith in Him; and He intercedes as well as atones for them, it is specially said, before they become regenerate.

The fact that some do reject the gospel, and consequently persist in sin, is the only remaining point to be noted. It is directly denied in the Declaration, that God does not save such persons simply and only because He cannot save them, or that it is some constitutional disability in Him, or some malevolent and irresistible combination of circumstances about Him, which is compelling him to let such perish. It is affirmed, on the contrary, that, as in the election of grace, the issue here is referable simply to a sovereign and holy purpose, whose justifying reasons or foundations it is not given to man to comprehend. On the human side the difference between the saved and the lost is seen to be a difference, not in the degree of visible influence or coercion exerted upon them, but in the free and responsible choice on their part between God and sin. But on the divine side the problem is simply accepted as inscrutable,

and the sovereign choice which limits the application of redemptive grace to a portion of mankind, is humbly and trustfully acquiesced in as wise and good, because it is the choice of a wise, a holy, an omnipotent, and a gracious God.

III. This synopsis of the doctrinal contents of the Auburn Declaration, more brief than such an act and testimony deserves, will be sufficient to prepare the way for some consideration of its symbolic value and relations, especially within our united church. It is hoped that what may be said on this topic will be recognized as just, considerate, generous, and as such will command the approbation of thoughtful men of whatever previous ecclesiastical connection or doctrinal tendency. To this end the writer humbly invokes the guidance of the Spirit of God.

It is a suggestive fact, that at the organization of the New School Church in 1838, no attempt was made to give this Declaration a symbolic position, or even to indorse it as an authoritative comment on the revised standards. Adopted, as it had unanimously and cordially been, by the representative Convention of the preceding summer, it might have been anticipated that the Assembly, composed not only of delegates from the same presbyteries and synods, but largely of the same persons, would have taken occasion to reaffirm their position on the doctrinal issues involved. It would not have been strange if, at such a juncture, an effort had been made to give the Declaration some co-ordinate authority, or even to alter the Confession and Catechisms wherever the language of the Declaration was regarded as preferable. The fact that nothing of this sort was undertaken shows conclusively, not that the mind of the Assembly had changed on these points of doctrine, nor that a party had risen up in opposition to the Declaration, but simply that this document was regarded as in essential harmony with the standards, and that all preferred to have the new organization plant itself on those standards, pure and simple. Had any great want of doctrinal harmony existed between the Declaration and the Confession, it is incredible that the Assembly of 1838 would not have discovered it, or that, on discovering it, they would not have either adopted the former *ex animo*, or undertaken to revise the latter in its interest. The Assembly, in fact, left the Declaration exactly where it already

stood, as a clear and satisfactory exposition of their mature judgment on the points in question, and proceeded to adopt a resolution recommending all the presbyteries in their connection to take steps toward the more general circulation of the Confession and Catechisms among the churches under their care. They thus planted themselves on the standards as they were, while the Declaration became a revered but unauthoritative expositor of these standards. The Assembly went further in this direction, and in its *Pastoral Letter* declared its high regard for the Confession as containing more well-defined, fundamental truth, with less defect, than any other known formula, and as deserving of the continued acceptance and allegiance of the churches; closing its commendation with a solemn disavowal of all purpose to revise or change it.

At no subsequent period during its separate existence, did the New School Church ever undertake to move off from the strong position then assumed. Alterations were made from time to time in the ecclesiastical methods and structure of the body, and other similar alterations were, at various times, proposed. But the Auburn Declaration was never adopted, or even formally indorsed, so far as we have learned after careful inquiry; neither was any proposal ever submitted to alter a line or a letter of the Confession or Catechisms in its interest. From the beginning to the close of its history, that church preferred to adhere to the old standards as they were, not merely as incorporating the system of doctrine contained in the Scriptures, but also as a sufficient and satisfactory basis of church life and activity. These have been the corner-stones on which its numerous churches have been reared; by these, and these only, have its ministers been tested; around these have its forces been gathered, alike in the day of battle and in the glad hour of victory.

In essential harmony with this pregnant fact stands the equally historic fact, that, from the beginning, the New School Church felt itself at liberty, in the temper of perfect loyalty to the standards, to cast its doctrinal teaching very largely in the new mould thus providentially provided for it in the clear, terse, honest, thoughtful sentences of the Auburn Declaration. Accepting heartily, for example, the generic truth set forth in the Confession, that the utter fall and apostasy of man are trace-

able to the prime transgression and consequent fall of Adam as a source, it preferred to regard this, as developed under a divine constitution of things—under a certain structural arrangement of human society, divinely ordained for beneficent ends—rather than as occurring under either a realistic or a federal headship. It maintained fully the real headship and the peculiar relationship of Adam, but regarded these as involving, through our inheritance of his corrupted nature, rather a mediate or social than an immediate or forensic imputation of his guilt—the legal and the speculative thus giving way to a more distinctively natural conception of the fact.

In like manner the New School Church never consciously departed from the teaching of our standards respecting the human and the divine in regeneration and the new life, or consented to regard man as in any sense a co-ordinate factor with God in the matter of his own salvation. But originating, as it did, immediately after and partly in consequence of that remarkable revival of religion which, for the preceding twenty years, had swept with such tremendous force along the parallels of latitude where it was chiefly located, it was led naturally to lay much stress upon the freedom and the consequent responsibility of man, especially for his faithful use of all means providentially afforded him, and for that state or disposition of heart and choice which was seen to be vitally involved in the matter of his regeneration and conversion through grace. Of such convictions the language of the Declaration seemed, without involving serious controversy about liberty of will or the nature of regeneration, to furnish the happy practical expression; and that language, therefore, worked itself readily into common use, shaping the current phraseology of the pulpit, regulating the forms of public prayer, and in numberless other ways impressing itself deeply upon the popular thought.

The same general tendency led to the acceptance of the teachings of the Declaration respecting the sufficiency, as well as the efficiency, of the gospel plan of redemption. While the doctrine of a particular election continued to be held, and the complete and righteous sovereignty of God, in the bestowment of salvation, was reverently taught, yet an earnest desire to win all men to Christ, an enlarged and urgent missionary zeal, could best express itself in formulas which brought out

rather the generic than the particularistic aspects of the Christian scheme. It was supposed, perhaps needlessly and without adequate grounds, that the doctrine of election had been so held and taught in the church as to be an embarrassment to the preacher in inviting sinners to Christ, and a hindrance to the sinner on his way to the cross. And it might have happened that, in avoiding this, some, at least, would have fallen into the opposite error, and cast the doctrine out of the circle of evangelical truth, if the Declaration itself had not furnished the more mediate view, and thus determined successfully the theological teaching of the new-born church.

In each of these directions, and in others which might be named, the Auburn Declaration became a kind of schoolmaster, acting conjointly with the Westminster symbols in educating the church into a true, broad, generous, fruitful type of Calvinism. There are few, if any, instances in ecclesiastical history where a document, never endowed with any form of authority, has yet entered so extensively and vitally into the general convictions of a body of believers, and become so practically a doctrinal basis and foundation. Perhaps the *Symbolum Quicumque*, originating we hardly know where, never depending for currency on any conspicuous ecclesiastical indorsement, yet affecting almost as vitally the belief of the entire Western Church on matters of such moment as the real trinity in God and the true composite personality in Christ, furnishes the closest parallel on record. So penetrating and diffusive has the influence of this Declaration been, that it has passed almost bodily into the language and experience of the church, with whose origin it was so singularly associated; it has survived in its effect the age and the controversy that produced it; it has descended from one generation to another, and wrought itself into the faith and teaching of a race of preachers to whom the document itself is largely unknown; it has continued to affect the instruction of the Sabbath-school and the familiar language of the Christian conference, has furnished inspiration in seasons of revival, has enkindled and directed missionary zeal, and, by a thousand subtle processes, has stamped itself historically on the convictions and experience of the church. To the student of ecclesiastical history who examines such a phenomenon in the serene light of a catholic scholarship, apart from the influ-

ence of any partizan interest, this fact, anomalous as it is, cannot fail to be full of useful suggestion. To one who is practically interested in such an event as the historic growth and progress and fruitfulness of the New School Church, a proper appreciation of this fact becomes indispensable.

Coming down in our survey to a more recent period, we may, without offense, observe that no single step contributed so much to the happy reunion of our beloved church as the generous recognition of the Auburn Declaration by the General Assembly (O. S.) of 1868. For two years preceding, negotiations in the interest of reunion had been going forward without practical result. It had first been proposed that the common standards should be accepted in their "fair historical sense, in opposition to Antinomianism and Fatalism, on the one hand, and to Arminianism and Pelagianism on the other;" but the consciousness of existing differences in interpretation and in acceptance had led even positive friends of union on both sides to hesitate in acting upon such a guarantee. It had then been proposed that it should be understood, by both parties, that "various methods of viewing, stating, explaining, and illustrating the doctrines of the Confession, which do not impair the integrity of the Reformed or Calvinistic system, are to be freely allowed in the United Church, as they have hitherto been allowed in the separate churches."* To this proposal sincere objection had been raised by friends of sound orthodoxy, lest it might be construed as allowing wide depar-

* In explanation of this important sentence, we quote the language of the Joint Committee on submitting their report to the two Assemblies of 1868:

"The same Confession is adopted by all. It is adopted in the same terms, as containing the same system. At the same time that we exchange these guarantees for orthodoxy, we mutually interchange guarantees for Christian liberty. Differences always have existed and been allowed in the Presbyterian Churches, in Europe and America, as to modes of explaining and theorizing within the metes and bounds of the one accepted system. To put into exact formulas what opinions should be allowed and what interdicted, would be to write a new Confession of Faith. . . . Your committee have assumed no such work of supererogation. Neither have they made compromises or concessions. They append no codicil to the old symbols. They have asserted, as being essential to all true unity, the necessity of adopting the same Confession and the same system, with the recognition of liberty, on either hand, for such differences as do not impair the integrity of the system itself: which is all the liberty that any branch of the great Calvinistic family of churches has ever claimed or desired."—*Reunion Memorial*, p. 279.

tures from the standards, or as granting too great a degree of liberty, without defining sufficiently the sphere within which such liberty might be exercised. For this, and for other kindred reasons, the efforts in the interest of union had thus far been futile; and all minds were verging toward the conclusion, that the union, if ever formed, must rest doctrinally on the simple basis of the standards.

At this juncture occurred the significant ecclesiastical action to which we have referred. A strong protest against the union had been presented to the Assembly by some of its most eminent members, based chiefly on the ground that undue latitude in doctrine had been allowed by these explanatory clauses. In answer to this able protest the Assembly took occasion to say: "We regard the Auburn Declaration as an authoritative statement of the New School type of Calvinism, and as indicating how far they desire to go, and how much liberty they wish, in regard to what the terms of union call the various modes of explaining, illustrating, and stating the Calvinistic faith." The Assembly further declared its judgment, that the Declaration embraced "all the fundamentals of the Calvinistic Creed," and expressed its belief that the New School party claimed and desired only that degree of variation from the standards "which would be represented by the theology of Richards and the Auburn Declaration."

Among the many providential indications, showing peculiarly the hand of a gracious God in uniting two churches divided by a generation of alienation and rivalry, we know of none more purely accidental to human view, and yet more divinely effectual than this. For the first time during the thirty years of its existence, the Declaration had now received ecclesiastical recognition, and this indorsement had come, not from those who had so long known and loved it as a commentary on the received standards, but from those who clung to those standards, without note or commentary, as containing the pure faith of the church. From that hour the difficulties in the way of union were seen to diminish. Even the signers of the protest, whom all would recognize as profoundly versed in Calvinistic theology, and as animated by the purest desire to preserve both the orthodoxy and the peace of the church they loved, must have felt that, if no further departure than this were desired,

the purity of the faith would not be imperiled by the reunion. Many others in that church, who had hitherto been constrained for similar reasons to doubt and hesitate, were now led to see that the granting of this measure of privilege was but a just act, and one which it involved no compromise of principle or of position to render. And on the other side there were many who, while loyal to the essence of the Confession, had yet been trained in the language and method of the Declaration, and who, while in the main favoring union, yet felt that some degree of guaranteed liberty was indispensable to any union which should carry with it their heart and sympathy, as well as their formal allegiance, to whom this frank indorsement came as an adequate assurance, that all they had hitherto cherished in modes of theological statement would, in fact, if not in form, be guaranteed to them in the united church. They desired no further latitude in interpretation; they wished for no wider variation from the language of the standards; and when the Assembly, of its own accord, put such honor upon a doctrinal symbol so dear to them, their last occasion for hesitancy was taken away.

Was it not a singular ordering of Providence that the document, which had originated historically in the division of our church, and under which as a banner the separated party had gone out from the ancestral patrimony in sadness and in bitterness of heart, should have been made, by accident as it were, the instrument used of God in the restoration of mutual confidence, and in the actual union of the churches so separated? It was well said in the Assembly (O. S.) of the following year, by one who represented the New School Church before that body, "We recall the generous act of your last Assembly in amply vindicating our orthodoxy by that deliverance which, of your own accord, was entered upon your Minutes, and for which we render you, in the name of all truth and fairness, our sincere thanks." Such a deliverance could never have been made, had not the Declaration been essentially an irenical, rather than a polemical, document. One evidence of this fact should be mentioned here. It is well known that the framers of the Declaration endeavored to increase the list of errors condemned in the Assembly, by adding four others, with which they sup-

posed some of their opponents to be justly chargeable.* In this endeavor they were frustrated by the refusal of the Assembly, under the previous question, to consider their amendment. Yet, under these circumstances, they wisely threw away their counter-charges, abandoned all aggressive measures, and rested their case in the simple and calm and peaceable statement of their judgment, on the points urged against them. Time has proven the Christian wisdom of their course. Both in its terms and in its spirit their Declaration became not only a silent protest against the separation, but also a perpetual argument for reunion. Its tones were soft and brotherly, and its voice was the voice of a friend. So far as its influence went, it quieted asperities on both sides, reduced the theological differences to their minimum, brought into view the broad remaining points of agreement, and forever whispered peace. And it may be that, although this was hardly in the hope of those who drafted it, the Declaration has at last subserved one of its highest predestined uses in rendering so easy and so cordial the unification of our divided Presbyterian family.

While all this is true, it should be said, as a safeguard against misapprehension, that the Auburn Declaration constitutes no part of the standards of our church, and is invested ecclesiastically with no degree of symbolic authority. Our symbols furnish still a sufficient basis of church belief, and they need no authoritative commentary. What the Declaration does is simply to exemplify conspicuously those methods of viewing, stating, explaining, and illustrating the doctrines of our symbols which the friends of orthodoxy were and are and will continue to be, we believe, willing to grant to the friends of liberty in the temper of mutual confidence and love. It could not, indeed, be brought into court as a legal guarantee, or as a constitutional impediment to action; in such a possible case, for ex-

* The four errors to which allusion is here made, are found in the Minutes, pp. 481-82, of the General Assembly of 1837. It may be of interest to our readers to glance at them in passing:

1. That man has no ability *of any kind* to obey God's commands or do his duty.
2. That ability is not necessary to constitute obligation.
3. That God may justly command what man has no ability to perform, and justly condemn him for non-performance.
4. That the powers of man to perform the duty required of him have been destroyed by the Fall.

ample, as the trial for heresy of one who held to its view of mediate imputation in preference to the immediate imputation taught in the Confession. Still less could it be properly employed to screen an errorist who should be guilty of promulgating opinions of such a nature as would impair the integrity of the Calvinistic system. The true value of the document lies rather in the deep impression which its contents, its history, its interesting relations to the entire thought and life of the New School body, its providential significance and use in the process of reunion, are together making, and are likely for generations to make, on our united church. We do not believe that any man will ever be convicted of heresy in any presbytery in that church, who simply holds what the Declaration teaches, and who is clearly seen to have wandered no further from the letter and essence of our symbols than the Declaration has itself gone. Its moderate and conciliatory terms, its irenic and catholic temper, its silent testimony to essential truth amid diversities of theory, will be both his safeguard and shield, and the protection and support of the church. And we venture the prediction, that after the conflicts of the past forty years shall have passed wholly into history, and the church, in the strength and glory of her union, shall have gone on to do the grand work assigned to her on this continent and in the world, the Auburn Declaration will continue to speak, not by authority, but in love, as the witness and the guarantee of a unity, which is none the less loyal to the truth for being generous, and none the less generous for being loyal still to the only recognized standards of our faith.

IV. This estimate of the symbolic value and relations of the Auburn Declaration in the Presbyterian Church sheds some interesting light on the current inquiry, whether the standards of that church need any present revision. At the risk of wearying our readers beyond measure, we venture to prolong this article by presenting some suggestions on this point, springing specifically from what has already been expressed. No one will question the right of any company of believers to alter, expand, abridge, amend, or even to throw aside and trample under foot, a creed which they themselves have made. Done in accordance with constitutional rules and provisions, and with such general consent as due regard for the unity and harmony

of the body would demand, such a revision or abrogation might take place at any time, at the option of the church interested. Individual members aggrieved by such changes would have the simple alternative of withdrawing from a communion which had thus modified or abandoned some of its original principles. Other communions in the common Christendom might feel justified in withholding further fellowship with such a church, and the general interests of Christianity might be seen to have suffered seriously from such an act of apostasy. But the abstract right remains, of course, with the church itself, subject only to a solemn responsibility to its Divine Head. And this concession, which involves the cardinal principle of Protestantism, must, as Professor Rainy well observes, be more than a mere idle flourish. "It must exist in the church as a living, practical, powerful principle. Loyalty to the Supreme Word requires it; and where it is withdrawn or denied, the defense of creeds on Protestant principles becomes impossible."

Standing on this general ground, our own church has not only recognized the fact, that all synods and councils may err in their exposition of Divine Truth, and the further fact that, at the best, no human statements of doctrine are to be regarded as of co-ordinate authority with the Scriptures, but also made adequate provision for the re-statement of her doctrinal formularies, whenever such re-statement shall be constitutionally demanded by her membership. It is well known that alterations were made in the Confession when it first became, by the Adopting Act of 1729, the doctrinal basis of American Presbyterianism; that these alterations were further approved by the act explanatory of the Adopting Act, passed in 1736; and that these, together with some changes made in the Larger Catechism, became permanent in the Confession at the final organization of the church in 1788. One of the resolutions of 1788 declares, that "the Form of Government and Discipline, and the Confession of Faith, as now ratified, is to continue to be our Constitution and the Confession of our faith and practice, unalterably, unless two-thirds of the presbyteries under the care of the General Assembly shall propose alterations or amendments, and such alterations or amendments shall be agreed to and enacted by the General Assembly." In 1804, the Assembly, upon the recommendation of a committee appointed in the

previous year "to consider whether any, and if any, what, alterations ought to be made in the Confession of Faith," resolved, after full consideration, to undertake no such revision. And in 1843 a similar committee, appointed to consider "whether there is any prescribed mode of amending or altering the Confession," while reporting against a specific alteration proposed in the section on marriage, directed attention to the Act of 1788, as giving full warrant for any amendment desired. It is, therefore, competent for the Presbyterian Church, under such rules and precedents, to take up any part or section of her avowed belief, and to amend, alter, abridge, or even reject, as the requisite majority in each case shall determine.

Granting the abstract right and the constitutional power, we may turn to consider the conditions under which revision may wisely be proposed. The general proposition of Professor Rainy, that this should not be regarded by the church as a singular and revolutionary step, but rather as something belonging to her ordinary and recognized responsibilities,* is one which needs to be received with caution, for it is difficult to see how any extensive or radical alterations could be made in the established creed of any Christian church, without involving what might well be termed a revolution. Especially would we hesitate to accept his suggestion, that the church should make regular provision for such revision, if this were carried to the extent of appointing set periods when the whole matter of the church belief should pass statedly under review.† Such provisions might, indeed, be of service in the way of forestalling those more violent processes, by which, in the heat of partisan contention, creeds are sometimes altered or cast aside. It

* *Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 276-7.

† At the risk of trespassing upon the privacy of a most profitable interview with this distinguished author, we venture to express the opinion, that he has been somewhat misapprehended in America. It may be believed that he favors no present movement for revision of the Confession in Scotland—that no such movement is likely, in his judgment, to be undertaken—and that the serious proposal of it would probably be fatal to the reputation of any man in the Free Church; and it may be added, that his entire lecture on Creeds (*Develop. of Chris. Doct.*, Lect vi.), together with the notes appended to it, should be read and weighed as a *totality* by any one who would obtain a just view of his conservative, rather than radical, attitude on the whole subject.

might also tend to check an undue sentiment of reverence for creeds, arrest false conservatisms, pacify revolutionary tendencies, and in general keep the church and her symbols in their true relations. But, on the other side, it is to be remembered, as this eminent writer himself well observes, that not every generation of believers is qualified for the business of making or amending Confessions. It is only great epochs that throw out great creeds; and it might frequently happen, under any such plan, that a less cultured or competent generation, or a reactionary or recreant generation, if called to such a task of revision, would only mar and mutilate creeds which it were better for them, and for the church and the world, to preserve in the beauty and the grandeur of their primitive historic integrity.

It will at least be granted, that such revision, if not revolutionary, is a most serious and pregnant process, and one which should be undertaken only under the pressure of most urgent considerations. A doubtful adjective, an ambiguous phrase, an unsustained proposition, an incidental error, can hardly call for so expensive a remedy.* Extensive diversity in regard to

* The evils involved in frequent revisions, or revision on slight grounds, are so forcibly stated by the committee of the General Assembly of 1804, already referred to, that we quote the following extracts:

"It is by no means to be considered as a vulgar or unfounded prejudice, when alarm is excited by alterations or innovations in the creed of a church. There are many reasons, of the most weighty kind, that will dispose every person of sound judgment and accurate observation to regard a spirit of change in this particular as an evil pregnant with a host of mischiefs. It leads the infidel to say, and with apparent plausibility, that there can be no truth already revealed in Scripture, because not only its friends of various sects, but of the same sect, pretend to see truths in it at one time, which at another they discover and declare to be falsehoods. It hurts the minds of weak believers, by suggesting to them the same thought. It destroys the confidence of the people generally, in those who maintain a system which is liable to constant fluctuations. It violates settled and useful habits. It encourages those who are influenced by the vanity of attempting to improve what wise men have executed, or by mere love of novelty, to give constant disturbance to the church by their crude proposals of amendment; and it is actually found to open the door to lasting uneasiness, constant altercation, and, finally, to the adoption of errors a thousand fold more dangerous and hurtful than any that shall have been corrected. . . . If there are a few things which, it might be shown, could be expressed more correctly, and in a manner less liable to objections, it is not proper, with a view to obtain this, to expose ourselves to the great inconveniences and injuries which have been specified."

minor doctrines, or wide varieties of theory respecting more central truths, may rather be suffered to exist, so long as the essential elements of the system are preserved. And if among these essential elements grave defects or serious errors should be discovered; if, in the progress of scientific theology, propositions more comprehensive, more just, more spiritual and scriptural, should be obtained, it would then, as we conceive, be necessary first to secure substantial agreement in the church before actual revision in the interest of such improvements be undertaken. What it is proposed to substitute should first be clearly seen and generally accepted; under no other conditions could the church wisely consent to revision. By the nature of the case this must be, not the initial step of a theological inquiry after the truth, but the concluding step of an inquiry already made and answered—the consummation of a structural change in the common faith, which, having been accepted in the consciousness of the church, now claims for itself a place in her written creed.

Back of these recognizable conditions and difficulties there is one general objection to revision, which we venture, almost at the hazard of seeming to go astray from the essential principle of Protestantism, to present in the form of a query: whether an old historic creed, evolved, like our own Confession, at some grand epoch in the career of the church, and expressing alike the faith, the piety, and the holy courage of the men and the age that produced it, ought not to be suffered to stand forever in its original form as a monument to the divine movement and energy which first sent it forth into the world? As the Apostolic and the Nicene Creeds are thus preserved in their ancient simplicity, with no line or letter changed, even while many minds are perplexed by some phraseology in each, and by recognized deficiencies in both, would it not be well to let the Confession of Augsburg, the Heidelberg Catechism, the Canons of Dort, the Westminster Symbols, stand perpetually in view as changeless expressions of church thought and church life during the germinant epoch of the Reformation? If for the moment we ignore the fact that these are now the authoritative doctrinal bases of existing churches, by which current teaching is regulated and living teachers are tested, would it not seem a sort of sacrilege to alter these from time

to time in order to prevent the growth of undue reverence for them, or to make them conform to every transient change in phraseology or in modes of doctrinal statement? And may it not be questioned, whether the fact that they are the basis of the living church, and the actual test and measure of personal belief, wholly absolves us from the obligation to preserve, even at some discomfort, the primitive form sanctified by centuries of use, and already inwrought into the memory and affection of millions of believing hearts? As we preserve the Declaration of Independence as it was in the beginning, though it be regarded by some as a glittering generality, and by others as exaggerated, or as too narrow to be the foundation of a broad and enduring national life, might not the church for historic reasons wisely cling to an old creed from age to age, jealously guarding it from change and innovation, even amid distinct admission of its defects, without being suspected of supposing that it existed by divine right, and was too celestial to be touched by hand of man?

Foregoing this consideration, and recurring to the main question, we venture to express the conviction, that the conditions demanding so serious a measure as revision, or making it desirable that revision should be undertaken, do not in fact exist. Our Confession is indeed not altogether perfect, void of defect, or free from error. There are those who seriously question some of its doctrinal statements, such as the affirmation that the Pope of Rome is the antichrist of Scripture—the man of sin and son of perdition. There are those who would desire to see such a phrase as *elect infants* exchanged for another, which would make the Confession conform clearly and indisputably to the current hope of Christendom respecting all who die in infancy. There are those who reject its ruling respecting the degrees of consanguinity which preclude marriage. And there are others who find themselves seriously embarrassed by its language on more vital points, such as the nature and scope of the divine election and fore-ordination, the real freedom of the will, the consequent responsibility of the sinner, and the free grace and world-wide reach of the gospel plan. But have we here the conditions which make present revision imperative? Are the evils that flow from the ambiguity concerning elect infants, or from the proposition that papacy is antichrist, or from the

injunction against marrying the sister of a deceased wife, so serious and urgent as to require such a remedy? Are the more vital difficulties referred to so clearly defined, so extensively felt, so evidently remediable, so substantially solved and determined, that the way is open for revision in their interest? IS THE CHURCH READY? Has she reached such matured conceptions and such enlarged experience, touching these central verities, that she may now enter upon revision, not as an inquiry intended to find out what her views really are, or as a conflict in which opposing theories are to strive together for an ultimate victory, but rather as the final and perfect blossoming forth of her clarified insight and her expanded spiritual life?

The general argument on the negative of this question has already been adequately presented in the pages of this REVIEW. It has justly been urged that such revision is needless, inasmuch as those who officially subscribe to the standards, are required to accept, not every word or phrase, but simply the system as therein set forth—the living church being the judge whether any avowed departure from the standards is an essential departure from the system. It has been said, that if the attempt were made to satisfy all parties, the difficulties of revision would soon be found to be insuperable, the opposing tendencies still existing, and the triumph of either involving widespread agitation, if not the ultimate disintegration of the church. It has also been urged, that, at the present time, while the process of reunion is still going forward, and while this process is based distinctively on the standards as they are, a movement toward revision would be peculiarly inopportune, not only precipitating upon the church a series of internal strifes and discords, but also separating her disastrously from other Presbyterian churches holding the common symbols. And it has well been prophesied, that such an undertaking would absorb the thought and strength of the church, for the next generation, in interminable questions and problems about doctrine, when the providence and the grace of God appear to be calling her away to a far higher work of missionary aggression and conquest, both on this continent and throughout the Pagan world.

Agreeing substantially with these general objections, we

have but one consideration further to present—a consideration derived from the view we have given of the symbolic value and relations of the Auburn Declaration. It must be confessed, that the supposed necessity for revision has been found chiefly within the theological domain mapped out in this document, and that the call for revision has come largely from those who would prefer to see its words and phrases, on various points, substituted for those found in the Confession. So far as it is revision, and not mere abbreviation or condensation, that is sought, the main current of desire has flowed along this channel. We have no disposition to ignore the feeling, or lightly estimate the opinion, of those thoughtful and candid minds who experience serious difficulty in receiving our standards, in all minute details, as they are, and who believe that certain changes in this direction would give them substantial relief. But is it not better to leave every line and letter of the Confession untouched, and to go forward into the grand future opening before our church, with the old banners flying, so long as liberty is given to every such mind to express itself freely, on every perplexing point, in the language and method of the Auburn Declaration? Granting that the Declaration possesses no ecclesiastical authority, and has never been incorporated as a guarantee into our scheme of union, and is therefore binding upon no man or judicatory in the church, yet are not its terms and teachings so fully understood, and so thoroughly respected, that no one need ever fear lest his Christian liberty, exercised within these limits, should suffer infringement? Does not the Declaration, as it stands, thus secure, to those who adhere to it, all that would be secured by actual revision, even if revision, once undertaken, were to issue in the incorporation of the Declaration bodily into our standards? May not every minister and every elder feel assured, that, standing, in all honesty, under the protection of this irenical and generous document, and consciously resting in it, as a Christian freeman, while in the discharge of his official trust, no presbytery within our broad church would ever feel itself required to subject him to ecclesiastical censure? And, under such conditions, is it not better to abandon all thought of present revision, and to preserve, as it is, a Confession which, amid all defects, is recognized by Christian scholars as not only the last, but also the most

complete, in that illustrious series of creeds which sprang into being after the Reformation?

In this conclusion we rest; to this conclusion we desire to bring all minds, of whatever doctrinal tendency, within our beloved church. We have no fear of the result, and we believe that no one else will have occasion to fear, so long as the present generous temper of unity and peace, of activity and growth, survives in our communion. While such a measure of liberty is granted, and the united church plants itself, not on a loose latitudinarianism, which admits all notions not absolutely and immediately destructive, but on a catholic and generous Calvinism, tenacious of the system, but wisely tolerant of varieties in theory and expression, we may safely forego the desire for changes in our standards, either on such specific points as have been named, or in the general interest of that type of Calvinism which is specially represented in the "theology of Richards and the Auburn Declaration." So long as these modes of viewing, stating, explaining, and illustrating the common system are admissible, we see no reason why every genuine Calvinistic mind should not be substantially satisfied.

These suggestions may fitly close with the following extract from the *Pastoral Letter*, sent out in 1838 by the first General Assembly of the New School Church, and addressed to all the churches and people under its care. Of the Committee that adopted it, the venerable Lyman Beecher was chairman, and the style of the extract strongly resembles his, although a high authority regards it rather as from the pen of another member of the committee, the equally venerated James Richards. The words are full of present, as well as past, significance:

"We love and honor the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, as containing more well-defined, fundamental truth, with less defects, than appertains to any other human formula of doctrine, and as calculated to hold in intelligent concord a greater number of sanctified minds than any which could now be formed,
AND WE DISCLAIM ALL DESIGN, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE, TO CHANGE IT."

NOTE.—The writer of this article deems it due to himself to say, that he believes Christian Theology to be, in a true and important sense, a progressive science; that he does not regard the seventeenth century as having furnished a conclusive norm or limit of theological thought for the nineteenth; that he judges the

phraseology and teaching of the Auburn Declaration to be an improvement in several particulars upon those of the Westminster Symbols: that he humbly trusts and prays that the Presbyterian Church of the future may have yet clearer apprehension, larger knowledge, more inclusive faith respecting these great mysteries of grace; but that, so far as present creeds are concerned, he cordially, and after full examination, accepts the legal motto, *STARE DECISIS*. It should be added, that the responsibility of the editors of this REVIEW, for the present discussion, is limited entirely to their kind consent to its admission in these pages.

Art. II.—THE STUDY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

By W. HENRY GREEN, D.D., Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary.

WE propose, as we may be able in a brief article, to illustrate the importance of an accurate and thorough knowledge of the Hebrew in the interpretation of the Old Testament. We must get beyond the province of the beginner and the smatterer—beyond the mere work of making a translation as a linguistic exercise. We are to deal with language as the medium of thought and feeling. We are to hear what God the Lord will speak. We come to learn the truths which it was given to holy men to impart by divine inspiration, and to receive the impressions which they sought to make. Our aim is, or should be, to grasp these truths in the exact form and in the same clearness in which they lay before the minds of those to whom they were originally addressed, and to gather these impressions, as far as may be, without any loss of their original vividness and force. We wish these words to convey to us precisely what they were intended and adapted to convey to the contemporaries of the sacred writers themselves, neither less nor more.

In order to this it is essential that the thought should not be warped or distorted by the medium through which it is transmitted, but that it should be faithfully and accurately delivered to us in its own proper and genuine forms. This cannot be unless the language is to us what it was to those who

originally used it, and means to us just what it did to them. We must, so far as possible, get our minds into the same familiar and unembarrassed readiness to receive true and correct impressions from all its utterances, as they were. We must strive to be no longer foreigners to the Hebrew, but place ourselves, as far as this may be, in the attitude of natives.

We cannot accomplish this by merely fixing upon a tolerable English equivalent for each Hebrew word, and then transferring each sentence into English, word by word. We shall be greatly mistaken if we suppose that this mechanical process will yield, as its result, the precise counterpart of the Hebrew sentence. We shall doubtless obtain something that bears a vague and general resemblance to the original, but this is all. The vigor and beauty of the expression, its life and sparkle, will be missing, and perhaps even the very point and meaning of the thought may have escaped us. Words of one language cannot be exchanged for those of another by a fixed law of valuation, as foreign coins can be converted into our native currency. Words are the representatives of mental conceptions, or mental states; and are liable to the same variety of signification as those conceptions and states themselves. The Hebrew language represents the mind of the people that spoke it. It embodies their conceptions of the various objects of thought and knowledge, and of their mutual relations. And just as certainly as there are diversities in national character and national life, in the range of objects which address themselves to each people's observation or reflection, or in the aspects under which these present themselves, just so surely must their respective languages be incommensurable. The style of thought and mode of conception belonging to any one people must differ from that of every other, and this difference will be reflected in every individual element of their several languages. As a rule, those words which most nearly approximate each other in different languages, are not after all exact equivalents. They do not cover precisely the same tract of thought or extent of signification; or by reason of derivation or usage, or some special association, one wears a complexion differing more or less from the other.

Take one of the simplest of all illustrations, the term employed to denote the Supreme Being. The Hebrew *El*, or

Elohim, and the Greek *Θεός* are alike rendered by *God* in English; but they suggest very different conceptions. *El* is the mighty One; it points to the Divine Omnipotence. *Elohim* is the adorable One; or, as is indicated by the plural form, the one who concentrates in himself all adorable perfections. The God of the Hebrews is a God of might, and one that is to be feared. *Θεός*, like *Ζεύς*, and the Latin *Deus*, is from the same root with the Latin *dies*, day, and primarily describes the brightness of the firmament. It belongs to the worship of nature; it is a deification of the brilliant sky. And, besides, as the language of a pagan people it is infected with polytheism. It means not God, but a god—one of many deities, of many similar personifications of natural objects. This very word is indeed used of the Most High in the Greek Scriptures, but in a new and exalted sense; it had first been purged of its old associations of nature worship and polytheism, and transfused with Jewish thought by Hellenistic use. Its materialistic is exchanged for a spiritual meaning, as is the case in so many New Testament words, so that when the apostle declares *ὁ Θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶ*, "God is light," no one thinks of the glowing sky, but only of the splendor of his moral perfections. And our word "God" is of a different meaning still. It is a simple offspring of Christian ideas, radically connected with "good," and indicating at once his benevolence and his moral purity.

When the Pagan Greeks and Romans called their Supreme Deity the Father of Gods and men, they thought of physical generation; it was from him they lineally sprang. When the Hebrew people called God their father, who had made them and established them, and who claimed Israel as his son, even his first born, it was with a totally different idea. They thought of his creative power and his gracious choice by which he had brought Israel into being as a nation, and as his own peculiar people, and of the paternal care which he continued to exercise over them. When the New Testament teaches us to address God as *Abba*, Father, it is with a different idea still—that of individual adoption to sonship in Christ, God's own eternal son by a mystical generation. The same word may thus have an entirely different meaning growing out of the conceptions of those by whom it is employed. We cannot interpret language intelligently and correctly, it will inevitably convey to us a per-

verted meaning, unless we place ourselves in the very position of those who used it. We must think their thoughts. We must look upon things as they regarded them. We must learn to move in the same world in which they moved, and not put into their words notions which, however natural or familiar to us, were strange to them. We must divest ourselves of all that is modern or occidental in our style of thought, and for the time become, as far as may be, genuine Hebrews, in entire sympathy and accord with the old prophets and psalmists, and other Hebrew penmen—penetrating so far as possible into their exact state of mind, and making their precise ideas our own.

In order to employ the Lexicon in the most effective way to accomplish this end, the student must not simply glance at any given word, for which he is consulting it, and hastily picking out a meaning which will answer in the sentence that he has before him, pass on to the next. He wants to acquaint himself with that word before he looks further. It is as though we were to meet a stranger on the street; we bestow a passing glance upon him; a friend mentions his name, whereupon we bow and pass on. We have had a casual introduction; we may possibly recognize the stranger when we meet again; but we have not made his acquaintance. We know very little more about him than we did before. The student who aims at thoroughness must seek to make the acquaintance of every Hebrew word he meets; he must, if possible, get upon intimate and familiar terms with them. He wishes to know something about their origin and history—their character and associations—the estimation in which they have been held by those who knew them best. He must interrogate his Lexicon until he finds all this out. The article in the Lexicon under each particular word is intended to supply him with this very information—to give him, so to speak, the biography of the word so far as it can be ascertained; to gauge for him its precise standing and worth.

Thus, he needs, in the first place, to inquire into the derivation of words. The Hebrew has various terms to express anger, or excited passion, in different degrees or manifestations. But each of these places a different picture before us, thus: **חָרָה**, from **חָרַח**, to breathe strongly, depicts a person as *panting* from excite-

ment; וַעַם, as *foaming*; וַעַף, as *blazing*; חֶמֶה, as *heated*; חָרָן, as *on fire, burning*; כַּעַם, as *indignant*; עֲבָרָה, as *overflowing*; עִיר, as *boiling*; קִנְאָה, as *red in the face, flushed*; קֶצֶף, as *bursting, or breaking out*; רָגַן, as *in commotion*. The diverse conception attached to these words gives to each some specialty of employment. We do not and cannot reach a proper understanding of them by taking the various English words expressive of strong excitement—as anger, displeasure, fury, passion, rage, wrath, etc., and attaching these severally to the Hebrew terms, in the list above given. This would mislead entirely; it would introduce distinctions foreign to the Hebrew words, and it would overlook those which really do exist. There is, in fact, no exact equivalence between the series of terms in use in English and in Hebrew to express excited feeling in its various forms and aspects. Each must be studied independently if it is to be correctly understood. So “wicked” may be expressed by several different words in Hebrew, in each of which the fundamental image is different, thus: אֲוִיל, *foolish*; מַבִּישׁ, *of ill odor*; נָבֵל, *wilted, or faded*; עָוִיל, *twisted*; רֵיק, *empty*; רָע, *broken, and therefore worthless*; רָשָׁע, *tumultuous*.

The derivation of words, or, where this is obscure, their primary sense, often opens curious and welcome glimpses into the links of association by which objects are bound together in the Hebrew mind, or the point of view under which they regarded them. These are sometimes of the most graphic character; sometimes they involve lessons that are worth pondering. Thus, what poetic beauty there is in calling the eye עֵין, that is, “*a fountain*,” as it is the spring whence flow streams of pity or of sorrow, and whose watery surface mirrors whatever passes in the mind within; and the face, פָּנִים, from פָּנָה, *to turn*, since it turns with ready attention to every object which presents itself; the sea, יָם, from its ceaseless commotion and roaring; and eternity, עוֹלָם, *the hidden period*, which no keenness of vision can penetrate, and from which no mortal can lift the veil; and קֹדֶשׁ, *holy*, as related to חֲדָשׁ, *new and bright*, that which is ever new, retaining its primal condition untarnished and undecayed. What true insight into the fact that

man's distinctive prerogative is speech, in calling beasts and cattle בְּהֵמָה, *dumb*. What a suggestion of the calamities of war in naming it מַלְחָמָה, *devourer*, and the sword חֶרֶב, *desolator*, and peace שָׁלוֹם, *soundness*, or *wholeness* ! What an admonition that time is named from its ceaseless flow, עָתָה, from עָתָה, *to pass* ! What a commendation of *hope* in its name, תְּקוּהָה, the emblem being that of a strongly twisted cord, to which one can hold securely ! How aptly descriptive of trust in God is תְּקוּהָה, *to flee to or take refuge in* ; of faith, is הִתְאַמֵּץ, *to lean upon* ; of truth, אֱמֻנָה, that upon which one can *lean* with safety ; of love, אַחֲרָי, *to breathe after* ; of desire, אַחֲרָי, *to bend toward* ; there is a sermon in each word ! What sarcasm of idolatry in the contemptuous terms for idols, אֱלִילִים, *non-entities*, or upon another explanation, *god-lings*, הֶבְלִים, *vanities*, הֶבְלִים (from גָּלַל, *to roll*), *stumps* or *logs*, such as are rolled about ! What ridicule of Israel's oppressors in the derisive turn given to their names, as the King of Mesopotamia, Chushan-rishathaim, *Chushan of double wickedness*, and the King of Babylon, *Evil-merodach, i.e. the god Merodach's fool* ! What scorn of evil spirits in the name Beelzebub, *god of flies*, or, worse still, Beelzebub, *dung-god* ! What a suggestion of degradation when the patriarchal Bethel, *house of God*, is, for its idolatry, nicknamed Bethaven, *house of iniquity*, and Shechem, the home of the Samaritans, called Sychar, *a lie* ! What interesting local associations are brought to light in such words as אֶרֶץ, *ground*, so called from the red soil of Palestine ; and לֶבְנָה, *brick*, literally *white*, from the whitish clay of which they were made ; and חֹדֶשׁ, *month*, literally *new*, from the new moon, which marked its beginning, since the Hebrew months were lunar ; and נֶשֶׁף, *twilight*, from נִשְׁף, *to blow*, because of the breeze which was there customary in the evening ; and the name of the Nile, שִׁחֹר, *black*, from its turbid waters ; and Lebanon, *white*, from its limestone rocks ; and Bethlehem, *house of bread* from the great fertility of the neighborhood ; and Jordan, from יָרַד, *to go down*, on account of its unusually rapid descent !

What a peculiarly oriental grouping of ideas is shown in *ישב*, *to sit*, then *to dwell*! The Greek word, *to dwell*, is *οἰκέω*, from *οἶκος*, *house*; to the Greek a man dwells where he builds his house. The Latin is *incolo*, from *colo*, *to cultivate*; a man dwells where he tills the soil. But the more nomadic oriental dwells wherever he sits down. So again, in *יד*, *the hand*, from *יָדָה*, *to point out*, the hand is the index with which one points. The more active and vigorous occidental calls it, in Greek *χείρ*, in English, *hand*, from *prehendo*, that with which one grasps. So, too, *נשבע*, *to swear*, identical in root with *שבע*, *seven*, tells of the sacredness of that number, on which the Jewish Sabbaths and sacred seasons generally were based.

In tracing the derivation of words it will sometimes be found that they are of foreign extraction, and interesting consequences may follow from this circumstance. There are some Egyptian words—names of persons, places, and objects belonging to the land of Egypt—in the books of Moses, each of which is a fresh corroboration of their authorship by one who had lived in Egypt, and was familiar with its language. The Persian words in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, point to the origin of these books in the period of Persian domination. The so-called Greek words of the book of Daniel, and one alleged to be such in the Song of Solomon, have been adduced in evidence that these books belong to the period of the Greek empire in Asia under the successors of Alexander. An earnest battle was waged over these words. But the strife has been settled without prejudice to the antiquity and genuineness of the books in question, except as now and then some novice in the art of criticism stumbles on these broken and worn-out weapons, and fancies he has made a new discovery in the interest of skepticism.

The articles brought from Ophir by Solomon conjointly with the king of Tyre, the ivory, apes, and peacocks, bear Sanscrit names, showing that their fleets sailed as far as India; and possibly Ophir itself may be recognized in the native name of a district on the Indian coast. And, *per contra*, the Hebrew, or what is the same, the Phœnician, names of commodities which passed into occidental languages, as Greek and Latin, and

through them to the modern languages of Europe, mark the articles which were carried to the West by Phœnician traders, and first became known there through them, as hyssop, balsam, fig, sycamore, wine, cummin, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, cane, ebony, jasper, sapphire, camel, turtle-dove, etc. It is also a matter of interest, as may here be observed in passing, to note other coincidences between Hebrew roots and those of occidental tongues. Some of these have their bearing upon the question, which is still in dispute among philologists, whether any clear linguistic evidence still remains, in the Semitic and Indo-European families, of languages of their original community of origin. A still greater number are words directly borrowed by the Indo-European from the Semitic, as those, which the English has, taken from the Hebrew of the Old Testament. These are religious terms, as *amen*, *cherub*, *ephod*, *hallelujah*, *hosanna*, *jubilee*, *manna*, *messiah*, *paschal*, *sabbath*, *seraph*, *shekinah*. There are also words that have come to us from the Arabic, but whose roots are likewise found in the cognate Hebrew. Whether these words were brought by the crusaders or by subsequent intercourse, or whether they are relics of the Saracenic conquest of Spain, as Gibraltar, גִּבְרָלְטוֹר, *the mountain of rock*, the word for "mountain" having reached its present signification by a series of steps, which the Hebrew enables us still to trace. From a root meaning *to twist*, it first denoted *a cord*, then *a line* for measurement, *a boundary line*, *a mountain*, as marking the natural limits or boundaries of countries. Guadalquivir, *the great river*, from יָרָה, *to cast or pour*, whence the Arabic *wady*, and גָּבִיר, *great*; Sultan, from שָׁלַט, a title borne by Joseph in Egypt; Pacha, from פָּחָה, the official designation of Zerubabel and of Nehemiah; Koran, from קָרָא, *to call*, then *to read aloud*, that which is to be read; Salaam, the customary salutation, from שָׁלוֹם, *peace*, in the standing phrase, "peace be unto thee;" and, from the same root, *Islam*, the religion which secures peace with God, and *Moslem*, he who has embraced this religion of peace; the dual form of this word in Arabic has also been Anglicized as though it were a singular *Mussulman*, and by another curious blunder its plural is sometimes written "Mussulmen," as though it were compounded with the English

word "man." Admiral, originally written *amiral*, is properly a commander, from אֲמִירָל , *to say*, then *to command*—the "d" being due to its having been confused with the word "admirable." And some facts in ecclesiastical history are embedded in the words abbot, abbey, and abbess; that a monastery is called an abbey, and its head an abbot, from אֲבִי , or the Syriac, *abba*, "father," shows that religious establishments of this character took their rise in Syria and the East. Analogy would then lead us to expect that the Syriac word for mother would be applied to the lady who presides over a nunnery. But, instead of this, she is called *abbess*—not mother, but female father—by a strange mongrel formation, an occidental feminine ending being appended to the oriental word; the reason is, that in their origin and in the East these institutions were for men exclusively, and that religious houses for women took their rise subsequently in the West.

We cannot now dwell longer upon the study of the origin of Hebrew words, or their derivation, whether from native or foreign roots, and their affinities with words in our own and other occidental tongues. He who prosecutes it can hardly fail to find it fascinating and attractive.

The lexicon will aid the student further in acquainting himself with the history and usage of words. In the limited space at our command, we shall be obliged to pass rapidly over the additional points which enter into a complete acquaintance with a word, without pausing, as we would like to do, to illustrate them. The first important inquiry is as to the extent of its signification—the various senses in which it is employed. Its derivation has helped us to the knowledge of its primary or fundamental import. Its various senses in actual use are to be traced from this, as they have successively arisen from it, or from one another. Further, from each primary word have arisen other derivative words, developing the fundamental signification still more, or branching out more widely from it. Then there are cognate roots, having the same or similar sounds, or with identical or related radical senses, and these have their derivatives likewise. In tracing all this out, we are following lines of association characteristic of the Hebrew mind; we see its peculiar development of thought, grouping of ideas, mode of conception.

But after a word has thus been examined in connection with the root from which it springs, in its own individual usage and various significations, and in its place in that particular stock of words which has sprung from the same root, and from closely related roots, it may be still further specialized by comparing it with its several synonyms. If there are other words expressing the same general idea, how are these to be discriminated? What distinctions exist between them? Why is one of these words used rather than another in a given connection, and what are the particular cases in which one or another of them should be employed?

Then, still further, is a word of frequent or rare occurrence? If the latter, what are the grounds upon which its assumed meaning rests, and are these sufficient and decisive? Then, to what style does it belong—the elevated and ornate; or the more common place—the poetic, or prosaic? And to what age? Is it employed by the earlier or the later writers of the Old Testament, or by both? If confined to one period, what substitute is used for it at another? If used equally in all, does it maintain its sense unchanged, or does it undergo any discernible modifications of meaning?

These hasty suggestions may show that there is much to be learned, even about an individual word. He who means to master the words he is dealing with in Hebrew, and to make them thoroughly his own, will not feel as though a slight or perfunctory use of his Lexicon was all that was necessary. A person may get out the translation of a passage, and know very little about the words that compose it, after all.

And he who aspires to be a good Hebraist can quite as little afford to dispense with careful attention to his grammar. The words of a sentence are not to be jumbled together in any sort of way, which will bring out an intelligible sense. They stand in fixed grammatical relations, which must be rigorously adhered to, in order that the sense really intended by the writer, or speaker, may emerge. The Hebrew tenses is, perhaps, the most puzzling part of the grammar, and the one of which it is most difficult to gain a clear conception in all cases. The notion of time upon which they proceed is different from ours, in disregarding the momentary and vanishing present, and comprehending all duration under the two categories of the past and

the future. To this add the use of the tenses at times in direct contrariety to what, with our laws of thought, we would have expected ; the apparently promiscuous employment of them at others ; the neglect of modal relations almost entirely in the forms of verbs, leaving them to be suggested by particles or by the connection ; and, to crown all, the strange enigma of the conversive *vau* ;—all this, so foreign to our methods and ideas, induces in many a perplexity, or despair, which ends in giving the whole thing up as incomprehensible, or impracticable ; and, quite disregarding the Hebrew tense relations, translating as the sense or context may seem to require, altogether irrespective of them.

And yet, no principle ought to be more firmly fixed in the mind of a conscientious interpreter, than that language must be held to mean precisely what it says. It is not his office to create a text, or to determine what a writer should have said, or must have meant to say, but what he actually did say. It is safe to assume, that where a writer uses the future tense, he does so intelligently, and has a reason for using that rather than the preterit, which the interpreter is bound to ascertain and recognize. Much of the vivid beauty of Hebrew description depends upon its idiomatic use of tenses, by which the writer transports us into the very midst of the scene which he depicts, part of it already transacted, part yet to come, and futures passing into preterits, even while he speaks. And there is an unrivalled strength in its universal assertions, when, in the first member of a parallelism that is affirmed for all time past, which, in the succeeding member, is similarly affirmed for all time to come, and thus the entire horizon of human experience is swept at a stroke. All this is confused and lost if we fail rigorously to note the tenses, and either gratuitously substitute one for the other, or indiscriminately render both alike by our vague and colorless present.

In other cases this disregard of the tenses works a more serious mischief still, and not merely blurs or blunts, but actually perverts, the sense. Thus, with all the general accuracy of our common English version of the Scriptures, there is, nevertheless not infrequently an error in the tense that alters the whole purport of a psalm, or disturbs the connection of the thought. The Psalmist's confident anticipation of God's deliv-

ering aid, or his resolve to seek it, is arbitrarily converted into a reminiscence; and his grateful survey of God's past benefits, by which he strengthens himself in the midst of trials, is, on the contrary, converted, without any propriety, into the language of petition or the utterance of hope. Thus, in the 3d Psalm, "I cried unto the Lord with my voice, and he heard me out of his holy hill," should be "I will cry" and "he will hear." "I laid me down and slept; I awaked; for the Lord sustained me," should be "the Lord will sustain me." David not merely recognizes God's sustaining power and grace on that single occasion, but he takes encouragement from that instance of preserving care to trust for the present and the future. He who guarded and preserved him then, will guard him ever. Ps. viii: 1—"O LORD, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth! who has set thy glory above the heavens"—should be "which glory of thine set above the heavens." It is not a declaration of what God had already done, but a prayer that he would render his glory exalted and conspicuous. In the prophet Obadiah's indignant denunciation of Esau for his unbrotherly spirit toward Judah, our version renders, ver. 12, "Thou shouldest not have looked on the day of thy brother in the day that he became a stranger; neither shouldest thou have rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction; neither shouldest thou have spoken proudly in the day of distress"—as though it had already taken place; and as the occasion referred to is that of Jerusalem's overthrow by Nebuchadnezzar, it would follow that Obadiah prophesied as late as the exile; whereas, the correct translation is, Look not,—rejoice not—speak not proudly—showing that the event referred to is still future, and a directly contrary conclusion from that warranted by our version, must be drawn as to the age of the prophet.

The grand theophany in Habakkuk, ch. 3, receives a totally different sense, and the whole meaning and connection of the entire prophecy is obscured by the failure to render correctly the tense of the verb in verse 3: "God came from Teman, and the Holy One from Mount Paran." By this rendering the magnificent coming of the Lord, here described, becomes a thing of the past; it is a *resumé* of the grand and glorious deeds achieved on Israel's behalf in their past history. The

whole of this splendid chapter is thus taken out of the sphere of prophecy and reduced to a mere commemoration of what God had anciently done for his people. But the power of the passage is immensely increased by letting it remain what the tense of the opening verb requires, and what the whole connection of the prophecy, in fact, demands—a glowing prediction of God's future coming in infinite majesty, amid dread displays of omnipotence, to rescue his people, and execute his purposed vengeance on their foes. The only correct translation is—"God will come from Teman and the Holy One from Mount Paran."

And the observance of grammatical rules in other matters may be equally important. Haggai predicts (ii: 7) that "the desire of all nations shall come." A popular interpretation of this passage makes this a personal designation of the Messiah, in whom the longings of every human heart shall find their highest satisfaction. There is an undoubted beauty and fitness about this conception, but that it is not what the prophet meant is shown in an instant by the form of the verb; it is in the plural number. Its subject, therefore, does not represent an individual person, but is a collective noun; the desire of all nations is their desirable things, their precious treasures; these shall come to adorn and enrich God's house.

So, too, the accurate rendering of particles, trifling as these may appear, is essential to correct interpretation. Thus, what graphic power there often is in the definite article; what a pledge, too, of accuracy of statement, which is lost, if it be disregarded. When the sacred writer speaks (Gen. xix: 30)—not vaguely and indefinitely, as our version has it—of Lot, as dwelling "in a cave," but says "he dwelt in *the* cave, he and his two daughters," he shows himself familiar with the region, and able to refer to the particular cave as one well known in that locality. So (Gen. xxxv: 8), Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried at Bethel, not "under an oak," but "under the oak," the well-known old tree that stood there. In Ex. xvii: 14, Moses is enjoined to make a record, not "in a book," which would be a very unimportant, if not wholly unmeaning, appendage to the injunction, but "in *the* book," which discloses a fact of great moment, that there was a well-known book that could be thus referred to, in which Moses was keeping a record; and thus

this passage, by the sheer force of its definite article, becomes a link in our argument for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The article, also, may be of doctrinal consequence. It plays, as all are aware, an important part in some leading proof-texts for the Trinity in the New Testament. It also brings a series of passages in the Old Testament to the support of the same doctrine, that mention is made not of "*an* angel," but of "*the* angel of the Lord," who can be readily identified with the Eternal Son. On the other hand, the insertion of the article (Gen. xli: 38) where it does not belong, makes Pharaoh speak like a monotheist, calling Joseph "a man in whom the spirit of God is;" whereas, all that Pharaoh actually says of him is that he is, "a man in whom is a divine spirit."

So of other particles. When the Psalmist says (cxvi: 10), "I believe, for I speak," alleging the fact of his speaking in confirmation of his faith, we have no right to invert the order of his thought by rendering it "I believed, therefore have I spoken," as though he were presenting his faith as the reason of his speech. Our version disregards a grammatical form, and omits a preposition in rendering Hos. xiii: 9: "Thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help;" the real sense is, "It has destroyed thee that thou art against me, against thy help." The prophet's declaration is, that the real cause of Israel's destruction is their hostility to God, their only helper. Ps. lxxxvii: 3, is rendered in our version "Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God;" what the Psalmist really says is, "Glorious things are spoken in thee." It is not the statements made about Jerusalem, but the blessed revelations made in it, that filled him with rapture.

Fairness of interpretation further demands, that we should translate the text precisely as it lies before us, without any gratuitous alterations or additions. The prophet (Amos iv: 4), in his sarcastic representation of the profitless and offensive character of Israel's religious services, bids them "Bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes every three days." As the actual bringing of tithes with such frequency as every three days is insupposable, our translators have taken the liberty of altering it to "three years," which is the time named in the Mosaic law. But such an emendation is as needless as it is

unwarrantable. The very extravagance of the exaggeration adapts it all the better to the prophet's purpose. They might multiply their services to the most unheard of and impossible extent; they might bring their tithes not merely every three years, as the law enjoined, but every three days, and it would do them no good.

In the beautiful description of the heavens, as testifying to God's glory, in Ps. xix, the third verse reads, in our version, "There is no speech nor language *where* their voice is not heard;" as though its universality was the thought insisted upon. Wherever any human speech is found, that is, to all mankind, this voice of the heavens addresses itself. But the italic word, "*where*," which gives this turn to the thought, has nothing corresponding to it in the original. The true translation is "There is no speech, nor language; their voice is not heard," that is to say, the utterance of God's praise by the skies is not in words; it is voiceless and silent. Its universality is not affirmed until the next verse, "Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world."

In Ps. lxxvii: 13, who is *so* great a God as *our* God?—*so* and *our* are both in italic, and both weaken the effect. It should read, "Who is a great God like God?" To compare the deities that others serve with *our* God, and admit that they are great, but not so great as he, does not present them in such decided and glaring contrast as it does to deny at once their greatness and their deity, and to set them over against him who is not merely our God, but God—God, absolutely and exclusively, the only being who can properly be so called.

Ps. civ. speaks of the copious rains, with which God watereth the hills from his chambers, causing grass and herb to grow, and adds verse 16, "The trees of the Lord are full," have drank their fill, that is, from these abundant showers. It is both needless and a belittling limitation of the meaning to add the italic words found in our version, "The trees of the Lord are full *of sap*."

And to add but one more illustration of this point. Ps. lxxviii: 19, reads, in the common English version, "Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us *with benefits*, even the God of our salvation." The words, "*with benefits*," are in italic, and there is no suggestion of the sort in the original. The

load referred to is not from God, but from man, and instead of consisting of benefits, is the burden of oppression. The correct rendering is, "Blessed be the Lord day by day; who ever lays a load upon us God is our salvation;" that is to say, whatever be our burdens he will rescue us.

Art. III.—JESUS AND THE RESURRECTION.

By THOMAS H. SKINNER, D.D., Cincinnati, Ohio.

HUMANLY judging, it was a superhuman undertaking for a few Jews, poor fishermen of Galilee, and Saul of Tarsus, a disinherited son and recent convert, to establish the name and Gospel of Jesus Christ in the chief cities of the Roman empire, and so to establish them as to secure their eventual triumph throughout the whole world.

Here was a new thing upon the earth. There had been nothing like it in all previous history. There has been nothing like it in all subsequent history. No mind could deduce the idea of the actual person and work of Christ from the Old Testament Scriptures, or from anything else. Those who took these Scriptures as the basis of their Messianic expectations, formed a totally different conception both of his person and his mission. Some time after his appearance in the world, there was found to be a marvelous congruity between the Old Testament statements and the living Christ of Galilee. The promises that ran through the Bible, of a Seed that should bruise the head of the serpent; of one in whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed; of a prophet, like unto, but superior to, Moses; of a king, in comparison with whom David and Solomon were as nothing; of a priest, before whom Melchisedec and Aaron would pale—a priest upon a throne; of a Messiah who should be despised and rejected of his people, and suffer and die as an atoning sacrifice—all this became clear and vivid. But so intermingled and seemingly conflicting were these descriptions, that no Jew, no Gentile, ever had a

just conception of the actual, veritable Christ in his mind before his advent, and no god or goddess, no priest, no king, no hero, no teacher, no martyr, no mortal, was ever heard of that bore resemblance to him. And since his disappearance from the world, all the "false christs" that arose in Judea, all reformers, and propagators of new religions, such as Mahomet, Swedenborg, Irving, all, of whatever country, name, or pretensions, have been so utterly unlike Jesus Christ as never rightfully to be named in comparison with him. He stands solitary and alone, alike in human history and in human mythology. He was an humble and obscure man, who wrought at the bench of a carpenter till he was thirty years of age, when he became a public teacher and reformer; proclaiming the highest morality ever taught on the earth; enforcing with utmost sanctions and personal example, supreme love to God, and a love to man like that to oneself; a love to the poor and neglected, to enemies and persecutors; honesty, integrity, and universal righteousness; courtesy, contentment, and chastity—all welling up from the secret life of the soul, from a new heart and a holy spirit. He inculcated a nobility, generosity, and magnanimity of character before unheard of, to be evinced in self-denials, self-sacrifices, and consecration to the good of others. And with all his personal humility and unearthly teaching, he boldly and persistently claimed to be the only Son and equal of the Eternal God—omniscient, omnipresent, and almighty—profoundly intimate, yea, one with the Father. He announced himself a King, the King of kings and Lord of lords, possessing all power, rule, and authority in heaven and on earth. The mightiest and proudest monarch and conquerer never dreamed of royalty so supreme, of dominion so vast and enduring. This strange, unique, before unconceived and inconceivable Person, spent three years in his ministry; a ministry filled with words and deeds of surpassing love, a love as incomprehensible as were either his person or his claims. By his strange and unhuman life he brought upon himself the enmity of the priests and rulers and chief men of his people, which culminated in his arrest and trial before Pontius Pilate, followed by an ignominious death, and his burial in the sepulchre of Joseph, of Arimathea.

Such a life, closed by such a death, was utterly unanticipated,

and in itself is a dark and insoluble enigma. He had proved himself possessed of ample power to prevent his execution and death, but he did not use it. He, calmly, for reasons all commanding to himself, chose to suffer, to agonise, to die. As he said, "No man taketh my life from me. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again."

Now, according to the Scriptures, this enigmatical life and voluntary death of Christ are of the very essence of Christianity; and yet, peculiar and marvelous as were that life and that death, had the career of Christ closed with his burial, there could have been no intelligible Old Testament, no New Testament, no Church, no Christendom, no hope of heaven, no fear of hell. His name would speedily have perished from among men. A dead Christ could not make a living religion. A crucified Christ, moldering in the tomb, never could have moved and shaken to its centre and revolutionized the Roman empire, and on the ruins of its idolatry and pagan civilization built up historic Christendom. A dead Christ could awaken neither faith, nor hope, nor zeal, nor sacrifice in his cause. Nothing but disappointment, dismay, and despair on the part of his friends, would follow his final destruction. His death would be a death-blow to any religion he might have proclaimed in his life.

Thus we reach the one conclusive, all-interpreting, all-powerful fact, that Jesus, crucified, dead, and buried, *rose* from the dead. He came out of the tomb a living, immortal man. A more stupendous, transcendent event cannot be conceived, and it is impossible to exaggerate its importance. The religion, civilization, and progress of Europe and America are founded upon it. It is an event which throws back its radiance upon the death, life, and birth of Christ, upon all the Old Testament types and prophecies and promises; an event which created the New Testament, and gave vitality to Christian morality and faith and hope; an event which is more and more changing the face of the world, and is destined to purify and bless the earth with peace, righteousness, and all prosperity, and to crown the race with everlasting honor and glory.

This event formed the staple and substance of apostolic discourse. It was specifically for their testimony to this fact, that the apostles were selected and trained. "Him God raised

up on the third day, and shewed him openly ; not to all the people, but to witnesses chosen of God, even to us.”* When Judas had hanged himself, Peter declared that “one must be chosen and ordained in his stead, to be a witness with us of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus.”† The prominence thus given to this event was well and wisely ordered. The condition of the world was such, that, in laying the foundations of Christianity, it became absolutely necessary to insist upon and establish this as a regnant, outstanding, incontestible fact. It could not be treated as a subordinate and secondary matter.

In later years other truths have been brought to the forefront. In the fourth century the Trinity and the Person of Christ were regarded as of preëminent importance, and absorbed the mind of the church. In the sixth and seventh centuries, the fall of man in Adam, and his spiritual condition in consequence, were the chief topics of thought, writing, and discussion. In the sixteenth century, justification by faith alone, without works, loomed up into singular grandeur and power. Again, in the revolving circle of time, “Jesus and the Resurrection” is emerging into a position of first importance and significance.

There is abroad in the world a vast amount of thought and speculation, whose tendencies and statements are such as to unsettle the Christian faith by unsettling and upheaving its deepest foundations. It is intrenched in the broad and noble domain of science, and is put forth, enforced, and illustrated by minds of unusual power and culture. It has penetrated and impressed large sections of society through books and lectures, magazines and tracts, and newspapers and conversations. In its spirit and tone it is exceedingly dogmatic and confident, often contemptuous and flippant. Its pretensions are enormous. It aims at nothing less than the overthrow and annihilation of the venerable fabric of Christianity, and to place itself on the very throne of the universe.

Unquestionably, the most effective answer to all this would be found in the consistency, beneficence, and blessedness of the lives of professing Christians. Where rare and precious fruits abound, the tree is accounted worthy and vigorous. “So is the will of God, that with well-doing we put to silence

• Acts x : 41.

† Acts i : 22.

the ignorance of foolish men,"* and by our simple faith and manifest godliness, we should prove that the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.

But our religion has always needed other defenses ; partly because of the palpable shortcomings, inconsistencies, and worldliness of the church ; partly because of the distortions and misrepresentations and high-handed abuses practiced in its name ; and partly because the wise and mighty and noble of this world resist, as by an irrepressible instinct, the humbling, self-renouncing, and condemning teachings of the religion of the cross. And when they cannot put it down by physical force, as for several centuries they attempted to do, they will bring all the urgency of their intellectual and acquired resources, all their reason and rhetoric, and wit and ridicule, to compass their end. Hence, in all ages, those who have been set for the defense of the gospel, have ever been ready to come to the front, and utter good, brave, and strong words, urge clear and solemn arguments, and assail the citadel of the foes of the blessed religion they maintain. There is a vast library of so-called apologetic or defensive Christianity, and its service has been incalculable.

The leaders in the school of thought to which we now refer have one general drift, if not avowed purpose, and that is, to get rid of a personal and living God, and so of Christianity, by showing that he is wholly unnecessary in the assertion of the stability, unvariableness, unchangeableness, and omnipresence of what they call the laws or order of nature. These are accounted all-sufficient for all things, and therefore there is no place for God, or for Jesus Christ, as his only Son and our Redeemer. With them nature is all inclusive. Anything beyond nature, anything above nature, anything other than nature, is denied as a sheer impossibility. Whether God, in the beginning, *created* the universe in substance and in germ, and disposed it in its orderly motion and progress, is a question which puzzles and baffles most of these teachers. But the universe once existing and put into working order, they all agree that any interference with, any suspension, any alteration of this order, is inadmissible. Providence and Redemption are both

excluded ; and the Bible record of miracles and prophecies, of spiritual and eternal and divine revelations, the entire scheme of Christianity, is unreliable, unhistoric, legendary, and mythological.

Of course, if this absolute and universal proposition respecting nature and its laws could be established, if these men could prove their doctrine, the entire fabric of our religion would be demolished. If this proposition is true, there *can* be no real exceptions ; apparent exceptions are only such in appearance, and must be explained away. We all agree in this. As the Apostle Paul, in an analogous case, argues, if the broad and absolute statement, "there be no resurrection of the dead," is correct, then it follows, inevitably, that Christ is not risen. But in both these cases, the general and the specific, the proof is not yet produced. Such propositions, in their very nature, are incapable of demonstration. If all things, from the beginning of the creation, had continued to this day without interruption or change, this would not prove their inherent and necessary unchangeableness. The shining of a star ten millions of ages would not prove that that star would *never* cease to shine. If no man, not even Christ, had ever been raised from the dead, this would not prove that no one ever would be in all the future. The mind of man is too limited to collect and arrange and pronounce judgment upon all the data requisite to such sweeping and momentous conclusions. And it is sad, inexpressibly sad, to see so many of our writers and speakers, so many of our bright and cultured young men and maidens, taken in the net of this pretentious, dazzling, and fascinating sophistry, that thus overrides and ignores the very first principles of logical reasoning.

The assumption, the fundamental proposition, that nature includes all things and excludes everything but itself, God and Christ and heaven and hell, must be demonstrated beyond all peradventure, must shine like the sun in a cloudless sky, before any living soul ventures his destiny upon it, by rejecting in its name the Christian religion. But this has been the course of multitudes from the beginning ; science, falsely so called, as well as "old wives' fables," have carried them away. It is no strange thing, however sad and painful it may be, that is happening in our day. When every scientific atheist and doubter and

reviler lies beneath the clod of the valley, Christian faith and hope, Christian peace and glory, will survive in undiminished, ever-increasing power.

Christians hold to "the order of nature," to the uniformity, certainty, and dependableness of its laws, as truly as do our adversaries. We believe, that "while the earth remaineth, seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease."* Only, with this we believe more. We believe in powers *above* nature, which work *in* nature, without disturbing its harmony. We believe in an omnipresent, ever-being, ever-active God. We believe in mental, moral, and spiritual forces, that are free and responsible. We believe in the presence and operations of the Holy Ghost, independent of, never infringing upon, yet controlling the vital powers in the material and mental spheres. And we believe in real, veritable, actual miracles, in the exercise of divine energy upon and in the very laws of nature themselves, suspending and reversing them, and introducing new and supernatural effects; and we believe that such miracles are at the very foundation of all revealed religion, that without them there could be no such religion.

Now, as we have seen, we are roundly, emphatically told that a miracle is impossible. To make this assertion is easy; to buttress the assertion with a great show of learning and plausible statement is very easy; but actually to prove it is another matter. If we can produce *one* miracle, a true, veritable, and demonstrative and divine interposition, which is above and other than the order of nature, this finishes and closes the argument. Its foundations are destroyed, and the superstructure falls and crumbles. There is nothing more to be said in its defense. The confident and proudly asserted proposition is gone; and we claim the miracles of the Bible, one and all, to be just such divine interpositions.

In making this broad claim, we are met with the reply, that these miracles, so called, are not properly attested; that having been wrought among a very ancient, very ignorant, and superstitious people, incapable of a scientific judgment upon them, they are without exception improbable, and that most of them are absurd on their face—in fact, that they are inherently im-

* Genesis viii : 22.

possible. This is a common answer to the claim we make. The reply is worked up after this manner: certain of the recorded miracles are selected, which, taken by themselves, look very improbable, such as the standing still of the sun and moon in the valley of Ajalon; the falling of the walls at Jericho at the blast of the rams' horns; the speaking of Balaam's ass; Jonah in the belly of the fish three days and three nights; the three young Jews in the burning, fiery furnace—and we are asked, are such things credible? Are they not simply ridiculous, if taken for truth? They can only be creatures of a bold fancy; exaggerations of a people who deemed themselves the exclusive favorites of Heaven; they are like the myths and legends of unhistoric periods in other nations. And these, being thus disposed of, of course the book that reports them is discredited as a sober and serious revelation from God, no better than the works of Plutarch, or Zoroaster, or Mohammed.

All this, which is supplementary to the fundamental scientific position of our adversaries, may be considered very shrewd and smart—a happy way of putting contempt upon the ablest and best minds of the last eighteen centuries. But is this sound reasoning? Is this a fair or honorable method of treating the foundations of that religion, which, with all its perversions and abuses, has been the mightiest power for good in human history?

The central miracle of the Bible, that which gives meaning, probability, and certainty to all the rest, and to all the teachings of the book, is *the resurrection of Jesus Christ*. It is the one, the only key to the Scriptures, the clue to a labyrinth which else is an utter maze and mystery, the light streaming through all the ages from the creation to the judgment, from Paradise lost to Paradise regained. This was the view of the Apostle Paul. Nothing in all the past, nothing in all the future, was of any value, except as "Jesus and the Resurrection" gave it value. If this miracle could not be established, the Bible could not rightly command the obedience of men as the Book of God. "If the dead rise not," says he, "then is not Christ raised; and if Christ be not raised, our preaching is vain and your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they that are fallen asleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable." * Un-

less he was raised again for our justification, we are still condemned and lost. The whole argument is surrendered by the apostle, if Christ was not raised from the dead ; and he, with the most unshaken confidence, with the completest satisfaction of his reason, his judgment, and his heart, hinged every thing, for time and for eternity, upon it. It is perfectly evident, that if Christ was raised from the dead, then the proposition that miracles are impossible is once and for all disproved. And next, all the miracles of the Bible are put upon their proper basis, and their peculiar character ceases to be an objection against them, and as they are part and parcel of an entire scheme of Divine revelation, they become not only not difficult, but easy of credit and acceptance. Yea, and more ; such an indispensable cornerstone is the Resurrection of Christ, that if previously every other miracle of the Bible had been received, the failure to sustain this will cause the entire arch of Divine revelation to fall to pieces.

Now, if the resurrection of Jesus Christ actually occurred, it is admitted on all sides to be a supernatural event, a true, indubitable miracle. It is an effect beyond all the known or conceived or conceivable causes in nature. It is a direct reversal of the order of things. It is beyond finite, beyond measurable power. According to what is accounted the fixed, inviolable order of nature, Jesus Christ once dead must remain dead. His soul once severed from its vital union with his body, must remain severed. The tissues, the blood, the muscles, the skin, the bones, every organ and part of the physical structure, must degenerate and dissolve, and eventually disappear from all association with the body that was buried. But, contrary to this known and undisputable order of nature, the New Testament records declare, with the utmost distinctness, with an amount of evidence so great that if it were multiplied ten-fold it would not be more satisfactory, staking everything divine and human in religion upon the declaration, they declare that Christ did not remain dead, that his soul and body did reunite in an indissoluble union, that his flesh did not see corruption, and that on the morning of the third day he emerged from the tomb the very same man he was before his crucifixion.

What then is their witness to this most stupendous, con-

fessedly miraculous event? What is the nature of that evidence upon which the entire religion of Christ is made to rest? These are fair, these are necessary questions, and the answers to them must be full and complete; the fact asserted must be put beyond the range of all reasonable doubt; it must be established so clearly as to command the assent of every candid, unprejudiced mind. The friends of Christianity are more deeply interested in this than its adversaries can possibly be.

Let the precise thing we seek, the specific thing to be established, be distinctly before us; it is the simple fact, that Jesus Christ, who lived in Palestine thirty-three years, and was crucified, dead, and buried, lived again. This, only this, all this, is the question—*How* this revivification, this resurrection was produced, the means and methods and processes by which it was accomplished, are not within the scope of the evidence offered. We leave this out of the discussion, and fix our attention on this one thing, was Jesus Christ alive again after he was dead? And in settling it we need no theories, no philosophy, no acquaintance with science; we need nothing but common-sense.

If we can get ourselves into this posture of mind, a very large portion of the difficulties that have environed the subject, vanish. Those who deny the fact, do it, not so much by discrediting the specific proofs offered for its establishment, as by raising and pressing the inquiries, is it credible, is it possible, is it not absurd? Who can conceive it? What power exists adequate to its production? And thus the mind is drawn to what is unlikely and marvelous and incomprehensible, and the discussion is diverted to matters beyond all common experience and observation. And it is here that modern scientific infidelity labors and creates confusion and doubt.

But this is all a forbidden field. Neither science, nor philosophy, nor evidential religion may enter it. All supernatural action, all creative work, all miraculous processes are, in their very nature, beyond our perception, beyond our comprehension, beyond our powers of observation. We have no faculties by which to note and compare and judge them. The interior secret process of such an event as the resurrection of Christ from the dead, like many of the processes of nature itself, cannot be discerned and explained. *How* the seed which we put into the ground, and which there corrupts and dissolves, "dies,"

as the apostle expresses it, is vitalized and germinates and brings forth fruit, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear, the wisest husbandman or philosopher that ever lived knows not. As we know not what is the way of the spirit, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child, even so we know not the *how*, or the *method*, of the working of a miracle. It is unsearchable, past finding out.

What then are we to do, in order to settle beyond all fair controversy, and to justify the faith of Christendom in the fundamental, all-verifying miracle of the resurrection of Jesus Christ? We answer, that it is sufficient that we simply establish the fact that he was actually alive again after he was dead; and we do this by the testimony of the human senses—of touch, hearing, and sight, appropriately reported and authenticated. These senses have to do only with sensible things—with the objects handled, heard, and seen, with these only.

That Jesus Christ lived in Palestine, a man among men, is known, just as we know that Alexander, Hannibal, Nero, Socrates, Plato, and Plutarch lived, each a man among men. Only, the proof of this with respect to Jesus Christ is immensely superior, compared with that which we have for the existence of these men. Their fellow-men saw, heard, handled them; walked and ate and drank with them; and competent contemporary writers recorded their lives and deeds. We have not the least difficulty in believing their testimony. The person and life of Jesus Christ were evidenced in precisely the same way; only, the records are far more authentic, and can far more easily be sifted, compared, and verified. But on this point argument is needless. Those who deny the resurrection of Jesus Christ, admit in that very denial his existence and life before his death.

That he was crucified, died, and was buried, are facts known, just as the fact of the death and burial of any other man is known. The proofs of death and burial are proofs to the senses of men, and they are so sure, so demonstrative, that probably not one person out of a hundred million is buried when he is not dead. The evidences of the actual death of Christ are now, by the most extreme critical school, admitted to be full and complete, and by those with whom we are now dealing, no attempt

is made to discredit the fact of his death any more than of his life ; their whole argument turns upon the impossibility of his resurrection, and this, because it would be a contradiction, a violation of inviolable laws. Nevertheless, as we shall see, this impossible event was possible, and did actually occur ; the dead Christ did live again ; the buried Christ did come out of the tomb.

Now, this fact is known, precisely as the facts of his previous life, death, and burial are known—through the senses of those who bore witness on the subject ; and the records of the evidence are received precisely as the records of the evidence of the existence of any man who lived in the past are received.

It is to be noted here, that no one pretends to have seen Christ rise from the dead. No one saw the reanimation of his dead body ; no one saw the first signs of life ; no one saw the process of the transcendent resuscitation and reunion of the soul and body. All this is beyond the range of any testimony that is offered or exists. We perfectly agree with our adversaries, when they tell us, that "it is not of the nature of human testimony to reach to the supernatural." They cannot urge this more strongly than we do. But their urging it reveals the essential weakness of their position. They are fighting a man of straw. They totally misapprehend the point of the Gospel evidence, the subject-matter of the New Testament attestations. They hold that a demonstration of the inadequacy of testimony to prove the supernatural cause, settles the whole question. On the other hand, we hold that it has nothing to do with it. The inscrutable *cause* of the resurrection is a very different thing from the *fact* of the resurrection, and it is on this, and on this alone, that the testimony bears. This, as the most cursory reading of the Evangelists shows, is all they profess to prove. Their testimony relates, simply and only, to the living presence, the actual existence among men of Jesus Christ subsequently to his crucifixion, death, and burial. And what we affirm is, that on this subject the evidence is of the very same kind, just as sufficient, just as conclusive, as is that of his having been previously a living man, and his having died. All the narratives are confined to this simple, sensible, most easily demonstrated fact—Christ was alive again after he had been dead. The miracle—the super-

natural, causal agency that effected the resurrection—as we shall see, will take care of itself.

Let us seek to make this matter clear, and in doing so we must strip the subject of everything irrelevant, and hold to the one thing, which established, establishes once and for all and forever the Christian religion.

Suppose that some of the members of a church, who had known their pastor for several years, had been absent from the place of their residence during the three weeks previous to a given Sabbath, and had returned on the Saturday night preceding. They occupy their places on the Sabbath morning in the sanctuary. They see the form, the face, the motions, the gestures of their pastor; they hear and note his familiar tones and accents. His personal, living, real presence, is to them a fact beyond all question. They would take their oaths upon it the next day. No matter what might have happened to him during their absence, the evidence of their eyes and ears would be demonstrative to their minds, that he was there, standing before and speaking to them. He might, like Paul, have been caught up to the third heavens during their absence. He might, like Lazarus, or the daughter of Jairus, or Christ, have died; if he stands before them, accredited by their senses a living man, then he so stands their indubitable, actual, living pastor. Should a thousand persons tell them that during their absence he had been struck dead, and that they had followed him to the tomb, it would not alter their convictions; they might doubt the declarations, but they would not doubt their senses. And if to Christ's contemporaries the very same proof, which thus compels the assurance and confidence that he, whom these parishioners had so well known and heard, is the very same person who preached on the Sabbath morning named, if that very evidence was given to them, only increasingly and from week to week, with additional, tangible, ocular, and audible signs and proofs, then, unless their veracity and competency, as human hand and eye and ear witnesses, can be impeached, their testimony becomes conclusive—demonstrative beyond all cavil.

Many things have been written on the fallibility and unreliability of the testimony of the senses, and doubtless men have often been deceived, and have only thought they

saw and heard and handled the objects they declared existed; but, notwithstanding this, the evidence, the normal evidence, of the senses, within their own proper domain, is ordinarily infallible. The correction of mistakes is easy, and on most matters, on matters such as that now before us, there are no mistakes to be corrected. The actual existence of the houses, streets, trees, the horses, wagons, carriages, the men, women, and children, we are conversant with through our senses, is undoubted, indubitable. Dead persons are known to be dead, and living persons are known to be living, and the simple statement of the fact by those with whom they are connected, settles the matter in all parts of the world.

Now, is there proof of the fact that to the senses of fair and competent men Jesus Christ was alive after his crucifixion, and that for forty days he was with them, going in and out before them, eating and drinking and talking with them? If this was so, there is no difficulty about his ascension. Bible Christianity is rock-founded on the resurrection, and all the winds and storms raised by scientific men may beat upon the divine fabric and beat in vain. It stands and will stand to the end of time.

We here hold in abeyance the testimony to the death of the Lord Jesus, and confine ourselves to his life during the period named. If the pastor, before referred to, was attested to his people, by their eyes and ears, as a living man, what would be the character of their conviction, if, for six successive weeks they saw him, handled and felt him, felt his flesh and his bones, ate and drank and walked and conversed with him? How substantial and irrefragable, how absolute, their knowledge would be?

The principal, though by no means the only, witnesses in the case of Christ were twelve men, whom he had selected for this very purpose. As Peter declared, "Him God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly; not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead."* They had companied with him all the time that he went in and out among them—from the baptism of John until the day of his death. They knew him most intimately. His size and form, and

* Acts x : 40, 41.

features and expression, and voice and mein, and manners and gait, were indelibly impressed upon their minds. No persons could be more competent to recognize and identify and know him, should they at any time meet with and see him. At the most only three days intervened before he was with them again, and these meetings continued for six weeks. At first some of them could not believe their own senses. His terrible and bloody death and his burial had just occurred. No person, within their knowledge, existed who could bring him to life again; and his reappearance startled and alarmed them so that they took him for a spirit, or thought they saw a vision; and one of them, on the report of his being alive again, declared, "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe."* But their incredulity was speedily and thoroughly overcome, and they could not resist the evidences by which their familiar friend and companion and Lord made himself known to them. Thus their testimony is, in one sense, that of unwilling, or, to say the least, that of incredulous witnesses, and the stronger on that account. Let us briefly survey their testimony.

On the morning of the third day after his death, certain women went to the sepulchre, and found it empty of its dead. As they hastened to tell the disciples, Jesus met them, saying, "All hail!" And they came and held him by the feet, and worshiped him. When they had gone, Mary Magdalene, standing and weeping at the empty tomb, turned about and saw Jesus, but knew not that it was he. Jesus saith unto her, "Why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou?" She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, "Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away." Jesus saith unto her, "Mary!" She turned herself and saith unto him, "Rabboni, Master!" and a most interesting conversation ensued. On the same day Peter saw him, but of this interview nothing beyond the bare fact is recorded. A little later, two disciples on their way to Emmaus, absorbed in conversation about the crucifixion and the flying rumors of Christ's resurrection, were met by him, who joined

* John xx : 25.

with them in the conversation. On reaching the village he sat down at meat with them ; upon which they immediately discovered and recognized and knew him. In the evening of the same day, ten of the apostles—Thomas being absent—were assembled at supper, and Jesus came and stood in their midst and saith unto them, "Peace be unto you." And when he had so said, he showed unto them his hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad when they saw the Lord. The next account is a week later. The eleven were together, and Jesus stood in their midst, and again saluted them. Then saith he to Thomas, "Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing." And he exclaimed, "My Lord and my God!" Afterward he appeared to several disciples at the Sea of Galilee, when, at his word, they cast their net and drew it in full of fishes, and they ate and drank and communed together, and the question is three times put to Peter, "Lovest thou me?" Then we have a simple record of his meeting with James. Next a meeting with the apostles and above five hundred brethren. And again with the eleven on Mt. Olivet, whence he ascended to heaven, a cloud receiving him out of their sight. There were many other interviews to which St. John alludes when he says: "Many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples." And St. Luke intimates the same: "Unto the apostles, whom he had chosen; to whom, also, he shewed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God."

No testimonial narrative could be more simple, more natural, more satisfactory. It is very noticeable that no other test than that of the senses, the senses of these persons who had known him so long and so well, and were so fully qualified to identify him, is suggested. Eye witnesses, ear witnesses, hand witnesses, give their testimony. They saw, heard, and handled the man Christ Jesus, just as they had done for three years previously. They knew him during those forty days through the same senses by which they had known him during those years. It is, in all the circumstances, utterly absurd to suppose that the man whom they thus recognized, was not the same Jesus they had known before, but a stranger, imposing on them

with points of nails in his hands and feet, and a spear wound in his side. It is equally absurd to suppose that they saw and heard, and handled and talked and walked and ate and drank with a ghost, a human shadow, during those six weeks. Had they known nothing of his death, and met him afterward, it would be precisely the same. If some of his disciples had gone to Rome a few months before his crucifixion, and, having heard nothing of his death, had returned during the forty days and met him at the Sea of Galilee, would they not be just as good, just as strong, just as reliable witnesses to his person and presence then as they were before?

Until the evidences of the common senses of men about things most palpable, most easily discerned and known, about the existence, presence, and speech of living human beings, and about the death and burial of such beings—until this, which lies at the foundation of everything connected with the life of man on earth, is done away with and made of no account, the fact of Christ's resurrection must stand. To deny that Jesus Christ was alive when so many men asserted his being actually present with, visible to, audible by them, is to overturn the foundations of all historical knowledge, and empty the past of all reality. The resurrection itself was not seen; the miracle itself could not be directly attested by the senses. The New Testament does not attempt to do anything more than to produce abundant evidence that Jesus Christ lived, died, and lived again; and these are external, material, sensible facts, each and all of them being verified by the senses of men. This is all, and this is enough. The miracle, the interposition of almighty power effecting the stupendous result, arresting and reversing the order of nature, is not the subject of human observation and testimony. This *is an inference* which the mind spontaneously, instinctively, and irresistibly draws from the facts observed by the senses. The laws of the mind compel the conclusion. We do not reason about it; we take it by an instant, immediate intuition. Did those women, those disciples, those apostles, those hundreds of his followers, did their eyes see Jesus Christ alive after his death, did their ears hear him, did their hands handle him? If they did, then *God* must have raised him from the dead; the miracle took place, and the foundations of Christianity are immovably established.

The test of absolute truth is the impossibility of its contradiction. If Jesus Christ was seen alive again after his death, it is impossible not to *infer* his resurrection by a divine miracle. No amount of ingenuity can divert the necessary judgment of the mind which it reaches so quickly. The conclusion is inevitable, all scientific objection to the contrary, notwithstanding. Evermore, in logic, in philosophy, in common-sense, in daily life, this principle and this criterion are accepted as the conclusive establishment of indestructible, absolute truth. God will have to make us over again, and constitute our minds on different laws, before we can avoid this conclusion. For what is the evidence that all men accept with reference to the fact that Christ did live before his crucifixion? The evidence of the senses—ocular, audible, tangible demonstration; the very demonstration that science says is supreme in its sphere; just the testimony that the opponents to miracles take above all other witnesses. By what right do men, who accept the testimony of the senses to the fact of Christ's life before his crucifixion, turn about and impeach its validity to the fact of his life after his crucifixion? Either there is no evidence that Christ did live on earth at all before his death, or there is just as valid evidence that he did live after his death. Either Christ rose from the dead or he never existed on earth. Prove to us that he ever lived among men, and we will prove that he rose from the dead by the same evidence. Deny that he rose from the dead, and we defy any mortal to prove that he ever appeared on the earth.

There are some things demonstrably established by the resurrection of Christ from the dead, which it may be well to note before we lay down our pen.

1. The seal and sanction of the Almighty was set upon his person, teachings, works, and claims. Whatever he declared himself to be, God hereby avouched and verified. For God raised him from the dead. The creation of the world is no more a result of divine working, than is the resurrection of a really dead man to life. "This Jesus hath God raised up," and that by the exceeding greatness of his power. Infinite wisdom, justice, goodness, and might combined to rescue the dead and buried Christ from the power of death and the corruption of the grave. The thought that any other than divine

power wrought this effect, is, as we have seen, simply preposterous. No mere man, no creature, by his own force of will, or skill, ever pretended to give life to the dead. Up to the time of his death, however, the exalted and vast pretensions and assumptions of Christ, as the Messiah of God, as one sent from heaven, as the Son of God, as the Light, Life, and Saviour of the world, the Lord of men, angels, and devils, the possessor of all power in heaven and earth, and the final Judge, were to human vision involved in uncertainty. His crucifixion, death, and burial seemed to falsify them all. These proved him, beyond all question, to be human—a weak, suffering, mortal man. These put him among transgressors. The black mark of sin, the dire curse of God's law, was fixed deep in his body and in his soul. Death seized upon him. The grave held him in its embrace. But though he was crucified through weakness, yet he lived again by the power of God. It was not possible for him to be holden of death and the grave. On the morning of the third day he broke the bars of his prison. He put his foot on the neck of Satan, through death destroying him who had its power: spoiling evil principalities and powers: he triumphed over them, and seizing the keys of the invisible worlds, he rose exulting, and exclaiming: "I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold, I am alive forevermore, and have the keys of hell and of death." This stupendous miracle was God's seal of friendship and favor set upon Christ.

2. The resurrection of Christ proved him to be God. His birth, life, death, and burial proved him to be a man, one of us; his resurrection attested his divinity. Before his death, he claimed to be the Son of God, equal with God, one with God, omniscient, almighty, truly divine. His resurrection made that claim good. "He was declared to be the Son of God, with power, by the resurrection from the dead." Because he was man, he died. Because he was God, he rose from the dead. Thus Jesus of Nazareth is demonstrated to be God, manifest in the flesh, over all, blessed forever.

3. The resurrection of Christ is the natural precursor of his ascension and session at God's right hand. The apostle speaks of all these as the result of a continuous exertion of the divine energy,* as if one act produced them all: "The exceeding great-

* Eph. i: 19-23.

ness of God's power, which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead and set him," etc. He rose to die no more. He conquered death, which has no more dominion over him. His resurrection was to immortality, to glory, to ineffable dignity and honor.

4. The resurrection of Christ establishes the divinity of the Bible. The entire book is the testimony of God concerning him. Moses, David, prophets, apostles—all wrote of him. The Old Testament is full of types, symbols, images, emblems, shadows, forms, ceremonies, prophetic names, places, things, events, declarations—all relating to him. Had he not risen, the Bible would have been to us a book of fables, myths, visions, legends—powerless and meaningless. But being not a dead, but a risen, living, exalted prince and potentate, we have the complete fulfillment and consummation of the Old Testament Scriptures. As Paul affirmed at Antioch, "We declare unto you glad tidings, now that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us, their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." * The resurrection of Christ makes it easy to believe—yea, makes it hard not to believe—all that his apostles wrote, since what they wrote was but the reassertion and development of what he himself, the faithful and true Witness, had uttered.

5. The resurrection of Christ makes him a true Saviour. All his miracles, all his teachings, all his sufferings, all his bloodshedding, his death and burial, would have been made void had he not risen. A dead Christ would be a powerless Christ. His dying might have been an atonement, he might have borne our sins in his own body on the tree, but had he remained dead he never could have applied the benefits of his redemption to a single sinner. His resurrection, however, ratifies and renders effectual his redemption. "He was delivered for our offenses, but raised again for our justification." Pardon, acceptance, holiness, and glory are ours by reason of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. "If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." "It is Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again; who is even at the

* Acts xiii: 32, 33.

right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us." By his rising again, he brought life and immortality to light. This event is the one all-essential, bright exposition and illustration of his life, sufferings, and death. It shows that he neither lived nor died, he neither obeyed nor suffered for himself or on his own account. His life of perfect obedience was in order to procure a perfect righteousness for us. His death of agony and shame was the expiation of our guilt. His resurrection by the power of God was an absolution and discharge from all further obligation to obey and suffer on our account; it was an open divine acceptance of his redemption. "By his dying," says Bishop Pearson,* "we know he suffered for sin; by his resurrection we are assured that the sins for which he suffered were not his own. Had no man been a sinner, he had not died; had he been a sinner, he had not risen again; but dying for those sins which we committed, he rose from the dead to show that he had made full satisfaction for them, that we, believing in him, might obtain remission of our sins and justification of our persons."

Moreover, the sending forth of the Holy Spirit, for our conviction and renewal and illumination and sanctification and comfort, was absolutely dependent upon his ascension to heaven, which could not have been accomplished without his resurrection.

And then, by his rising he became the Lord, and Author of eternal life; as he said, "I am the resurrection and the life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live." "Because I live, ye shall live also." "If the spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his spirit that dwelleth in you." "Neither can such die any more, for they are like unto the angels, being the children of the resurrection." "For as we have borne the image of the earthly, so shall we bear the image of the heavenly,"—incorruptible, immortal, spiritual, powerful, resplendent as the king himself in his beauty.

Thus our whole salvation in this life and in that which is to come, in our bodies and in our souls, hinges upon the physical fact of the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth from the dead.

* *On the Creed*, p. 378; London, 1839.

Truly has it been said, "it is the most important article of the gospel, and the demonstration of all the rest."

6. Just as surely as Christ rose from the dead, just so surely and so literally will there be a universal resurrection, a general judgment, and eternal retributions in heaven and hell. This palpable, incontrovertible event settles, beyond all cavil, these tremendous futurities. They are rooted in and grow out of it, are inseparable from it, and chained to it by divine decrees and God's absolute veracity. He who admits that Christ was raised from the dead and is not a believing Christian, must stand convicted of intellectual absurdity and moral madness, for Christ raised from the dead, put it beyond all contingency, that he who neglects "the great salvation" is shut up to irretrievable and endless destruction.

Art. IV.—OUR INDIANS AND THE DUTY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH TO THEM.

By J. ELLIOT CONDUCT, Esq., New York.

THE subject of Indian affairs, ever since the formation of our Government, has been peculiarly perplexing, and beset with many difficulties. Had the Indians been slaves, the "gordian knot" would long ago have been untied; but as free born Americans, whom we could not enslave, and who were unfit for freedom, and to whom we conceded the original ownership of our vast territory, as such they have always presented a question full of anomalies, and demanding the most skillful treatment.

There were no precedents in history to which we could look for guidance; and for a century we have "blundered" along, temporizing with the difficulty, afraid to meet it boldly, and resorting to expedients confessedly weak and unjust to the Indian.

Nearly four hundred treaties have we made with them, and nearly four hundred times have we been the first to break the spirit, and often the letter, of these treaties. Gen. Harney, after many years of familiarity with our western Indians, states,

that in nearly every instance where a treaty has been broken, the white man has been the first to commit the offense.

Those who give but little attention to Indian affairs, take it for granted that the race is doomed to utter extermination, without thinking of the fact, that until they came in contact with white civilization, they were rapidly increasing in numbers.

Why have we been so unsuccessful in civilizing the Indian? Is our civilization not adapted to his nature, or has our presentation of civilized life been so faulty and made so unattractive as to drive him away from civilization? It is not difficult to condemn the errors of the past, or to find fault with the plans of the present. A subject so hedged about with danger and trouble is likely to be viewed in different lights, and receive as many plans and suggestions for improvement as character and circumstances might suggest.

In presenting some thoughts on this question, the writer may be permitted to state that they are the result of many years of patient study of the character, language, and habits of the civilized tribes in Indian Territory, as well as of the wilder tribes of Kioways, Comanches, etc., of the Southwest. We regret that the writer of the article in this REVIEW (July, 1875), on this subject, should charge any one with a "repetition of Absalom's craft," who advances views on the Indian Question opposed to the policy of the "Reservation System." The writer referred to is a missionary and teacher among the Nez Percé Indians, in Idaho, and certainly speaks from a standpoint that warrants the closest consideration, and his views demand and should receive the serious and thoughtful attention of the Christian public; but an honest difference of opinion on so important a subject is to be expected. Not only the temporal prosperity, but the spiritual condition of three hundred thousand of our American Indians, nay, the very existence of these Indians, depend on the action of our Government, and the earnest coöperation of the Christian people of our land in this decade. If our Indians are saved from extermination it must be the work of the coming ten years. The "Reservation Policy" has been tried for a century, and one of the arguments most frequently urged in its favor, is the rapid advance in civilization that has been attained by many of the tribes in Indian Territory, its friends claiming that these tribes are civilized as

a result of the Reservation Policy ; a proposition from which we entirely dissent.

What is the Reservation Policy?

It is the placing of a tribe of Indians in a country of defined limits, and forbidding the Indians of that tribe from going outside of those limits, and preventing all other people from living among them, unless by special permit. The writer, already referred to, would go even further than this, and "gather the entire Indian population into the Indian Territory, and make it the home of the Indian for all time to come;" nay, he would even use "force to persuade them to give up their accustomed haunts."

This policy had its origin in a spirit of covetousness, and by its adoption our fore-fathers the easier secured possession of the Indian lands. The Indians, allured by the promises of the whites, gave up large tracts of land and moved to a "Reservation," hoping to be protected in such Reservation "as long as grass grows and water runs." When have the Indians received the protection promised? When could the Government have kept its faith? It was impracticable. The onward march of civilization forced our Government to break its treaties, and a new treaty would be made, of like import, and as full of brilliant promises, only to be broken in its turn. Read the history, as told by the many treaties of the Leni Lenappe, or great tribe of Delaware Indians; the Indians who were our friends in the trying days of our Revolutionary history; "the friends of William Penn; the allies and soldiers of George Washington; the allies and soldiers of General Harrison," the great chief of whom, Hengue Pushees, was gratefully thanked by Washington for his invaluable services, and was made lieutenant-colonel for his courage, daring, and efficiency; read the history of this tribe, and see the effect of placing them upon a "Reservation," and then moving them from one Reservation to another, until to-day there is scarcely a Delaware Indian left to mourn over the sad history of his tribe.

It is interesting to note, that in the very first treaty with the Delawares, it was provided, "that they could form a State, and have a representative in Congress." This was in 1778, when the colonies were weak, and needed the aid of the fighting Delawares; and the Indians were dazzled with the fair and

glittering promise of elevation to the same political status with their white brothers, as implied by the privilege of "forming a State."

The story of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws has been often told, and only one conclusion has ever been reached by any Christian, giving it serious attention, and that is, that the United States Government committed a grievous wrong and crime in removing these tribes from their old home "by force," and placing them on a "Reservation" in the far Southwest.

General Scott, when ordered with the army to this work, said: "I am charged with the execution of the treaty with the Cherokees, by which they are to remove on the 23d of the present month, May, 1837. I am to cause the treaty to be carried into effect, and the Indians to remove—peaceably, if possible, but forcibly, if necessary.

"Should there be force, should there be butchery in the matter, we shall be damned to everlasting fame in a large portion of the country; in Europe, and throughout the civilized world; in song, in poetry, in oratory; in the pulpit, and in the lasting records of history; and who would wish to connect himself with such history?

"The treaty was made by about three-tenths of the Cherokee nation, and seven-tenths are in opposition to it, and will not go until they are carried away.

"The President says the treaty is the supreme law of the land, and Congress says so too, and it is not for me, a soldier, to disobey their orders in regard to it."

We all know how the removal was made, and how over ten thousand Indians of the several tribes perished from sickness and suffering caused by the removal.

Shall we repeat this page of our country's history, by causing a "forcible removal" of all the tribes to Indian Territory? We say, emphatically, never!

That these Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws have not remained savages—that they have not refused to learn of the white man's God—has been no fault of ours, for such wrongs as the white men committed against them were enough to make them our foes forever.

Old Menawa, a Creek chief, who had adopted, to a great ex-

tent, the manners and customs of the whites, and who had a pleasant home in Okfuskee town, to which he was much attached, secured a clause in the Creek treaty, by which the Indians who desired to remain in Georgia might do so, and have a fee-simple deed of their lands. But they were subsequently refused this right, and were rudely driven away. Menawa's home was occupied by a white man before his own family had left it, and, stung by this outrage and repeated wrongs committed by the whites, he exclaimed: "When I cross the great river, my desire is, that I may never again see the face of a white man."

When these tribes reached their new homes in the West, they were followed by devoted missionaries and teachers, by white mechanics, millwrights, blacksmiths, etc., and it is owing to the good work of these missionaries, and the good example of the few whites who went among them, intermarried with them and their children, and the constant introduction of white element in their midst (this not always of the best order), that these tribes have advanced so rapidly in civilization. The success of our missionaries among these tribes, in the face of most trying and embarrassing circumstances, is one of the most wonderful and encouraging of any missionary work ever attempted.

Another fact, to which too little importance has been attached, enters largely into this question, viz.: Every one of these tribes sends every year from ten to forty boys and girls to the high schools and colleges of the older States. At the close of their school or college term, after a few years of daily intercourse with white people, they return to their homes, sometimes with a wife or husband, and carry with them advanced views of civilization, and become teachers to their people, or take part in framing their laws.

For such causes these tribes have become civilized; not because they are on a "Reservation," and isolated from the rest of mankind. Had the strict "Reservation Policy" been enforced, they to-day would be as the Sioux or Cheyennes. To a certain extent, they have had constant attrition with civilized people, and are proportionately civilized.

The question arises, Could not this have been done far easier, much better, and without staining the pages of our country's history with blood, had we left them in their old homes in Georgia and Mississippi?

Their advancement was retarded a full generation by our cruel removal of them.

"These tribes had made such advances in civilization that, at the beginning of the present century, or, at least, within ten years afterward, the extent to which their agricultural and manufacturing operations were carried, seemed to entitle them to the appellation of a civilized people." (See *McCoy's History*.) In 1826 the Cherokees were so far advanced in civilization as to cause much jealousy on the part of Georgians, and led to complaints, through their legislature (we quote their own language), that the United States have managed "*so to add to the comforts of the Cherokees, and so instruct them in the business of husbandry, as to attach them so firmly to their country and to their homes, as almost to destroy the last ray of hope that they would ever consent to part with the Georgia lands.*"*

Most of our legislation with the Indian has been of a farcical character. Had we been honest, were we honest to-day, we would say in words, if we intend to carry out such a policy, what we say by our deeds: "Indians, you only, of all the people on the face of the earth, are unfit to be citizens of the United States. The Negro, the German, the Irishman, all are welcome; but you, Red Man, get you from our sight."

For this reason we pen the Indian in a "Reservation," which we usually guarantee to him "forever;" and so soon as we find the land valuable, either for minerals or agriculture, we devise a scheme to move him to a new "Reservation." Should there be valuable mines of silver or gold discovered in the Indian Territory, who so simple as to believe the land would not, in some way, be taken from them and opened to civilization."

The "Reservation Policy" is only a temporizing one. What was done in Georgia, may be done in Indian Territory. You may multiply treaties by hundreds, and our Supreme Court judges may decide that the language of the treaty vests the title of the lands in the Indians; but when the "wave of civilization" sweeps over the Reservation, some way will be devised to secure the lands to white settlers, and the poor Indian will be removed to some other location, where the farce can be repeated. These statements are not made in a spirit of censo-

* Report of the Committee of the Legislature, December 5, 1827.

riousness, but they are facts which grow out of the adoption of this policy, and which will exist as long as it is continued. The title to the lands in the Indian Territory, now held by the Indians, is in no sense stronger than the one they held formerly, and to know the final result, we need only to look forward, say twenty-five years, and see the influence which the States bordering on Indian Territory will have on its destiny and on its legislation.

Even now, Kansas on the north, Arkansas and Missouri on the east, and Texas on the south, with at least four completed railroads to the border of the Indian Nation, and many more projected, are using their utmost influence to secure the opening of the Territory to white settlers; *and it will be accomplished.*

It seems criminal to delude the Indians with the idea, that they are to hold their lands forever as an Indian nation. Let them be awakened to a sense of the impending destiny, and let them be taught the benefits of holding property in severalty, and be made ready to be made citizens. When that is accomplished, they need not fear the advent of the white man, but they will themselves petition that their Territory shall become a State, under the beautiful name of "Oklahoma," the Choctaw word for "Home of the red people."

We owe a duty to the civilized tribes in Indian Territory, to aid and encourage them in reaching a higher stage of civilization (see language of the treaties); and to place the wild Sioux, or Apaches, on their borders, or in their midst, would be as honorable as it would to place a thousand wild Dakotahs among the quiet Shaker settlements in New York.

The great error we commit toward the Indian, is failing to recognize in him that common humanity which should lead us to call all men brothers *and citizens*. They are men and women like ourselves; they have the same hearts to touch by kindness and warm by friendship, and the same love for home that is common to all mankind, in a greater or less degree.*

* "Naturally, the Indian has many noble qualities. He is the very embodiment of courage. Indeed, at times, he seems insensible of fear. If he is cruel and revengeful, it is because he is outlawed, and his companion is the wild beast. Let civilized man be his companion, and the association warms into life virtues of the rarest worth. Civilization has driven him back from the home he loved.—*See Report of Indian Peace Commissioners, 1868.*

There can be no high degree of civilization where everything is held in common, and the continuance of the Reservation system encourages this fatal policy. It fosters laziness and discourages enterprise. It pampers to the miserable sycophant, and depresses that independence of spirit which makes a good citizen. Let an Indian understand that he has a home that belongs to him, individually, and his children, and that cannot be alienated, and you instill the elements of a better manhood in his breast, and give him a grand start on the road to civilization. The Secretary of War, James Barbour, in a report made February 3, 1826, remarks: "Nothing, it is believed, has had a more injurious influence on our efforts to improve the condition of the Indians, than holding their land in common."

"Whether such a system may succeed, on a very limited scale, is yet to be ascertained. Past experience has left the strongest evidence against its practicability under less favorable auspices. The attempt of that kind in the first settlement of Virginia, and I believe in the early settlements elsewhere, conducted the Colonists to the very brink of ruin, from which they were rescued only by abandoning it. The distribution of the soil, and the individuality imparted to the avails of its cultivation, history informs us, instantly gave a new and favorable aspect to their condition." "If, therefore, the position be a just one, that every attempt at a community of property has eventuated unsuccessfully, even with civilized man, it is no matter of wonder that it should have been equally so with the savage."

In reference to the removal of the Indians to the Indian Territory, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his report for 1874, expresses these views: "The unoccupied portions of this country (Indian Territory) are sufficient in extent to furnish a homestead to every Indian family in the United States, and it has heretofore been considered feasible, eventually, to domicile a large majority of the Indians in this Territory.

"Experience, however, shows that no effort is more unsuccessful with an Indian than that which proposes to remove him from the place of his birth and the graves of his fathers. Though a barren plain, without wood or water, he will not voluntarily exchange it for any prairie or woodland, however inviting."

One of the tribes declared in council: "We are willing to work harder and have less in Dakotah, but are unwilling to run the risk of going away from a country which has been so long our home."

There seems to be but one solution to the difficulty, which is, to *educate and Christianize them where they are, and make them citizens*. It may take one, or even two, generations, but when accomplished, the Indian question is settled forever.

A great civilizing influence is to be found in our English language, and it is unfortunate that the past generation of Indians were not taught, when children, to speak and read the English tongue. Civilization would the more quickly have followed; and we are rejoiced to state, that in the schools that we have visited, among the Chickasaws and Choctaws, all the books used are in the English language, and the instruction by English-speaking tutors; and they discourage the use of the Indian dialect. The most civilized of Indian chiefs recommend that English be the language of the schools and the councils. Could all the tribes understand our language, one great barrier—the greatest barrier—to our free intercourse with them—would be removed.

It will be understood that the existing Reservation system is accepted as an inherited evil, to be continued only so long as necessary; but under no circumstances should the "removal policy" be adopted.

It would not do to rudely tear away the barriers we have thrown around them, and turn them loose on our frontier, without the education necessary to fit them for their places among the citizens of the land. The work done by Father Wilbur, among the Yakama Indians in Oregon, is what we can, and should, do with every tribe. Hear his own story:

"Ten years ago I went into the forests with the Indians, and with my own hands showed them how to chop timber and saw logs, and with their aid built twenty houses for them. They now have two hundred houses, and ten thousand acres of land in cultivation, and are taking care of themselves.

"We have gathered the children into schools, and boarded and clothed them. The Gospel has gone with the plough. The old, old story has been told, and now there are two churches. Eighteen hundred of these Indians have given up the blanket, and have adopted our clothing, and their hearts, washed and cleansed by the purifying blood of the Saviour, are now 'white as snow.' The gospel makes them happy, makes them peaceful. If there be

kindness, if there be truthfulness, they will copy after it. The religious interest among these Indians, is among the most pleasing and promising features for future peace and permanent prosperity.

"With good subsistence, with cattle, horses, and the comforts of civilized life, the Government needs no soldiers to keep them quiet.

"These improvements and comforts, with proper instruction and wholesome examples, will keep them the white man's friend as long as the sun and moon endure."

Thus we see these Indians, after only ten years of careful instruction, are prepared for a higher and better existence. Let such good work go forward, and as rapidly as the Indian is willing to receive it, give him a fee-simple deed for his home, making it inalienable for a term of years, and with the deed give him the right to claim citizenship of the State and the nation. We think the Red Man will look with as much pride on his broad acres and comfortable home as either our African or foreign brother.

Had we a hundred "Father Wilburs" to work among our Indians, their civilization could be accomplished in a decade.

This policy is in direct opposition to that one which would gather them all into one Territory, and keep them isolated from white influence, and compel them to remain Indians forever.

THE DUTY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH TO THE INDIANS.

"The co-operation of the religious bodies with the Government in the civilization of the Indians, has proved an element the importance of which even the missionary boards have not fully appreciated.

"A careful investigation does not disclose a single exception to the rule, that, where rapid progress has been made, the work of the faithful, self-sacrificing, energetic missionary has constituted the most important element of success. The Christian missionary, and the earnest, practical teacher, who, in addition to the rudiments of learning, gives lessons in industry, that the people may become self-supporting, one indispensable to the other, are necessarily the pioneers of Indian civilization." Thus reads the Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1874. Would that the words, and their deep significance, could sink deep into the heart of every Christian in our land!

It is well known that the Government has called to its aid the several missionary boards, and has allotted certain tribes to their care, the agents and teachers for these Indians being appointed by their recommendation. Just so far as possible the Government has placed the temporal care of these Indians in the hands of the religious bodies of our land, at the same time making most liberal provision for schools, teachers, etc.

It was supposed that our churches would fully appreciate the great responsibility thus thrown upon them, and while they selected the agents and teachers, who would come directly under Government control and support, they would also supplement this part of the work by the appointing of efficient missionaries, who, working harmoniously with the agents and teachers, would give such an impetus to Indian civilization as it has never before received.

The tribes of Indians thus placed under the care of the *Presbyterian* Church, is shown by the following table :

Statement, showing the Agencies and Number of Indians that have been Assigned to the Care of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

NAME OF TRIBE.	Population.	No. Teachers.	No. Schools.	No. Scholars.
Navajoes	11068	1	1	82
Mescalero Apaches	1800	—	—	—
Southern Apaches	400	—	—	—
Pueblos	9500	6	8	298
Muache Utes	290	—	—	—
Jicarilla Utes	960	—	—	—
Capote Utes	500	—	—	—
Weeminuche Utes	750	—	—	—
Moquis Pueblos—Arizona	1407	1	1	28
Nez Percés—Idaho	2807	4	2	90
Uintah—Utes—Utah	575	—	—	—
Total	30057	12	12	498

Thus we see eleven tribes, numbering over thirty thousand Indians, that are directly under the care, so far as their religious education is concerned, of the Presbyterian Church ; and to a great degree, also, we are responsible for their temporal welfare. The statement of the fact is sufficient to impress every one with the vast responsibility resting on the church.

The condition of the several tribes may be briefly described.

The *Navajoes* occupy a Reservation in Northwestern New Mexico and Northeastern Arizona, containing 3,328,000 acres of land. They are an industrious, agricultural, and pastoral people. They are also manufacturers, being very skillful in making blankets, silk-work, baskets, etc. They are self-supporting, and only need assistance in the way of house-building and farming. The agent makes an earnest appeal for the establishment of industrial boarding-schools, and says: "With the means asked for, the 2,963 children at this agency can be educated in practical labor and a primary English knowledge, and, before the expiration of the treaty, all the Indians of this Reservation be civilized, Christianized, and made self-sustaining."

The *Mescalero* and *Southern Apaches* are near the central part of New Mexico. There may seem but little encouragement to undertake the civilization of so wild a band of Indians as these Apaches. But we have not yet made sufficient effort. They are a roving people, and have made but little or no progress in civilization. There are no missionaries among them, and no schools; and no effort has been made to establish schools (excepting one among the Southern Apaches); nor has any effort been made to teach them agriculture. The injunction to "preach the gospel to every creature," seems to have no force, so far as the Apaches are concerned.

The agent among them writes: "The Southern Apaches have improved very much during the year, and I hope are now fairly started on the way toward civilization. It will be slow work to bring these beggars up to the standard we desire them to reach; but they have made progress, and can make more."

The *Pueblos* are a "virtuous, temperate, industrious, self-governing, and self-supporting people, retaining the manners, customs, and religious notions of their ancestors—the Aztecs—and still looking for Montezuma to return. Many ruins of Pueblos (villages) show them to have once been a powerful people, long ago reduced in numbers and prosperity by successive subjugations by, and revolts from, the Spaniards. They are gathered in nineteen villages in the northern part of the Territory of New Mexico, where they have cultivated farms for generations, raising grain, vegetables, and fruit; also cattle, sheep, and goats."

These lands were confirmed to them by Act of Congress, December 22, 1858.*

The efficient agent among them uses this unqualified language: "In regard to the complete civilization of the Pueblos, I entertain not the least doubt respecting its feasibility. Of simple habits and perfect freedom from the vices common to this age, they offer every inducement for education in mind and morals. Their freedom from intemperance, in the presence of opportunities for gratifying an appetite for drink, is very commendable." They have eight schools among them, and desire more.

The Ficarilla Apaches, and Capote, Muache, and Weeminuche Utes, in Arizona, are fully as wild and uncivilized as any one might wish who desired to make the experiment of civilizing and Christianizing the wildest of our Red Men.

The Indian Commissioner says: "The Apaches are idle, thievish vagabonds, constantly committing petty depredations, and roving among the Mexican towns, where they obtain liquor freely, and learn the worst vices with surprising readiness."

But, looking at them as being among the very worst of our American tribes, still, we should hardly expect a Presbyterian to limit the grace of God, and say that these tribes are not worthy even to be told of that loving Saviour who gave himself as a ransom for all.

"They have no schools, no missionaries, and all they learn from the whites is their worst vices."

The Moquis Pueblos are in Arizona, and, like the Pueblos of New Mexico, are peaceably disposed and increasing in population. They have only one school, and are very desirous of having an industrial school established, and the children taught the English language. They raise peaches, apricots, corn, etc., and have small flocks of sheep and goats. They are much attached to their little villages, and cannot be induced to remove.

The *Nez Percés*, in Idaho have long been under the care of the Presbyterian Board. The first missions among them were commenced by the A. B. C. F. M., in 1836. A portion of the

* See *Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874.*

tribe have never come into any treaty relations with the Government, but of the "Treaty Indians," three hundred and fifty have small farms, of from three to ten acres each. Last season they cultivated eighteen hundred acres of wheat, corn, oats, potatoes, etc., having a large surplus, which they sold to the Lapwai Indians, realizing a considerable sum. They show quite an interest in education, have three schools, two churches, with a reported membership of six hundred and fifty-five.

The only Indians in Utah assigned to the care of the Presbyterian Board are the *Uintah Utes, of Uintah Valley*. Within a few years these Indians, despite the many obstacles surrounding them, have made rapid progress toward civilization; have engaged in farming, house-building, fence making, etc. and shown such advancement as much to encourage their efficient agent. Up to the last year they had no school, although they had long desired one, and it is sad to be told that "*no missionary enterprise has been attempted.*"

Our Presbyterian Board is doing a good work among some of the more civilized tribes, and a brief statement of those missions will be given :

The *Seneca Mission*, among the Senecas, Onondagas, Oneidas, etc.; missionary labor was commenced by the New York Missionary Society in 1811; passed to the care of the United Foreign Missionary Society in 1822; in 1826 transferred to the American Board, and in 1870 to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

The Chippewa and Ottawa Mission, on Grand Traverse Bay, Michigan; mission began 1838-1841.

Lake Superior Chippewa Mission, Odanah, in the north-western part of Wisconsin; mission established by the A. B. F. M. in 1830, known as the "Ojibway Mission;" transferred to the Presbyterian Board 1870.

Omaha Mission, Blackbird Hills, Nebraska; commenced in 1846.

Creek Mission, Tallahassee, Indian Territory; station occupied 1849; suspended in 1861; reoccupied 1866.

Seminole Mission, Indian Territory; commenced 1849; suspended 1861; resumed 1867.

Nez Percé Mission, Idaho Territory ; originally started by the American Board ; suspended 1847 ; resumed by the Presbyterian Board 1871.

Dakotah Mission ; station occupied 1869.

The Navajo Mission ; commenced in 1868. This appears to have been abandoned.

Among these various missions, the Board has twelve missionaries and twenty-three teachers, or assistants.

The expenditures for this cause for the last ten years have been \$147,194.91, or an average of \$14,719 per annum.*

With the limited means placed at the disposal of the Board, it is doing all that it can do, and we certainly cannot ask that it should add to its already heavy burden by taking the care of new mission stations, *unless the church at large shows its desire by special and enlarged efforts for this specific purpose.*

The expenditures of the Board for ten years, from 1851 to 1860 (inclusive), for missions among the Indians, averaged \$51,561 per annum.

The largest amount for any single year was for 1857, \$75,751.57, or five times as great as for the year 1875. It is a sad comment on our efforts in behalf of Indian Missions, to say, that as the opportunity for doing good among them has increased, our interest has apparently decreased.

When missionaries went among them at the peril of their lives, and were imprisoned by State authorities, then our Missionary Boards were alive to the subject of Indian missions ; but when they are placed in our care by the Government, and every facility offered to educate and civilize them, our interest wanes, and we do only one-fifth of what we did twenty years ago.

Suppose the government of China, or Japan, should say to our missionary boards: You may name the teachers for our schools, choose the books for our children to read, and all at our expense, and your missionaries shall have every facility for teaching the gospel to the people ; how our churches would ring with the hallelujahs and thanksgivings, that the way was open for the entering of the gospel ; and how we would rejoice

* For valuable information in regard to the Indian Mission of the Presbyterian Board see *34th Annual Report*, May, 1871.

at the dawning of the millennial morning! That is just what our Government has done for these poor Red Men, who cry to us to-day, from the mountain tops and the valleys in the far West, "*send us the gospel.*"

The Episcopal Church and the Society of Friends have heard the cry, and answered it by trebling their efforts in behalf of these people; while every other denomination, without exception, is doing less to-day than it did twenty years ago.

By reference to the table naming the tribes that are placed under the special care of the Presbyterian Board, it will be seen that, with the exception of the Nez Percés, our church has no missionary among them, and by the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, we learn that there are only twelve schools and twelve teachers among all these thirty thousand Indians. Six of the tribes have "no schools," "no teachers;" two of them each one school and one teacher.

Remember, that ten of the tribes, numbering over twenty-seven thousand Indians, have "no missionary." On whom rests the blame, if they do not become civilized and Christianized? "How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?" When the religious bodies of the country consented to accept the care of the various tribes, it assumed a direct responsibility to the Indians, to look after their spiritual condition; and the Presbyterian church to-day is responsible, before God and the world, for the religious instruction of these thirty thousand Apaches, Pueblo, Navajo, and Ute Indians. Who is there to do it if Presbyterians fail? The Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, and other religious bodies, have various tribes allotted to them, for whom they are directly responsible.

The Government expresses its readiness to take agents of our appointing, and makes large appropriations for their support, and the establishment of schools, but it cannot send missionaries. Should our churches show their appreciation of the confidence placed in them by the Government, by doubling or trebling their present missionary force, without doubt, increased appropriations could be secured for schools, and also agricultural and farming implements.

At the International Indian Fair, held at Muscogee, Indian Territory, September, 1875, a grand parade of Indian nations

was made, and, as the Arapahoes marched by, they had inscribed on their banner:

"The farm is better than the chase."

The Kioways: *"We need schools, cows, and plows."*

The wild Comanches: *"We wish to learn."*

We cannot misunderstand the appeal that is thus made to us by these Red Men. We cannot plead ignorance to the loud call that is made upon us. To use the beautiful imagery of an Indian orator: "If you will only lift up the drooping spirits of your red children, by giving them succor, and teaching them the better way of life, their thanksgivings for you and yours will ascend to Heaven, just as the aurora kindles its light upon earth, and then streams upward through the cold and clear night to the home of the Great Spirit."

After the preparation of this article for the REVIEW, the Report of the "Red Cloud Commission" was received, and a few extracts from it will be given, bearing on the question of our Indian affairs. The Report has the signatures of Gov. THOS. C. FLETCHER, Hon. BENJ. W. HARRIS, Hon. CHARLES J. FAULKNER, and Prof. GEO. W. ATHERTON.

"The individuality of the Indian, as a member of the community, should be recognized, and the absurd fiction of tribal sovereignty, in which that individual is now merged, should be abolished." "The individual ownership of property should be encouraged under temporary restrictions or alienation, and the privileges of citizenship made accessible upon such terms as good policy may prescribe." . . . "Community of property is fatal to industry, enterprise, and civilization." "Civilization can only spring from well-regulated law, and in every effort to civilize the Indians, the first lesson to be impressed upon his mind is his individual responsibility. The next important step is to impress upon him the necessity of individual property as the only incentive to industry and thrift. There can be no civilization except where the law is supreme, equally obligatory upon all, and where property is held in individual right. The community of property now existing under the tribal organization is fatal to any advances in civilization."

"The treaty provision, by which the Indian is kept separate and apart from the white man in his reservations, may in some aspects be a wise and sound policy, but it cannot be the policy of civilization. That can only be imparted to the Indian by bringing him in contact with its influences. They must see it and feel it, to be penetrated by it."

The Committee, in closing their report, make many "recommendations," among which is the following: "That all future legislation for the Indians, and all dealing with them, be based upon the policy of bringing them as rapidly as possible under the same law which governs all other inhabitants of the United States."

The Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommends, in his last Report, legislation, "Providing a way into citizenship for such as desire it," and "Providing for holding lands in severalty, by allotment for occupation, and for patents, with an ultimate fee, but inalienable for a term of years." "I desire to reiterate my conviction of the entire feasibility of Indian civilization."

Art. V.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER.

A Lecture delivered by FRIEDRICH HARMS, Prof. of Philosophy at the University of Berlin.* Translated for this REVIEW by J. P. KENNEDY BRYAN, Charleston, S. C.

THE philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer has met with a strange experience. Almost unnoticed through a long series of years, it suddenly obtained wide diffusion and recognition, and that, too, among circles little busied with philosophy. Only in one regard does its position remain unchanged. Even to-day, after it has become popular, it has obtained no representation at the German Universities. Both its founder and his disciples have been equally unsuccessful in making it the subject of an academical course of lectures, and thus introducing it into the circle of the sciences taught at the German Universities. Some inherent deficiency of the system itself must have brought it about, that its gifted author, after a weak and unsuccessful attempt to introduce his philosophy at the University of Berlin, renounced the idea of making it an academical study. Nor has any one of his followers been more fortunate. Certain doctrines and notions of this system, it is true, have been accepted and applied in some sciences; still, the philosophy of Schopenhauer, as a whole, at first almost unnoticed, has been propagated and recognized in circles that are far removed from academical culture.

The philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer exercises great attractive power through its form. In its form it presents a striking contrast to the German philosophy since Kant. Its characteristic is its scientific shape.

* Berlin: 1874. William Hertz, Publisher.

No question has so occupied the German mind as the logical question of the true method of knowledge (*Erkennen*). Kant found it in the critical procedure, by examining the possibility of knowledge, in order to reach a conclusion as regards its truth. Instead of the critique of knowledge, Fichte tried to develop the system of philosophy by means of a method, which derives everything out of one highest unity by a process of logical thought. Hegel would accomplish the same thing by the dialectics of thought. Herbart sees in the method of relations, which he invents, the only means of obtaining a correct knowledge of the essence of things. Science is philosophy; and science is logical procedure—methodical and systematic thinking.

With Schopenhauer there is present only a slight trace of this process of German philosophy since Kant. Although he accepts certain results of the Kantian philosophy, still, he is far removed from using Kant's critical method of examination. He proceeds dogmatically. The fundamental principles of his philosophy are propounded by him with the certainty of dogmas. He calls Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel the three German Sophists. He hates them with his whole soul, for their philosophy contains too much of the art of thinking. He does not derive his notions from one another, but establishes their connection, if there is any, by an array of striking intuitions. The writings and treatises of Herbart and Schleiermacher are unenjoyable and tedious to him, although he borrows arguments from Schleiermacher to combat the notion of obligation (*sollen*), of moral necessity. In this regard Schopenhauer forms a striking contrast with the German philosophy since Kant. He follows, rather, as far as the form of knowledge is concerned, Sound Human Understanding, or, as he calls it, *Sound Reason*, which excels in the correct knowledge of particulars for the ends of practical life.

The founder of the philosophy of the Sound Human Understanding is John Locke. Voltaire, after his return from England, brought it to Paris, where it was united with French taste, and soon became a thing of fashion, and laid its impress upon high life. In this way everybody came to believe that he could philosophize. All the women of wit in the Parisian

world pursued the art of philosophy of the Sound Human Understanding.

The philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer occupies a similar position in Germany. He possesses great talent in vivid presentation of his doctrines, and in illustration of them, by means of a rich collection of examples, intelligible to the common understanding. In this way he has most impressed his readers, and in this regard Schopenhauer has been justly called an eminent writer. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that when philosophy was disrobed of its school-form (as it is called), and spoke the speech of life, it found applause among those to whom it is usually difficult, because of its methodical thought.

There was, moreover, at the time of the favorable reception of the philosophy of Schopenhauer by the public, a great and wide-spread reaction against the so-called absolute philosophy; so that the opinions of Schopenhauer pronounced against Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, in his immoderate polemic, were accepted without examination, and many persons imagined that the whole of German philosophy consisted only of some of Kant's doctrines, which Schopenhauer had selected out of the whole as admissible, together with the latest philosophy in the form of the Sound Human Understanding.

In German philosophy, especially in the tendency represented by Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, the Sound Human Understanding had been treated with contempt. The Sound Human Understanding, which considers individual cases without their connection, is for the Absolute Philosophy outside of the realm of Truth, which this philosophy claims alone to know and embrace in itself. Experience, too, and its method, Induction, were not rightly judged, and their use not properly estimated in German philosophy—neither in the critical philosophy of Kant, nor in the speculative philosophy of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. Schopenhauer transplanted to German soil the standpoint of the philosophy of the Sound Human Understanding of the English and the French, which held all knowledge to be empirical and serviceable, and thus he produced a reaction, partially justifiable, against the German philosophy, as it had progressed from Kant to Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. It was in keen polemic with the Empiricism and Sensualism of the English and French systems that this philosophy had been developed,

and it was in this very polemic that it mistook the element of truth contained in these systems.

In the application of Induction—which Bacon first with success fully recommended for the study of science, and which he, as almost no other one, recognized in its essential and leading features—the Experiential Sciences have become a second power by the side of philosophy. But in philosophy itself, this method has always been partially applied only on that side which deals with the collection of observations, perceptions, and intuitions, and this, too, on the supposition, that the quality of all knowledge is already determined by these processes of perception and intuition, and that thought (*Gedanke*) has no other power in the cognitive process (*Erkennen*) than putting into another form what the senses have already acquired. In this conception of thought (the thinking principle), that it furnishes nothing in cognition, and that all notions are simply abstracted from intuitions which cognize everything, exists the very essence of that Sensualism which Locke founded, but which David Hume, and especially the French Sensualists, carried to its logical consequence.

In the same manner Arthur Schopenhauer maintains, that intuition (*Anschauung*) furnishes all knowledge, and that thought (*Gedanke*), or the reason (*Vernunft*), as he says, simply puts this knowledge into another form, but produces nothing itself. He therefore sees himself compelled, as all sensualistic philosophers are, to ascribe to intuition magical powers of knowledge, which, if they resided in intuition, would do away with and render superfluous all thought and scientific culture. All intuition, Schopenhauer assures us, is intellectual, has the understanding already in itself, is itself the work of the understanding, and for this very reason grasps not only the phenomenal, but also has a direct vision of its causes, and is, therefore, the source of all objectivity of knowledge. Intuition is, therefore, he says, self-sufficient. In the inner perception, so to speak, it seizes the thing in itself (*das Ding an sich*), and knows that which it seizes is the thing in itself. According to this, intuition would possess, as a gift of nature, what the sciences are striving to know through the medium of thought, by examining the phenomena of things. All scientific culture and all thought are, in fact, superfluous, if there be such an intellectual intuition

which has an immediate knowledge of the causes of phenomena and things-in-themselves.

From this conception of the cognitive power of intuition springs the lack of a methodical formation of notions, and the deficiency in logical proof and demonstration, in the philosophy of Schopenhauer. A collection of interesting facts from all scientific realms, in which Schopenhauer is a virtuoso, cannot supply the place of a necessary methodical process of forming notions and of logical proof, for, in fact, intuition does not possess those magical cognitive powers which Schopenhauer ascribes to it.

As opposed to this intuitional philosophy, which is only a counterpart of Schelling's doctrine of the intuition of the Absolute, we can only look for an advance of philosophy in a further application of the critical method of Kant and the speculative method of Fichte. Only, it will be necessary to estimate, differently and more correctly than the critical and speculative philosophy has done, experience according to its contents (which makes it known for itself), and also in its method.

Schopenhauer would conceive of the world—the sum total of all experience—out of itself, out of experience. He conceives it to be Will, and Idea or Presentation (*Wille und Vorstellung*). Everything is Will and Presentation, and besides these, there is nothing known. Two facts of consciousness, *I will, and I have a presentation (ich vorstelle)*, are the principles on which he explains the world. He makes a cosmology out of anthropology. Out of man he would explain the world, which is, in his conception, the expansion of man to the universal essence of all things. In sensualism, psychology is the foundation of philosophy; with Schopenhauer, it serves to construct the universe. The problem—to conceive the world from itself—changes, under his treatment, to the very different problem—to interpret the world from man; and in this Schopenhauer finds the peculiar feature of his view of the world.

This anthropologism, which makes a cosmology of anthropology, stands in conflict with all the sciences. The natural sciences would, starting from the world, conceive man according to his place in it. Theology would interpret the world from God as a starting-point. The historical and ethical sciences do, indeed, busy themselves with the life of humanity; but since they would

grasp that life, they assume, that over this human existence there rules a higher power—law—to which it is subject and bound by obligation. All the sciences would conceive man out of something higher than man. He himself is only one fact; and sensualism alone makes the mere facts of consciousness, that *I will, and I have a presentation*, the principles of the interpretation of the Universe. Anthropologism, the theory of Arthur Schopenhauer, is an inversion of the principles of all science.

The world is my presentation (*Vorstellung*), says Schopenhauer; for that which is presented is only in the presentation, and all our presentations are dependent upon the forms of our presentative faculty—namely, Space, Time, and Causality—to which three, after the manner of Fichte, he reduces the categories of Kant, and without which we can have no presentation. He makes the world a mere phenomenon of the human consciousness. This phenomenal world exists only in its bearers, in the cognizing subject. It arises, endures, and perishes with the “*presenting*” subject. It is self-evident, with Schopenhauer, that all that is an object of knowledge is only our presentation, and that the forms of the presentative faculty conjure forth also the contents of the presentation. Everything, therefore, that is in consciousness is only a seeming (*Schein*).

According to Kant, the notion of the world is a thought which we cannot grasp in intuition, and to which there is nothing corresponding in our experience; still, it is a thought which we must think as a limitation of our experience, in order not to fall into the delusion of thinking that the world is my presentation. The theory of Schopenhauer does not spring from Kant, although he uses certain Kantian doctrines to expound it. It has quite a different origin.

According to Fichte, every finite Ego has a non-Ego, by means of which it knows itself to be limited in knowledge and action. Our knowledge is enclosed within limits which are incomprehensible as regards their origin, but not so as regards their significance, since our place in the moral world is determined by them. According to Fichte, it is only the absolute Ego that posits the non-Ego of itself, whereas, the finite Ego knows itself restricted in knowledge and action. But where the ideal of knowledge (as it is thought of as existing in the abso-

lute Ego, the first principle in Fichte's theory of the sciences) is confounded with the fact of cognition in us (the third principle of Fichte's theory of the sciences), as Schopenhauer has confounded them, then is the original critical idealism of Kant and the ethical idealism of Fichte on the point of being converted into a sophistical Idealism.

But even Schopenhauer sees himself compelled to retract his declaration. The world is not only the phenomenal world of my presentations, but in itself (*an sich*) it is something beyond the presentation. This view of the world begins with a false statement, which, since it cannot sustain, it transforms into its very opposite. Still, in its procedure, the one statement annuls the possibility of the other.

The dilettante in philosophy who, in precipitate haste, imprisons his reason in any one system, is most confident that Idealism is unanswerable. It is not so bad as they think. It refutes itself when it teaches that the world is not merely my presentation, but in itself something beyond the presentation. The one proposition: "Nothing outside the presentation," only annuls the other proposition: "Something is outside the presentation." Idealism cannot conceive of their co-existence without contradiction.

From the presentations themselves, it by no means follows, whether that which is presented is really in or out of the presentation; but this depends upon the contents of the presentation, and can only be determined by an examination of these contents. The idealistic method of procedure, to make everything a mere presentation, in order, as they say, to explain something, is the hollowest treatment that can be invented; for nothing is explained by saying that something is present in the form of a presentation.

The reality outside of the presentation, the substance (*das an sich*) of things, which, in the presentations, become phenomena, is, according to Schopenhauer, the Will. We should, he thinks, conceive of the world only as our presentation, if we were endowed only with the presentative faculty. But we are not merely intelligences, for each one knows himself as a being endowed with volition; and that which we are ourselves, Schopenhauer thinks, is the essence of all things. We ourselves will, and, therefore, all things must be a Will.

The way in which Schopenhauer introduces the Will deserves our special attention. He maintains, that the knowing subject, which makes itself manifest as an individual *through its identity with the body*, cognizes the body in two very different ways, namely: as a presentation in intellectual intuition, as an object among objects, and subject to the laws of objects; again, also, as that which is immediately known to every one, and which the word *Will* designates. Every act of his will is immediately and invariably a motion of his body; he cannot really will the act without perceiving at the same time that it appears as the motion of his body. Both are one and the same. The body is only the visibility of the Will.

The Will here appears in a mysterious way, as given by means of the body, which it is said to make visible, but which, in fact, it obscures. And in analogy with this, Schopenhauer conceives of the totality of corporeal nature as the exposition and manifestation of the will. As the will appears in the motions of my body, in the same way does it manifest itself in the material phenomena of the universe. The world is the embodiment, the visibility of Will.

Augustine said: We are nothing but Will; we can in truth ascribe only our acts of will to ourselves. Duns Scotus regarded the absolute Will of God as the ground (cause) of the world, and the world as revealing that Will. For this reason, the world embraces not only rational truths, but truths of fact, which can, indeed, be experienced, but cannot be conceived. According to Kant, it is not mere will, but the moral will, that constitutes the essence of man. Fichte taught, that a "rational being perceives himself immediately only in volition, and that he would not perceive himself, and, consequently, the world also, and would not even be an intelligence, if he were not a practical being." The independence of the Free Will is the goal of man, which he is to attain through his life and his deeds. Schelling makes it even more universal. There is, in the last instance, no higher existence than Will. Will is original being, and all the predicates of primal existence are applicable to Will alone, namely: uncaused, eternal, independent of time, self-affirmation. All philosophy strives only to find this expression. Schleiermacher sees in these conceptions and interpretations, from Augustine to Schelling,

the difference between ancient and modern philosophy. For the former is, preponderatingly, Reason coming to Consciousness under the form of the Idea ; the latter, however, is Reason coming to Consciousness in the form of Will. It is for this reason that, in ancient philosophy, man is universally regarded, himself, as a natural being ; whereas, in modern philosophy, the problem of Freedom of the Will towers above all others in importance, and has occupied human thought most profoundly from Augustine to Schelling.

It might now seem as if Schopenhauer accorded with these men, and that his view agrees with theirs, inasmuch as he also finds in Will the essence of man and all things. But this is not the case ; especially for the reason, that his conception of Will is totally different.

He regards the soul as divided into two elements, Will and Consciousness : and these two parts as altogether distinct and separate. The Will in itself, without consciousness, is a blind force ; and Consciousness, by itself, without will, has no power of production. Will is the primary, Consciousness the secondary ; will is the substance, consciousness the accident, which appears only under certain circumstances, *e. g.*, as conditioned by the formation of a nervous system. Therefore, says Schopenhauer, these two elements in the soul must have a different origin. The will springs from the father, intelligence from the mother ; and after he has separated them so violently, he does not really know how to explain the world-miracle, as he calls it, how will and consciousness form a unit in the Ego. The Ego is only temporarily the identical subject of knowing and willing ; it is, therefore, according to him, a *Compositum*.

This conception of a blind will, that produces all ; and of a passive consciousness in which the world becomes a *seeming*, is not European, nor Grecian, nor modern—but it is Indian. It agrees essentially with a system of Indian thought, and is a result of the study of that philosophy. The idealism of Schopenhauer, as well as the positive part of his view of the world, is a reproduction of Indian philosophy. The conception of Schopenhauer agrees only in words, and not in reality, with the doctrines of thinkers from Augustine to Schelling, for none of them conceived of consciousness, in itself passive, as something

merely secondary and accidental in comparison with the blind, all-producing Will.

According to Schopenhauer, the world, and everything in it, proceeds from Will. He remarks, very correctly, that while the natural sciences refer all phenomena to the forces and laws of nature, still they give no knowledge of the conditions of these natural phenomena themselves. Schopenhauer would give this knowledge, and he finds it in a free and almighty Will, whose objective manifestation is in all natural forces—in the inorganic, as well as in the animate, world. This One Will is manifested in space and time by means of different causalities, which we see coming forth in the different rational realms, according to their different activities—as mechanical causes, impulses, and motives.

Schopenhauer has rightly distinguished the physical explanation of natural phenomena, by means of a will, from their metaphysical interpretation, which gives no physical explanation. The natural sciences owe their growth to their separation from metaphysics and theology. Their separation rests, however, upon the relative independence of the two parts, of sensuous and rational knowledge. Only those who are now dabbling in philosophy confound the one with the other, and in this way bring both the natural sciences and philosophy into discredit.

If, however, we conceive of nature, as Schopenhauer does, then there would follow something different from what he thinks. For, if nature be grasped as conditioned through a free, almighty Will, then it must be thought of as a creation. For creation means nothing else than to think of will as the cause of all phenomenal existence. Only a Will can be First Cause, in comparison with which all that we usually call cause is only an occasion of activity, as also Schopenhauer allows in contradiction to his other doctrine about causality.

But the notion of creation excited the passionate anger of Arthur Schopenhauer far more than it occupied his reflections. His polemic, however, only shows, as is often the case in these matters, that he combats something, which he in reality accepts, but of which he has only an indistinct notion. There remains, indeed, a difference in the notion of the will which Schopenhauer uses as a basis, since he conceives of it as

a will in itself blind, which is to come to consciousness only afterward, and is itself to produce consciousness. But he cannot sustain this notion. For all nature, even according to him, bears in itself the character of intelligence, as is seen in the wonderful conformity of its phenomena to law, in the invariability of law, and in the design exhibited in its types. But how an intelligent product is possible without an intelligence, there is no explanation, however much it has been attempted, except by granting assumptions which are more mysterious and problematic than that which is to be explained. Schopenhauer helps himself with the word Will, the use of which invariably involves the idea of an intelligence which is afterward denied.

It is mere play with notions to assume an intelligent product without an intelligence. There is nothing intelligent without an intelligence, be this intelligence within us or without us; that is, within us in the sense of being in our consciousness only, and without us as a fact, which is confirmed by the conformity to law and design in the phenomena of nature. Kant, even, did not admit anything to be intelligent without an Intelligence. If the notion of design in nature is only possible to us by accepting an *intellectus archetypus*, by means of which alone we can grasp the peculiarity of our understanding, much more a Will, which works intelligently, cannot be without intelligence, even if this intelligence is not our consciousness.

Inasmuch as Schopenhauer conceives of nature as the manifestation of Will, which is at the same time the essence of man, he believes, and rightly believes, that he has attained a universal basis for an ethical view of the world, which is more than a mere supplement or improvement of metaphysics. Ethics obtains in this way universality in its conceptions, since that which in it becomes the object of knowledge in particular, the Will, conditions the essence and phenomena of all things. The whole world can be grasped from an ethical standpoint. Indeed, Schopenhauer believes, that this universality is possible only in his philosophy. In this he errs. Two men at least must be excepted; in antiquity, Plato, and in modern philosophy, Fichte; for their view of the world was thoroughly ethical. Still, essential differences do appear in the conception of the Will in its relation to consciousness, in

the ultimate moral end, and how this is to be attained by life and action.

The Will, explains Schopenhauer, is, according to its very conception, *Will to Live* (*Wille zum Leben*). He defines it by means of a portion of its extent, and limits it in advance to one case of its applicability, as if Will were only *Will to Live*, and not also Will to Know, and Will to Act, and Will to found States and churches. The notion of Will has a much more universal extent than Schopenhauer gives it, when he confines it to the mere *Will to Live*.

This *Will to Live* pervades the whole world, and the world is its manifestation. It wills to exist and maintain itself in existence. Its ceaseless effort is manifested in gravitation, by means of which all bodies in an infinite series tend toward one centre. Chemical action and crystallization, vegetation and organization, are only different manifestations of this one *Will to Live*. The essence of every organism is its own will. Teeth, oesophagus, and intestinal canal are only hunger objectified, which comes to consciousness first through the formation of the nervous system in animals and man. Schopenhauer therefore regards the origin of consciousness as conditioned by the organization of animals and man; this organization, moreover, proceeds out of the Will, which produces all things. Matter is, therefore, the link between the Will in itself and consciousness. The body is the function of the Will; the intellect, however, is the function of the body. In consciousness, however, everything becomes again a seeming world of presentations, in which no one can tell any longer where his head is, "which is in space, while at the same time this space is only in his head."

According to this doctrine, man is not distinguished from animals by his Will, for this is in all things—in man, in animal and vegetable beings—as one and the same *Will to Live*. The faculty of forming abstract ideas out of sensations and perceptions (which Schopenhauer arbitrarily calls Reason) alone distinguishes man from animals.

Since the abstract ideas, however, do not, as intuitions, refer only to the particular and the present, but also to the universal, the past, and the future, in this way the Will in man obtains a greater extent, because abstract ideas serve as motives of the

Will. It is for this reason that there arises in man a multiplicity of wants and a diversity of desires, which distinguish him from the animal. Still, in the tendency of the Will, its nature, and quality, there is no difference. The Will, which is the *Will to Live*, wills in all animal-beings the same thing—the preservation and enjoyment of life. All the contrivances of life, all ideas, knowledge, and science that seek the grounds of these phenomena, should serve this life, which would preserve and enjoy itself. Blind will brings forth consciousness only for its own purposes.

In this conception of man, that the multiplicity of his wants is in consequence of a reason, which is capable of nothing beyond the formation of abstract ideas out of intuitions, and that all knowledge and science are only means to the satisfaction of these wants, Schopenhauer agrees fully with the morals of the French school, and authenticates again the standpoint of the philosophy of the Sound Human Understanding. Schopenhauer, as the French school, has made the Will, as it actually exists—the Will with its desires—the essence of man. He degrades reason, since he denies to it its practical character, which Kant and Fichte, above all others, have established. It brings forth only a multiplicity of wants and knowledge only for its own satisfaction, but it possesses, through its thoughts and ideas, no law-giving power over this needy and covetous life. These conceptions of Schopenhauer have, therefore, no point of contact with the German philosophy since Kant, the main tendency of which has been essentially ethical—a tendency which Kant, in all the austerity of his character, gave it in opposition to the French as well as the English school, to the latter of which Schopenhauer, as we shall see, approached in one point.

Intuitions and thoughts can become in man grounds of determination of the Will. In how far now the Will is to be regarded as free, depends upon its relation to consciousness, and how thoughts and intuitions can become grounds of determination of the Will, since it cannot be directly determined by anything else. As has been said, the freedom of the Will is the most important problem of modern philosophy, from Augustine to Schelling, and to the present day. Physical, as well as ethical, science depends upon the view held as regards the freedom of

the Will, since the extent of the notion of a moral world is measured by the notion of freedom.

Schopenhauer's view upon this question is predeterminism. He teaches that the Will, previous to consciousness, is determined in its tendency, in what and how it wills, before the beginning of the individual life by the birth of man, and that all ideas and knowledge have, accordingly, no power over the Will. In the life and action of man, therefore, everything is only a necessary consequence of this original determination of the Will. In this does the inborn native character of man consist, which he cannot change, and which embodies itself, of necessity, in the life and actions of man. His knowledge, of whatever kind it may be—intuitions or notions, personal experience or universal convictions—avail nothing against the Will in this, its original predetermination.

"Why one man is bad and another good," Schopenhauer writes, "does not depend upon motives and outer influences—as, for example, doctrines and sermons—and is, from this standpoint, absolutely inexplicable. But whether a bad man shows his wickedness in petty wrongs, cowardly tricks, and low rascalities, or, as a conqueror, subdues peoples, plunges a world into sorrow, and sheds the blood of millions; this is the outer form of his appearance, the unessential part of him, and depends upon the circumstances in which fortune places him, upon his surroundings, outer influences, and motives. But out of these his determination is never to be explained. This determination proceeds from the Will, the phenomenon of which is this man." Motives can only modify the Will in its original determination according to circumstances and relations in space and time; but, according to this doctrine, they cannot themselves direct it and determine its tendency. Repentance consists, therefore, only in a fretting over an illusion in knowledge, which accompanies the Will, but cannot change it. All freedom of action is done away with, according to this theory, in consequence of the impotence of consciousness.

In order, however, not to efface all responsibility, predeterminism accepts a freedom of being, inasmuch as it holds that the Will, determined beforehand in its tendency, is man himself in his essence. Will in itself is altogether free and omnipotent, and man is only a manifestation of the free, almighty

Will, and this Will is himself. The act of the Will, out of which the world springs, is our own act, Arthur Schopenhauer asserts.

This theory denies freedom in that sphere, where we seek it, and where alone it is valuable for man—in his life and his action; and assumes a freedom of being before all actual life, just as if man originally gave himself his character and his being. This freedom, however, seems to us to be only a misuse of the notion of freedom, which we understand to be used in no other way than as a possible predicate of an act. All responsibility, moreover, refers to particular acts, and not to being as a whole. Freedom may reside in the notion, or the faculty and the determination of man, and this may be its original character; still, it is only actual and valuable in its realization in individual actions.

However we may construe this freedom of being, there follows, at least, from its acceptance, that if there is no freedom of action, the whole spiritual and moral life can be conceived of only as a physical process. The *factum* of the moral theory, according to Fichte, is this, viz.: "The idea (*Begriff*) is the ground of the world, with the absolute consciousness that it is so." A moral world is only possible, provided that consciousness is itself productive; and productivity with consciousness is, I think, freedom. But where consciousness is itself impotent—only looks on, comes after action, and, at most, accompanies it—there, too, spiritual life can be regarded only as a necessary natural process. And with Schopenhauer, the moral life is treated as such a natural process in consequence of his doctrine of freedom. He rejects, therefore, also the notion of obligation, of duty, of moral necessity, which exists only under the supposition that there is a freedom of action, as well as a freedom of being. Nothing is morally necessary, but everything is physically necessary, if there is no action from consciousness, and this consciousness only succeeds action.

Since the *Will to Live* in man comes to consciousness accompanied by thought and knowledge, so man may assume one of two relations to the Will, in the *affirmation* or *negation* of the Will, as Schopenhauer calls it. Man can say to this Will, yes

and no. The *negation* is the end, the *affirmation* is the beginning, of the spiritual life.

The Will is originally directed to the self-preservation and the enjoyment of life. Egoism proceeds with physical necessity from the affirmation of the Will. Every one who affirms the *Will to Live* is necessarily an Egoist. Egoism is the form of the *Will to Live*. It holds not only as an almost universally prevalent fact in the human world, but as a physical necessity in all animal beings. For life exists only in individuals, and in every individual the whole *Will to Live*, the essence (*an sich*) of the world, is contained, since every individual is only an empty form of this Will. Since the individual, moreover, is the subject of knowledge, the whole world, and all other individuals, are also only its presentations. Every one, therefore, strives to maintain his existence and to enjoy it, from which there arises an universal struggle among all animal beings for matter, for space, and for time, similar to the view of Thomas Hobbes, that there was a war of all against all. Every individual is, accordingly, necessarily Egoistic.

Now, Schopenhauer has set himself to work to demonstrate that this life, notwithstanding that it is grounded in the very essence of things, and results therefrom with absolute necessity, is in every respect a failure. And to do this he has applied himself with unwearying patience in the application of all the experiences at his command.

All individuals fail of their end, for they are only means for the species, and serve only for the preservation of the species. They live in delusion, since they think themselves something and regard themselves as ends, whereas they are only perishable, empty forms of life. Schopenhauer seeks, in the most minute manner and with evident delight, to prove that all love of the sexes only is such a delusion, in which nature wraps them in order to maintain the species.

These individuals fail of their end, for all happiness, every enjoyment, every wish of the desiring will, that springs only out of need, out of longing and painful want, is only negative, only the removal of a disinclination, only the release from a pain, for which reason it ceases and disappears when satisfied. The desiring will, however, continues unsatisfied in every effort. The pain and suffering of life is therefore essential and unavoidable.

able, and all attempts to remove its suffering and misery, and to efface its agony and torture, are of no avail. They afford no relief, but only change the form of suffering. For the misery of the world is in the very essence of life and effort. The Will itself is the endless striving, out of which all unhappiness proceeds. Every human life vibrates between pain and *ennui*. The world is, therefore, absolutely evil, unavoidably evil—the very worst of all possible worlds.

This is the so-called Pessimism of Arthur Schopenhauer, originally an Indian doctrine, which he has revived. Pessimism is not the recognition of the fact, that evil, want, and misery are in the world, nor its extension by means of an arbitrary interpretation, such as Schopenhauer attempts, but it is the declaration, that this fact, which no one disputes, is an inevitable result of the Will in itself (*an sich*); wherefore, also, all means employed against it are ineffectual, since they can only change the form, but not the amount, of the suffering.

But Pessimism is itself only the consequence of a mistaken life. That life is radically mistaken, which wills that which cannot be willed. Enjoyment and life for the mere end of living cannot be willed.

We can will the means to enjoyment, but not enjoyment itself, since we cannot produce it, either in us or in others. But we cannot will that which we have not the power of doing. Fools alone will what they cannot accomplish. To will means to be able. Enjoyment is invariably a gift, an endowment. It is only a result of an activity reaching its end, but is not itself an end. The life that leads to Pessimism is a radical failure, because it wills what cannot be willed. The life that follows after pleasure is a mistaken life, and leads to Pessimism, not because of the consequences that ensue; but it is a mistaken life in its will, which wills that which no one can will.

The life that has merely living for its end is wholly mistaken, because it wills that which cannot be willed. It is a life without purpose, since to will means to posit an aim; and an activity that posits no aim is not will. Life for the mere end of living is an empty will, which wills to will something—that is, a will which wills nothing. Life with the mere end of living is vegetation.

In all unprejudiced minds, says Fichte, there is the conviction that life is not for its own sake, but for the sake of some

ultimate moral end, which should be realized and should become visible in and through life. Wherever this conviction is wanting, there invariably results a mistaken life, and its consequence, Pessimism.

Pessimism has no knowledge of life in employment, in labor, in business, where all in the community of the family, the state, the church, art, and science are laboring in a common work, which abolishes Egoism. Pessimism results from this deficiency. It knows not the middle part of life out of which the earnestness and the energy of the Will proceeds, but only the beginning, which it calls the affirmation, and the end, which it calls the negation, of the Will.

All history appears, therefore, to Arthur Schopenhauer, empty and insignificant—an eternal monotony. "What history relates," says he, "is in fact only the long, heavy, and troubled dream of humanity." Quite a different conviction prevails in the German philosophy since Kant, because it is pervaded by a moral spirit. For, from the time of Lessing and Herder up to this day, all philosophers have been occupied with the problem of a philosophy of the world's history, because they know of a middle part of life between its beginning and its end. But Egoism, and Pessimism in its wake, together with its negation of the *Will to Live*, annul all history, and make it a troubled dream.

The affirmation of the Will is, according to Schopenhauer, the beginning, its negation the end, of spiritual life. He regards sympathy the moral spring of all actions. Out of pity proceed the virtues—justice and love. In this conception Schopenhauer approaches the English School, especially David Hume, who, in the same way, derived justice and natural benevolence from sympathy. Schopenhauer conceives of justice only negatively: *To injure no one*. But there is a positive element in its nature: *To treat every one equally; Suum cuique*. Not to let every one have his own, as Schopenhauer affirms, but to give every one his own, is the essence of justice. Love is essentially sympathy, pity, to feel another's suffering as my own; for, in truth, suffering cannot be taken away—its form only can be changed.

That, however, which is peculiar about Schopenhauer is his metaphysical basis for this English doctrine. For since all men are, by nature, Egoists, it is a question, how it is possible that I

can feel as my own suffering that which is not mine and does not concern me. This rests on a higher knowledge, to wit.: that I penetrate the principle of individuality in knowing, intuitively and directly, that all individuals who think they are something, are only empty forms of one and the same Will, which manifests itself in individuals differently, spatially, and temporally. In this way the boundary between their own and another's personality disappears; all are only manifestations of the same being, and I feel another's suffering as my own in this intuitive penetration of empty individuation. All genuine virtue proceeds from the immediate and intuitive knowledge of the metaphysical identity of all beings.

This metaphysical knowledge, out of which all genuine virtue is said to proceed, is itself somewhat difficult to comprehend. Egoists can only fear one another mutually, since they are constantly involved in combat and strife for everything. Each one is for himself the totality, and every other one is for him only his presentation. How these Egotists should suddenly transform themselves, so that they mutually love one another in their intuitive penetration of the principle of individuation, and in knowing their common and utter nothingness, is, indeed, hard to grasp. It may be that, in consequence of this immediate and intuitive knowledge of the metaphysical identity of all beings, they condole with one another in their nothingness, but surely they cannot *love* one another in this knowledge. For love involves not only the essential unity of the person, but it rests also upon the mutual recognition and respect of the persons in their substantial existence, and upon the conviction that neither of them is a mere empty form. It is not to be divined how love and justice are possible in a philosophy of universal scorn, in which Schopenhauer calls ordinary men a manufacture of nature. If the ethical notions rest on metaphysics, they surely do not rest on the metaphysics of this transmutation doctrine (*Verwandlungslehre*).

Love and justice are, however, only a preparation, small attempts, to attain the goal of the spiritual life, the negation of the Will, by means of which Egoism is finally abolished. According to Hobbes, the selfishness of man is only controllable by means of an absolute political power. According to Schopenhauer, Egoism, the mistaken life of which leads to Pessimism,

abolishes itself by the negation of the Will, out of the affirmation of which it proceeds. That Will necessarily negates itself in the end, which, in the beginning, *Wills to Live*, in order merely to live and to enjoy—which cannot be willed.

The negation of the Will is said to take place by means of a penetrating perception of all individuation of life as an empty, vain, and delusive form. It transcends all knowledge and description, and exists in a rapture—an ecstasy. From it proceeds the detestation of all life, the destruction and annihilation of life in punishment and self-torture, the mortification of the Will, which is the source of all pain and torture.

All the vagaries of a religious life are the very best examples of the negation of the Will, especially among the Indians; whereas, Christianity avers only half of this intuition, because it is still too much alloyed with Judaism, Schopenhauer's opinions of which are very harsh. All religion is only a popular metaphysics, and is necessary for life; and of all the different religions, Schopenhauer reverences Buddhism most.

Finally, there is said to proceed out of the negation of the Will the release from all suffering, resignation, the complete absence of Will; perfect holiness and blessedness, however, is only attained by the abolition of the living being in the nothing of eternity. This Indian consummation is the annihilation of the being who experiences the consummation. The nothing, however, is said to be not altogether nothing, but only the nothing proceeding from the negation of this world of torture—the nothing, which is neither Will, presentation (*Vorstellung*), nor world; but what it is positively, is not known.

According to Oken, the world springs from zero; according to Schopenhauer, it perishes into an incomprehensible nothing. He would interpret the world out of himself, but he cannot interpret the world out of himself without adding, in thought, the incomprehensible nothing, in which the world-consummation is thought of. The world does not possess this consummation, but in its existence is conditioned by it. The world cannot, therefore, be interpreted out of itself, but only by its conditions. It is mere empty talk, when we are assured that the world can be interpreted out of itself.

The negation of the Will, moreover, is the greatest mystery

of this philosophy, and that which no one has fathomed. For on the one hand, since Will is all reality, all reality would become nothing in the negation of the Will; and on the other hand, a negation of the Will is possible only by means of the Will, out of which, therefore, the whole suffering world would proceed anew in its infinite transmutation. The doctrine of infinite transmutation (*Verwandlung*) is at least a logical consequence of this Indian view of the world.

But, holding to this doctrine, the negation of the Will is logically impossible. Schopenhauer says, that it is the single act of the freedom of the Will in the phenomenal world. It is thus, at length, that that becomes possible, which, according to Schopenhauer's doctrine of freedom, is impossible, namely: that the consciousness obtains a power over the Will, and a free act takes place in life, although in an exceptional and mysterious way. Its possibility shows that the world is not altogether bad, but contains some good in itself, which, however, only comes too late and not at the right time for application, in order to bring the Will in another direction, that it may not eventually destroy the world. Pessimism produces repugnance to itself.

The world, according to Schopenhauer, is altogether bad. Still, it is not so in the negation of the Will, and also not so before the affirmation of the *Will to Live*, out of which springs Egoism, selfishness, pursuit of enjoyment, and the failure of life, in want, misery, unhappiness, and suffering of every kind. For previous to the affirmation of the *Will to Live*, in its existence in elementary and cosmical nature, all notions of Pessimism are altogether inapplicable. The thoroughly bad world does not proceed out of *Will to Live*, but only out of its affirmation. It is, therefore, only a genesis—a state of becoming—in the world, which neither in its beginning nor end, corresponds to the notions of Pessimism. Pessimism is not a thoroughly digested doctrine. The thoroughly bad world is only the world, which arises out of a false application of the affirmation and negation of the Will.

That which Schopenhauer calls the *Will to Live*, Fichte terms the natural impulse. According to him, this natural impulse must be negated before it comes into action, and the high-crimpulse in the rational being—the Ego—must be affirmed;

and out of this proceeds the moral life in human society and in history. Schopenhauer has inverted it, since, according to him, the natural impulse, or the *Will to Live*, must be first affirmed, wherefore nothing remains after this mistaken experiment but to negate it finally. Schopenhauer has been, not incorrectly, called, *Fichte on his head*.

Pessimism, with its negation of the Will, was a life in India; in Germany it is only an idle speculation, in conformity to which no one has tried or dared to live. This idle speculation was diffused in Germany at a time when many despaired of the political mission and moral power of the German people. And that it has not disappeared, after the great successes through which the German Empire has been founded, and a more hopeful life has animated the German nation, shows only that plants that have once taken root are eradicated with difficulty, and need a long time to die out. Besides the negation of the Will, Schopenhauer knows in this (in his opinion) thoroughly bad world, still another means which releases from its suffering and affords relief—a means, which if not lasting, is still momentary, and if not for all, is, nevertheless, the portion of gifted men of genius. Art furnishes this, according to him, the work of genius, the gifted artist's intuition of the world. For it frees from the suffering of life, it is exalting, it creates pure desires, free from all that is displeasing, a blessedness of intuition without Will, an unalloyed enjoyment, which is preceded neither by suffering nor want, nor does repentance, sorrow, emptiness, or satiety necessarily follow. The only drawback is, that this happiness cannot fill the whole of life, but only some of its moments.

According to this, Schopenhauer also knows of a world, which would be worse than that is which he calls the worst of all possible worlds. For the world, which is still worse than the worst of all possible worlds, as he conceives it, would be the world in which there is no negation of the Will, and no creative insight of genius. Whoever uses mere relative notions, as the notions of the worst and the best, always incurs the danger of making propositions which negate one another by their inner contradiction. Thus, Schopenhauer's world, in comparison with a worse world—a world in which there is no creative insight of genius and no negation of the Will—can be called the better among the possible worlds. Pessimism is not so far removed

from Optimism—the doctrine that the world is the best of possible worlds—as those think, who are in the habit of conceiving everything in the world according to these vague relative notions. Both notions have a very limited sphere of application, and, among other things, have no application in the doctrine of Spinoza, according to which the infinite proceeds out of the infinite in an infinite way, a divine world follows necessarily out of God, perfect or infinite as God, which cannot be better or worse than it is, since it cannot be other than it is, by reason of its origin out of God. According to Spinoza's doctrine, it is not the best of possible worlds, but it is the only possible world, and, therefore, infinite as God. It is not finite in itself, but only for us, or in its genesis (*Becoming*).

The creative knowledge of art arises, according to Schopenhauer, by the knowing subject tearing itself suddenly away from the service of the Will, in which are all knowledge and science, that are forever seeking the grounds of phenomena, but never finding them. The cognitive Ego, in the absence of Will, thus rises from the individual, and is limited to the universal and only objective and true intuition and perception of things.

But in this way a miracle happens, when the cognitive Ego suddenly tears itself away from the root of the world—the Will and its servitude; when consciousness, the intellect, the accident, masters and annuls the Will—the substance—even if only, as Schopenhauer adds, for a short time. With the disappearance of the Will in consciousness all suffering and want are abolished. That which is otherwise impossible takes place now in gifted men, who become free from the Will and their suffering, and enjoy the blessing of creative insight. Like the romantic school, Schopenhauer extols creative insight and inspiration as the solace of life, which men of genius attain through a mystery, which is in contradiction to all the notions of this Pessimistic view of the world.

In the exaltation of this creative insight, the man of genius views the world from quite another standpoint than the ordinary man. For to the latter, his cognitive faculty is only the lantern which lights his way; but to the man of genius, his faculties are a sun which reveals the world. He does not seek any more after the whence and the whither and the why, but, released from this commonplace, creative insight in art beholds

the true nature of things, their enduring, immutable form, independent of the temporal existence of individual beings. The Platonic ideas should be the objects of art, which consists only in the stages of the objectivations of the Will, viewed in their purity and essential character.

This part of Schopenhauer's work, "The World as Will and Presentation" (*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*), which is full of ingenious notions on the works of the fine arts, and sheds a gladdening light in this otherwise dark and despairing view of the world, has, without doubt, brought him many admirers and disciples. Art, which is said to be the intuitive knowledge of ideas, appears, with Schopenhauer, as with Schelling, to be the true science, and all true science is said to be the creative intuition of the artist, endowed with genius.

If, according to the Platonic conception, true science should be the knowledge of ideas (in which we pass over the question, whether art and science are the same, a view which leads us to confound the characteristic with the beautiful, and to ground science upon personal intuitions), then the whole view of the world of Arthur Schopenhauer needs a total revision; for this science, which is a knowledge of ideas, is wanting with him. His view of the world asks only after the commonplace, whence and the whither, and says only that everything is out of the *Will to Live*, which affirms and negates itself, but it says not what in truth *is*. For the Will is a predicate that we cannot understand without a subject, without an entity—it is the Will of man, the Will of nature, or the Will of God. The Will determines how the meaning of the predicate depends upon the subject, the entity, of which it is predicated. The Will is different, according to the subject whose Will it is. This notion of the Will, or the so-called Will-in-itself, is nothing, and is able to produce nothing. This thinking in mere predicable notions always brings forth an unhealthy condition in the life of philosophy, whose only remedy consists in giving up this habit, since all predicates receive their force and definite signification from the subjects of which they are affirmed. From the standpoint of science, which has its necessary form, without which there is no truth, we cannot, therefore, accept nor comprehend Arthur Schopenhauer's view of the world, though it may contain much that is interesting. And we are unable to understand it, especially, because it is based on a Will

which wills that which it cannot, and does that which it should not, and therefore tortures and negates itself in despair.

The world may be a Will, but Schopenhauer himself says that he does not know whence it is, and thinks there can be a still higher existence, which has the freedom of being *Will to Live* or not; and this world does not embrace the whole possibility of existence, especially that inconceivable nothing, in which the consummation of the world is thought of. But this consummation of existence, which has the freedom to be *Will to Live*, and also not be it, is God, without whom we cannot interpret the world, as Schopenhauer involuntarily proves. Kant's *Transcendental Dialectic*, which belongs to the *Critic of Pure Reason*, teaches, that whoever would interpret the world must necessarily think of God as the cause of the world, even if he cannot demonstrate the existence of God. This necessity ceases to exist only for those who do not seek to interpret the world, but who would only live and act.

If this insatiable Will, in Schopenhauer's view of the world, which wills only in order to will, is not necessary, but is only the refuge of a despairing view of the world, then it presupposes, also, an absolute being, a God, who, if the Will of the world is from him, has created it, so that it (the Will) wills what it can, and does not will what it cannot, and does what it should, and need not despair, but hopes that its work will succeed, since it knows that all that is created has an eternal plan and is of an imperishable nature.

Through its form of knowledge, we have said, the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer forms a striking contrast with the German philosophy since Kant. In its form of knowledge lies, also, the reason of the contradictions and deficiencies of Schopenhauer's philosophy. No single proposition is in itself philosophical, however paradoxical this may seem. It is only philosophical in its connection with a whole. Philosophy, says Fichte, is science out of one piece. It is, above all things, logical and uncontradictory thought. But whoever begins with contradictions ends in absurdities. The principle, to believe something because it is absurd, is justly rejected. It seems, however, that philosophy has, at present, made this principle its maxim, in holding that the more absurd its thoughts are, they more truth they contain.

Art. VI.—PERPETUITY OF THE SABBATH.

BY A LAYMAN.

BRITISH and American Evangelical Christians commonly regard the fourth commandment as of universal and perpetual obligation. Continental Christians, while they admit the necessity for some day of rest and worship, commonly regard that commandment as a mere national statute, binding only on the children of Israel.

We shall endeavor to prove that the law of the Sabbath, contained in the fourth commandment, is perpetually binding on all mankind.

Experience shows, that where the obligation to keep the Sabbath is admitted to rest on divine command, it is much better kept than where that obligation is held to rest only on expediency. As the latter opinion is gaining ground, the Sabbath is less and less observed. The consideration of the subject is, therefore, urgently called for.

We shall not attempt an exhaustive argument; our single point is, that the fourth commandment is binding on us.

We admit that the fourth commandment, like all the rest of the decalogue, is, on its face, not addressed to us, but to that particular people whom God had just brought out of Egypt, and thus rescued from slavery, as mentioned in the preface, and who were going to a particular country which God was to give them, as mentioned in the fifth commandment. For the purposes of this argument, we admit that the fourth commandment is not, *prima facie*, binding on us, but that its obligation must be proved.

Of course, it is not sufficient to say that a law addressed to somebody else, is binding on us now, because given by God, however solemnly, and never repealed, unless it be first shown that it ever was binding on anybody else than those to whom it was addressed. The command to the Israelites not to wear linsey-woolsey,* or the command to them to appear in the presence of the ark three times a year,† would not have been

* Lev. xix : 19; Deut. xxii : 11.

† Deut. xvi : 16.

binding on us now, even if the Hebrew national government still existed and the law remained unrepealed, for those commands never reached beyond the subjects of that national government and the denizens of that country. So, an act of parliament addressed to the people of England, Scotland, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, passed while the United States were British colonies, was not, *prima facie*, binding on those colonies, notwithstanding any solemnity of publication and the admitted authority of the law-giver. In such cases, unless it can be proved that some obligation on unaddressed people is indirectly taught or implied, we have no right to say it is imposed.

It is sometimes said the ten commandments were given to Israel as the type of the church, and so are binding on the church now, the local circumstances being allegorized. We disclaim any such argument, as unscriptural, unsound, unwarranted, and dangerous. Its principle makes the Bible teach anything that the fancy of a commentator, or the exigencies of a sect, or the fashion of an age, or the spite of a persecutor, may require. This assumption, too, is insufficient; for, as we shall see, these laws are binding not only on the church, the supposed antitype, but also on the rest of the world.

We can see no more warrant for allegorizing the preface to the ten commandments, than for allegorizing the commandments themselves, or the account of the birth of Christ, or of his resurrection. We cannot, by any such means, get rid of the national direction of these statutes. True, we can enforce these commands when once shown to be applicable to us by parity of reason, or by parallel reasons with those given in the preface. This is probably what the Westminster Catechism means to do.

We thus begin by admitting, what objectors to the divine authority of the Sabbath commonly end with proving, that the fourth commandment is a Hebrew national statute, and not addressed to us. But we deny their inference, that it is, therefore, not binding on us.

Israel, as God's visible people, was the congener of the Christian church; as a nation, the congener of all other nations. In poetry, and in prophetic pictures, it is often put for all God's people; but not in prose, history, or legislation. Commands given to Israel, and, therefore, *prima facie*, to it only, may,

nevertheless, have been in many cases intended for, and so binding on, not only the species Israel, but the whole genus God's people, or the whole genus all nations. But this cannot be assumed; it must, in each class of cases, be affirmatively proved.

We maintain that the law of the Sabbath, as well as the rest of the ten commandments, though addressed only to Israel, is thus intended for all mankind.

In illustration of our argument, we shall make use of a system of human laws strikingly parallel, in the points we are to consider, with the laws in the Old Testament.

The common law of England, the traditionary law, not depending on legislative enactment, or royal decree, is the law of the Anglo Saxon race,* and follows that race wherever it colonizes. Accordingly, it is the law of this country,† except so far as it is inapplicable to our circumstances, or repealed by statute. The tenacity with which we cling to it, is shown by the seventh amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and by the principle so often heard in our courts, that "Statutes in derogation of the common law must be construed strictly."

So the moral law of God, to which the common law is strikingly analogous, is the law of the whole human race, and follows all men through every age and country. Unlike the common law, it is not repealable.

The statute laws of Great Britain, enacted by parliament, are binding only on those British subjects to whom they are immediately addressed. The colonies are not bound by a statute, unless named in it. But some statutes, addressed only to people in Great Britain, and only mandatory there, do, nevertheless, authoritatively DECLARE—that is, exhibit, make known, announce, explain, and define—what the common law is. And as the common law outside of England is the same as in it, this authoritative declaration of what it is in England, also

* Except in Scotland and in some minor localities.

† Notwithstanding Sir Wm. Blackstone's funny historico-legal blunder. He says: "The American colonies, being conquered provinces, the common law does not attach to them." But the real reason why the laws of the conqueror do not attach to the conquered, is only that they had laws before, and conquest does not change them. The colonies had no law before recognized by civilized man. Where there was another system of laws, as in Louisiana, it was not changed on annexation.

declares what it is anywhere else, where the authority of parliament extends. Hence, acts of parliament passed before the Revolution of 1776, addressed only to the people of Great Britain, were, when, and so far as, adjudged to be declaratory of the common law, binding on the colonies, and even on us, and enforced by our courts at the distance of a century after parliament ceased to have power to legislate for us.

We shall adopt the technical words "DECLARE" and "DECLARATORY," which conveniently and definitely express the exhibition of some part of the common law in an act of parliament,* as expressing equally well the exhibition of some part of the moral law, the common law of the human race, in a Hebrew national statute, enacted by the Divine Legislator.

We maintain, that the ten commandments, the Sabbath law included, though on their face only acts of national legislation, are also DECLARATORY of the moral law binding on all mankind; and that, therefore, the laws in this code are of perpetual and universal obligation; and that such declaration of moral law, making known the divine will, is equivalent to a divine command addressed to us.

A virtue, or a crime, defined by a sovereign in a statute or edict addressed to his subjects in one province, is also thereby declared and defined to all his other subjects. The only question is, whether the reason why the thing is right or wrong in that province, also exists in his other provinces.

So a court only adjudicates between the parties to a suit and its mandates are directed only to those parties. But the principles of its decisions, the laws then announced, are binding on everybody within its jurisdiction.

So a decree of a sovereign, addressed only to an individual, may be declaratory of his will and of the principles of his government to all his other subjects.

*We say parliament, for American legislatures do not enact laws declaratory of the common law, because they would then overstep the sharp boundary fixed here between the legislative and judicial functions. In England, the king being, according to the ancient theory, the fountain, both of law and justice, did not so strictly regard that boundary, but sometimes said through parliament, what an American State says only through its courts. The Hebrew sovereign, exercising both classes of powers, not only over his national, but his spiritual subjects, disregards any such boundary, and often defines a law, universal and spiritual, in a statute local and temporary.

Now, we are God's moral subjects, and under his moral jurisdiction, as much as his national subjects were; and definitions of virtues or crimes or commands, moral in nature, given to them as a nation, are thereby declaratory to us of his will; and his adjudications among them settle the law, wherever the reasons exist on which the decision was based.

The command to Israel not to "muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn,"* was local, national, and so temporary. But it was an application of, and so declaratory of, a principle of the moral law, which Paul recognizes and applies to another subject. So the Mosaic requirement of two witnesses to convict of crime, declares to us the same moral law of humanity, that modern law expresses by saying, that the accused should always have the benefit of a doubt.

It is laid down, as a rule of interpretation, that when a statute is declaratory of the common law, it shall extend to others besides the persons or things named—the stronger cases being only put, the weaker being included.† This is exactly the rule indicated by our Saviour, and now adopted by Christians, for ascertaining how far the meanings of the commands of the decalogue extend. This identity of rule of interpretation is what we would expect, if the identity of character in the human and divine statutes, for which we contend, really exists; that is, that they are declaratory—in one case of the common law, in the other of the moral law. Such character of a statute leads us to expect that the rule will be just what it is.

So we might adduce many characteristics which the commands of the decalogue have in common with declaratory statutes of Great Britain, indicating that the former are also declaratory laws, and, therefore, apply to others than those to whom they are addressed.

Our relations to the Hebrew statutes and God's Hebrew adjudications are unlike our relations to recent acts of parliament, or to the rescripts of Roman emperors, or to the decisions of the Court of Cassation, or of the Queen's Bench of the present reign; for we are not under their authority, as we are under that of the Hebrew Sovereign. Such rescripts and decisions may be to us arguments, but not commands, as they

*Deut. xxv: 4. 1 Cor. ix: 9. 1 Tim. v: 18.

† *Potter on Statutes*, p. 220-1.

would be, so far as applicable, if we were under the jurisdiction of those who issued them.

The common law is said to be unwritten ; that is, the writings that contain it do not give it as command, but as definition of existing law. So in the Bible, while positive laws are given as commands, and with great minuteness, moral law is generally not so much commanded as implied, recognized, and defined, and so declared and enforced.

We use then parallelisms, of course, not as proofs, but to bring out more clearly an intelligible principle, upon which to decide whether a law of God, commanded to one nation, is binding on anybody else. Rules dictated by common sense and experience for understanding human laws are, however, properly used in understanding analogous divine laws.

We sometimes hear it said, that all God's laws are in force till repealed. But if the law was *only* national or ceremonial, it never reached or bound us ; and, so far as we are concerned, required no repeal. And all such laws are virtually repealed by the extinction of the national government and the end of the ceremonial system. Besides, any Hebrew law that ever could have bound us at all, must, from its moral nature, be as to its main substance irrevocable.

It is commonly said, that a national law of Israel is binding on us when moral in nature, when, unless ceremonial in nature, it had always been the law, and when the reasons for it apply to us. These are good reasons so far as they go, but a logical link is wanting between them and the conclusion.

That link is the declaratory character of the laws having the qualities above-mentioned. The argument stands thus : A certain law has some or all of the characteristics just named ; laws having such characteristics are declaratory of the moral law to all God's moral subjects, wherever applicable ; therefore, the law in question is declaratory of the moral law, and so being, the declared will of God is binding on all men. Without this major proposition, expressed or implied, the moral principle would bind us, but the statute would add nothing to the obligation, for it would be no command to us. With it, a moral principle, that would otherwise have been only a deduction of reason, or only a human inference, when announced and declared in a Hebrew national statute, becomes a divine command to us.

But why is it important to bring out this major proposition, when the argument, as usually put, really implies it? Because, unless it is expressed, or distinctly before the mind, the argument is inconclusive, or, at least, not clear; and because, in all trains of reasoning, we are least liable to mistake of fallacy when every step is distinctly expressed. We can best see whether the chain is perfect when all its links are in plain sight. It is also convenient to have a clear and definite name for this essential and ever-recurring link now in question. Such is the name we borrow from the laws of England.

We admit, that before we can assert that a Hebrew statute is binding on us, we must *prove*, not by common consent, but by scriptural authority, that it is declaratory of the moral law. We also admit, that the burden of proof lies on those who maintain the affirmative.

An act of parliament is shown to be declaratory of the common law when it purports on its face to be so; when some other act of parliament declares that it is so; when some competent tribunal adjudges it to be so; when its provisions are obviously those of the common law; or, when found in a common-law code, should parliament ever issue such a code. And the law would not be deprived of its declaratory character as to its main substance, though it should contain some local and merely statutory applications, provisions, and adaptations. We do not say the American courts would be controlled by all these indications without some intermediate ante-revolutionary English adjudications, but, so far as our illustration is concerned, that is immaterial.

So a Hebrew national statute is shown to be declaratory of the moral law when it purports to be so; when some other divine law declares it to be so; when some inspired writer says, or implies, that it is so; when found in a code of divine laws, presumably all moral; or when, and so far as, it corresponds with law, that we otherwise know to be moral in nature. And such a statute, as to its main substance, is not divested of its declaratory character by local and positive subordinate features, adaptations, and illustrations.

For example, the Hebrew statute prohibiting the marriage of near relatives,* is, on its face, declaratory of the moral law, for

* Lev. xviii.

such marriages are among the things declared in the statute itself to have been punished—abominations of people to whom the statute was not addressed—before it was enacted, and therefore irrespective of it. The statute against taking interest for money,* shows on its face that it is not declaratory of the moral law, for it permits taking interest from foreigners. So the prohibition to eat animals that died of themselves† was not declaratory of the moral law, for it permitted resident strangers to eat them.

We shall give the proofs that the fourth commandment, though on its face a Hebrew national statute, is declaratory of the moral law under the following heads:

1. A Sabbath is a human necessity; and, therefore, the command to keep it is moral in its nature.
2. It was a pre-existing institution, coeval with the human race.
3. The reasons for it are as applicable to us as to Israel.
4. It is found in a pre-eminently distinguished code, shown, by its character, circumstances, and subsequent recognitions, to be an epitome of the moral law.

We shall not dwell upon the considerations under these heads that are already familiar, but merely refer to some of them.

To keep the Sabbath is a moral duty, because it is essential to the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual good of mankind.

All experience has shown the necessity for some day of rest, and almost all branches of mankind have such a day. Infidel France wiped out the old day, but was compelled to adopt a new one. Vast numbers in France now work on Sundays, but they rest on Mondays. Men cannot endure perpetual labor. Even if those who can work or rest when they please, need no set day, such a day is necessary for those whose labor is more or less involuntary—the slave, the hired laborer, the miner. Laboring beasts, too, have a right to be considered,‡ and relieved by a day of rest. That such rest may be practicable, where men must work and stop together, it must be on an understood day. To preserve physical health, and increase physical comfort, by having such a day of rest, is a moral duty.

The human mind, continuously employed in one occupation,

* Deut. xxiii: 19, 20.

† Deut. xiv: 21.

‡ Ex. xxiii: 12; Deut. v: 12-15. 1 Cor. ix: 9.

becomes narrow, cramped, and one-sided. A change of subject on the Sabbath, by lifting the mind out of its ordinary rut, renders it more healthful and symmetrical, and gives more relief from fatigue than absolute rest. To preserve mental health, by such a day's relief and change, is a moral duty.

All Christians, whether they think the fourth commandment binding or not, admit the necessity of some set day for religious meetings. They admit, also, that it is their duty to meet on such day, when once fixed upon, either by divine appointment or common consent; for otherwise, religious meetings would not be kept up, and religion would die out, and morality would die out with it. Experience shows that, as a rule, religion flourishes in proportion to Sabbath observance. To do what is essential for the preservation of religion and morality, in other words, the keeping of a Sabbath for this purpose, is a moral duty.

The necessity of the Sabbath, and, therefore, the moral nature of the Sabbath law, was recognized by our Saviour, when he said, "the Sabbath was made for man."

The reasons given for the Sabbath* point out its necessity, or utility, and so show its moral nature.

We do not say that all useful things have a permanent moral character. The tendency of some may vary with varying circumstances. Some may be useful in some ways, injurious in others. Men's judgments may differ about the tendency of some. But the observance of an institution of such radical, perpetual, universal, wholly beneficial, and indispensable utility, must be required by the moral law.

If the Sabbath is such a necessity, that to keep it is demonstrably a moral duty, why need we care whether the fourth commandment binds us to keep it or not? We answer, first, that the mere human inference, that to keep it is a duty, has been found by experience insufficient to secure its adequate observance. Human conscience is too weak to insure obedience without direct divine command, or divine declaration of the law. The decline of religion in those communities where the observance of the Sabbath is not considered of divine obligation, shows the correctness of this view, or rather, forces this view upon us. "By their fruits shall ye know them."

* Ex. xxiii: 12; xxxi: 13, 17; Deut. v: 14, 15; Mark ii: 27.

Our second answer is, that if it can be shown that any command of God is in force, it, and the mode in which its obligation appears, ought to be recognized. Our obligations and their foundations should be known in all their aspects.

All the considerations which go to prove our obligation to keep the Sabbath, also go to prove that the Hebrew national statute, called the fourth commandment, is declaratory to us of that obligation—of the divine will respecting it. Scattered and often overlooked evidences of it are thus concentrated into, and enforced by, a single, solemn declaration to all mankind, that God always and everywhere requires the Sabbath to be kept holy.

It may be said that the foregoing and similar considerations, which prove the fourth commandment to be declaratory to us of the divine law, are only the same inferences, that show it to be our duty, which have been found insufficient to insure obedience; and the conclusion, that this commandment declares the divine will to us, is no stronger than the inference, that it is a duty, on which that conclusion rests.

Our first answer is, that even supposing there is no evidence, other than the kind adduced above, that the fourth commandment is still binding on us, we should remember that the assurance from our reason that anything is duty, is less influential on our conduct, than the same degree of assurance that the thing is divinely commanded; that the amount of evidence, outside of the Bible, brought home to most men, that to keep the Sabbath is a duty, is incomparably less than that which can be concentrated into the view we advocate; and the different evidences of the declaratory character of many Hebrew statutes, all brought into a system, mutually strengthen each other, so that any duty brought into that system is much more fully proved than when it stands alone. So, when a plant is once shown to belong to a species, qualities unobserved in that individual are presented to the mind's eye, and the impression of its character upon our minds is much more full, strong, and definite.

Our second answer is, that the conclusion that the Sabbath law is binding on us, does not rest on its proved necessity alone, but also on evidences from Scripture, to which we shall refer; all of which various evidences do not merely add to, but

multiply, each other's weight. The evidence from reason and revelation together, that God still commands the Sabbath to be kept, is vastly stronger than the evidence from its utility alone, that keeping it is a duty.

Some duties would be perceived by Christians without external teaching, such as Christian love. It may be objected that this mark of the moral nature of Sabbath-keeping is wanting. We answer, that though a Christian might not, of himself, previous to experience, perceive this duty, yet, once made known by revelation or experience, he recognizes it, at least, to some degree, even if he does not admit that it is divinely commanded.

Human experience might, or might not, show how often the periods of rest and devotion should occur, or how long each should last. Divine wisdom having settled the intervals and duration in one case, at least, there is a presumption in their favor in all other cases. Until it can be shown that some other intervals or durations are better, that presumption must control, whether the proportions are, *per se*, moral or not. All experience agrees with that presumption. The French found every tenth day too few. Roman Catholic experience shows that their days of rest are too many. It may be said that the Israelites had many divinely-appointed holidays besides the weekly Sabbath, and that this contradicts the presumption that one day in seven is the proportion divinely recognized as proper. But as, unlike the Sabbath, these additional holidays were not established before or outside of the national institutions, were not commanded in the decalogue, were not enforced by the same considerations or sanctions as the Sabbath, were in all cases parts of something national and ceremonial, and were expressly countermanded in the New Testament; they were evidently not intended for the circumstances or wants of mankind in general, but for those of the Israelites alone.

If it is a moral duty to keep a Sabbath, then a divine statute, commanding it to one nation, must be declaratory of its divine obligation on all mankind.

The law of the Sabbath was, as we maintain, given to the common ancestors of the human race at the very first; and, therefore, any divine statute afterwards commanding its observance, must be declaratory of the original law still existing. So the

statute books of Great Britain and America abound in re-enactments of the already existing common law.

At the close of the account of the creation, it is said that "God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it."* Unless the contrary appears, we naturally infer that he did so at the time the history mentions it.

If Adam, Abel, Seth, Enoch, or some antediluvian seer, recorded the sublime revelation of the creation, his record must have referred to a sanctification of the Sabbath before his own time, for it is spoken of as already past, not to a foreseen sanctification thousands of years after the account was written. If Moses wrote the account from a revelation made to himself, it is barely possible, but very improbable, that he mentioned God's rest in connection with a long-past event, to enforce a law given in his own time. But if he only edited the venerable records of the world's earliest history, it is incredible that he made any such interpolation as the passage cited. We have here an instance of a critical result, or discovery (if it really is one), once used in the interest of infidelity, correcting old mistakes, and becoming powerful on the side of important truth. If the documentary theory is true, it alone is sufficient to settle the Sabbath question. Even if Moses wrote Genesis—and it can be shown, as some claim, that he wrote it before the exodus—it also shows, though not so conclusively, that the Sabbath already existed.

Prima facie, then, the history teaches that the Sabbath was instituted at the creation. Subsequent scriptural references† tend to confirm this teaching.

The reason assigned for the Sabbath—God's rest‡—occurred or commenced at the very first; the natural inference is, that the institution itself commenced when its cause or occasion or reason occurred.

This reason was not some event in the history of any one nation, but a cardinal event in the history of the world. It was, therefore, a reason for a universal, not a local, institution. If universal, we should expect it to commence immediately.

There are, in Genesis, indications of weeks§ and, by proba-

* Gen. ii: 3. † Ex. xx: 11; xxxi: 17. ‡ Gen. ii: 3; Ex. xx: 8; xxxi: 17.

§ Gen. vii: 4-10; viii: 10-12 xxix: 27, 28; i: 10. See, also, Ex. xii: 15; xiii: 6.

ble consequence, of the Sabbath, long before the ceremonial law was given.

Many ancient nations counted time by weeks, who could hardly have copied the practice from the Israelites. This implies either the tradition of such division of time from the common ancestors, or that human experience discovered speedily, definitely, and almost unanimously, the necessity for one day's rest in seven.

The Sabbath was in use before the decalogue, or any other recorded command to keep it, was given to the Israelites. The account in the sixteenth chapter of Exodus is, *prima facie*, not of its origination, but of its recognition. It is there spoken of as if well-known, "to-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath."* So the numbers of the days of the week are spoken of as if in general use.† The first establishment of new institutions among the Israelites seems always to have been particularly described, such as the national feasts and fasts, Sabbatical years, the public worship, and the like; while pre-existing institutions, such as circumcision, new moons, and the weekly Sabbath, are not. The Sabbath is spoken of in the fourth commandment itself, as if well-known, "Remember the Sabbath day."

The word translated Sabbath is used in the sixteenth chapter of Exodus, not in its etymological sense, but in the same technical sense which it ever after retained, and in which it was not translated, but transferred, into the Greek of the Septuagint and the New Testament. For a common word to acquire such technical meaning requires a long time, showing a long previous use of the word, to express such a day of rest, before the exodus from Egypt.

God enforced the keeping of the Sabbath by the consideration that he brought the Israelites out of Egypt by a mighty hand.‡ If this deliverance restored the Sabbath, then it was good ground for such an appeal to keep it, and a good reason why the Sabbath should commemorate that deliverance.

Supposing that the historical account is only sufficient to make the antiquity of the Sabbath highly probable; that probability greatly increases the force of the other considerations. Proofs of moral nature and of antiquity are each concurrent

* Ex. xvi: 23. † Ex. xvi: 5, 22, 26, 27, 29, 30. ‡ Deut. v: 15; Ezek. xx: 10-20.

proofs of both. If the Sabbath is moral in nature, probably mankind had it from the first; and if it was given to man on the institution of human society, it was presumably moral in nature.

It is objected, that the Sabbath is not mentioned in the history of all the period between the creation and the exodus, not even in that of God's chosen family. Neither is it mentioned for four or five centuries after the death of Moses, though undoubtedly kept, and though the history is there so much more minute.

It is said that God "gave"* the Sabbath to Israel, from which objectors infer, that they did not have it before, and that it was given to them only. It is also said, that God "made known"† the Sabbath to them in the wilderness, from which some infer that it was not known before. Doubtless, Egyptian slavery had deprived them of it for several generations, so that some, perhaps, had never heard of it. God *gave*, or gave back, or restored it to them with liberty. The mention of the gift, the result of liberty, does not intimate that nobody else had or was to have it. When God tells them he "made known" the Sabbath to them, it seems to imply previous existence, but, as was to be expected, also previous inexperience of that generation, or even partial ignorance of it.

If the law of the Sabbath was divinely appointed at the creation, it must be of universal and perpetual obligation, unless it has been divinely countermanded, or unless, like sacrifices, it was to impress on mankind some principle, now better taught in some other way, or unless it was a mere shadow of some substance to come. There is no indication in the Bible that it was ever intended for such shadow or figure.

It may be said that the distinction between clean and unclean animals existed from the first, and yet that it is now done away. But this distinction seems to have been a mere appendage to the system of sacrifices, and, of course, ended with that system. And there is no record of any solemn appointment of it before the Mosaic laws, and its abrogation is recognized in the New Testament.

We therefore conclude, that the law of the Sabbath was established at the commencement of the human race, was in-

* Ex. xvi: 29; Ezek. xx: 12-20.

† Neh. ix: 14.

tended for and obligatory upon the whole race; and that the national statutes commanding it to Israel, only re-enacted to them, and declared to everybody else, the original law.

The reasons assigned in the Hebrew laws for keeping the Sabbath are, in most cases, as applicable to us as to the Israelites, and show, that though the command was directed to them, it was declaratory of a law common to them and to us.

These reasons are so familiar that we shall not refer to them, except to that contained in the fourth commandment. Some of them have appeared in speaking of the necessity for the Sabbath.

The reason formally and solemnly given for keeping the Sabbath holy is, "for in six days the Lord made" all things, "and rested the seventh day, wherefore God blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it."*

Whatever this means, it is as applicable to the rest of mankind as to the children of Israel.

At first blush it would seem to mean, that God rested from creation during some natural day of twenty-four hours, and made that day, and the weekly return of it, ever afterward sacred, to be kept in commemoration of the creation and God's rest. But this position is untenable.

If that particular twenty-four hours, was made intrinsically holy, then holy time begins at different hours of the day, or night, at each degree of longitude—in one country at sunset, in another at noon, in another at midnight. But as nobody knows where the starting point was; or, if in Eden, where Eden was; or whether the account of weeks had been correctly kept from the creation till now, nobody knows when it is holy time, and so it is impossible to keep it.

Accordingly, nobody attempts to keep the very hours, even, that were supposed to be kept when God commanded Sabbath keeping to the Israelites, and so practically admit that one portion of time is not in itself more holy than another. A natural day, beginning at sundown or midnight, cannot in itself be more holy than another, for two colonies, starting from the same place, one going east, the other west, would have different days where they meet at the antipodes. Whether the command

* Ex. xx: 11; xxxi: 17.

to Israel was to keep a particular day or not, it can only mean to the rest of the world to keep one day in seven.

The reason annexed to the fourth commandment is commonly understood to mean, that God rested on the first natural day after he ceased to create, and commanded men to keep the Sabbath in commemoration of his rest, and in solemn recognition of him as the creator. But the solemnity and emphasis with which the reason is given seems to imply something far beyond this.

As the view we shall now present will not be accepted at present, though it doubtless will be in a few years, we wish it to be observed, that none of our other arguments depend upon this, or can be weakened by its rejection.

If God's seventh day was a day of twenty-four hours, it is strange that its rest should be represented as peculiar, when it was common to that day and every day since. But, as it is all but certain that God's six days of creation were, or represented, long periods, his seventh day of rest, being one of the same series, numbered consecutively with the other six, may fairly be presumed to be the same kind of a day. We therefore suppose, that God's seventh day of rest is, or represented, the whole human period of the world, from the creation of man till the end of time.

In the 95th Psalm, as interpreted by Paul, and in the third and fourth chapters of Hebrews, God's rest is represented as commencing at the close of creation,* and still continuing, "although the works" from which he rested "were finished from the foundation of the" social† "world;"‡ professors of religion now "may seem to have come short of it;"§ believers are now entering into God's rest || —that is, participating in it; and this rest, this Sabbatism, is still unexhausted for believers.¶ To sustain the popular theory, that this rest is in heaven, our authorized version changes the tenses of the verbs and the meanings of words; and changes the rest itself, from God's to men's rest.**

* Heb. iv : 3, 4. † So, certainly, Matt. xiii : 35; Luke, xi : 50; Heb. ix : 26; and probably elsewhere. ‡ Heb. iv : 3.

§ Heb. iv : 1.

|| Heb. iv : 3.

¶ Heb. iv : 9.

** We have elsewhere given reasons in detail, that seem to us conclusive, for believing that the true meaning of God's rest, in Hebrews, is as above stated. See good, old, wordy John Owen, who says it is "the gospel rest."

As God made all things for his own glory, and especially this earth to be the theatre of a sublime display of his perfections to all the intelligent universe, his rest was not mere cessation from creation, not only a discontinuance of his preparations for, but the actual entrance upon, that sublime display, to be continued as long as the human race continues on earth. This rest is not a negative, but a positive state. God "sanctified" * the seventh day, his own seventh day, during which he rests; that is, he devoted it to a holy use, as well as man's seventh day, in which he, too, was to rest. God "rested and was refreshed," † not only by his holy complacency in the preparations he had made, but especially by the design and use of those preparations.

As God, during his seventh day, has ceased from creating the place for the display of his glory, and devoted this period to the higher purposes of that display itself, and all the holy purposes for which he made the world; so man, during his seventh day, is to drop his own pursuits and the worldly preparations for spiritual service, and participate in God's rest; that is, devote the day to the same objects to which God has devoted his seventh day. As God rests on his seventh day and is refreshed, ‡ so man rests on his seventh day, and is spiritually refreshed by partaking of God's holy joys and pursuits.

This gives to the reason annexed to the fourth commandment a meaning, clear, intelligible, and sublime. The Sabbath is not a mere memorial of the creation, or of the deliverance from Egypt, or of the resurrection, but an imitation of what God had done. Man was to keep one day in a group of seven days, for God kept one day in a group of seven days. Man's days are all alike; if God's days were not alike, but each of the six working days were thousands or millions of years long, and his seventh day only twenty-four hours, the parallelism on which the whole reason is founded fails. § By our view the Sabbath is not even mere imitation, but a special day of uninterrupted participation in God's own holy occupations. These in each case are of a higher class than the

* Gen. ii : 3.

† Ex. xxxi : 17.

‡ Ex. xxxi : 17.

§ It will be objected, that this makes the duration of the present world much longer than is generally expected. We admit it, and are prepared to prove from scripture that it is highly probable.

preparatory work of the six days of labor, as moral and spiritual are higher than physical.

In this case, astronomy, geography, and geology, by making known to us the facts to which the Bible refers, have given to some parts of it meanings incomparably more satisfactory and sublime than they were supposed to have had when those facts were not known. As knowledge and experience increase in the world, the meanings of God's revelations become better known. The deeper and higher import of divine expressions becomes clear. We know the meaning of many such expressions, that probably even the inspired men who uttered them did not know.

Other reasons for the Sabbath, and meanings of God's rest, still unperceived, may yet be known. The discovery of errors of fact and interpretation may yet clear up many difficulties.

We repeat, that we do not present this view of the reason for the fourth commandment, with the expectation that *at present* any weight will be conceded to it, however confident we may be that this view will hereafter be generally accepted. But if this argument fails, nothing else fails with it.

The law of the Sabbath is found in that code, eminently distinguished above all other laws, by the solemnity of its promulgation—God's own voice pronouncing it under circumstances the most imposing that man ever saw; by its registry, as no other law ever was registered—in God's own handwriting,* and that on tables of stone, the symbol of perpetuity; by its preservation alone in that holiest of all shrines, on which ever blazed that mysterious and awful brightness which marked the special presence of Jehovah, while all other laws, written—not by God, but by Moses; not on stone, but in a book—were laid up outside of that shrine; and by its recognition ever after as unique and pre-eminent. It is called "the ten commandments,"† "the commandments,"‡ "the words of the covenant,"§ "his covenant,"|| "tables of the covenant which Jehovah made with you,"¶ "the testimony,"** "the law."††

The code thus solemnly delivered, recorded, enshrined, and

* Ex. xxxi: 18; xxxii: 16; Deut. ix: 10. † Ex. xxiv: 28; Deut. iv: 13.

‡ Matt. xix: 17. § Ex. xxxiv: 28. || Deut. iv: 13. ¶ Deut. x: 9, 11, 15.

** Ex. xxxi: 18. †† Rom. vii: 7.

recognized was, whatever else it may be, the covenant between God as the national sovereign, and the people of Israel as his national subjects;* or, as we call such a covenant, their national constitution. This covenant, and this relation of national sovereign and subject, are often recognized in the phraseology of the Old Testament: such as the "tabernacle witness,"† "ark of the covenant,"‡ and the like; that is, witness, or record, or place of record, of the covenant. Samuel, especially, insisted and dwelt upon this relation when the Israelites asked for a human king.

It is necessary here to guard against the confusion of thought, fostered by our old commentaries, by which the national rule of God over the Israelites is confounded with his spiritual rule over them and us, so that expressions applied to one came to be applied to the other, and so the precise point of the instruction is often missed.

In a government like that of the United States, where each man is both sovereign and subject, the constitution is necessarily much taken up with the organization of the machinery through which the diffused sovereignty is to be exercised. In a monarchy, where the sovereignty is, nominally, at least, in an individual, and the organization already fixed, the constitution consists very much of principles and limits of powers, as in Magna Charta. In Israel, the national sovereign being absolute, as claimed or intimated in the preface to the decalogue, and often elsewhere, the whole instrument is taken up with the duties of the subject. The covenant is "*commanded*."§

But while this constitution imposed on the sovereign no duties, and no limitation of powers, the principles underlying the commands laid down in it for the guidance of his subjects, are the same as those on which he himself acts; and the character he would impress on his people is a reflection of his own character. Such a collection of such principles is, by its very definition, an epitome of the moral law. God's subjects were to be like him, as they were so often told elsewhere.|| We call attention to the fact, that this was the expressed ground of the fourth commandment. It alone has this mark of being a

* 1 Sam. viii: 7, 10; 19, etc.

† Acts vii: 44.

‡ Num. x: 33; Deut. xxxi: 26; Josh iv: 7; 2 Sam. xv: 24, etc.

§ Deut. iv: 13.

|| Lev. xi: 44; xx: 7, 26; 1 Pet. i: 15, 16.

moral command. Man, after six days' work, was to keep holy the seventh, because God did so. In each case the material and intellectual work derives its importance from being a preparation for the spiritual, in which God and man unite.*

The object of this extraordinary government was, by means of this one nation, to preserve and increase holiness in the world—that is, obedience to God's moral law—and to prepare for the coming of Christ, who was to "save his people from their sins"†—that is, secure obedience to God's moral law, as well as deliverance from punishment. We should expect that the cardinal principles of that government, embodied in its constitution, would be the same as those that the government was established to promote, that is, the principles of God's moral or universal law. Accordingly, all the other commands of this covenant-code, or constitution, are admitted to be moral in nature, different in kind, as well as in degree, from the ordinary national laws of the Hebrews.

Our Saviour recognizes the decalogue as unique and moral, when he speaks of "the commandment."‡ So Paul.§ In these, and such cases in the New Testament, a list of commands, containing the sum of human duty, is evidently quoted from.

The fourth commandment refers to our duties both to God and man; those before it mainly to God, those after it mainly to man.

The presumption, from these considerations, that the Sabbath law, equally with all the rest of that code, is moral in nature, is not contradicted by anything, but is confirmed by its necessity; by the universality of the reasons given for it; and so far as that is proved, by its establishment at the very beginning of human society.

If the decalogue contains the principles of the universal law, then, though addressed only to a single nation, it *declares* that law to everybody else under the authority of the same law-giver, and when so declared, it is just as universally binding as if directly addressed to all mankind.

Of course, there may be, and in fact there are—not in the decalogue itself, but in other Hebrew legislation—rigors and penalties and circumstances and modes of executing the Sab-

* 1 Cor. iii: 9; 2 Cor. vi: 1.

† Matt. xix: 17-19.

‡ Matt. 1: 21.

§ Rom. xiii: 9; Eph. vi: 2.

bath law, not moral in nature, not declaratory of any law binding on us, but positive, local, and temporary, binding only on those to whom they were addressed, and expiring with the national organization. So the principles of the common law, but not the monarchical forms, of England survive in America. So in many decisions of the English courts, received as law by us, local laws are included, which we eliminate.

It is objected to the foregoing conclusions, that, as the Sabbath was "a perpetual covenant" * and "a sign" † between God and that nation, and so peculiar to that nation, that, therefore, it must have been new, positive, and merely local.

As the Sabbath was the part of the covenant or constitutional code most conspicuous to a spectator, it was in accordance with the ordinary use of language, that it should be sometimes put for the covenant itself, which it every week brought forcibly to mind. Though a sign between Jehovah and his national subjects, it was not, like circumcision, an arbitrary sign, or a mere sign, but a sign in the sense of a striking indication, specimen, or evidence of the covenant, and of the accord between God and his national subjects. So the keeping of the Sabbath now is a sign between God and his spiritual subjects, and, as a rule, its proper observance is the measure of the accord between them.

So long as Israel was God's only people, the Sabbath was peculiar to them. It was, in fact, a peculiar sign, that distinguished them from everybody else. But nothing in the expressions cited implied, that when the peculiar relation between God and that people should cease, and others should become his people, that the same sign should not be between them also.

A sign, in the sense of an evidence or indication, is at least as likely to be old as new. But even if it is meant that the sign was conventional, as well as self-indicating, that does not show that it was new or local. Many previously existing things have been constituted signs, or treated as such. The posture and movement of the snake, ‡ doubtless the same before the temptation in Eden as since, though the term sign is not applied, are treated as a sign or memorial of the humiliation of the arch fiend, whom the snake had represented. So thorns and thistles, doubtless already growing, though probably not so abundantly

* Ex. xxxi: 16.

† Ex. xxxi: 13-17; Ezek. xx: 12-20.

‡ Gen. iii: 14.

as since, are treated as signs or reminders of the curse.* So the rainbow, doubtless as old as the fourth day of creation, was expressly appointed a sign or token of God's covenant with Noah† and his descendants. The rainbow, thus appointed a conventional sign, contains within itself, as Dr. Stephen Alexander has pointed out, the physical indications of the permanence of the course of nature. The same laws whose balanced action maintains that permanence, also produce the rainbow. The Sabbath and the rainbow were alike appointed signs of what they themselves indicate. We do not say, however, that the rainbow of itself, without the associated divine promise, *infallibly* indicates permanence; for radical changes have taken place since the time when it must have first appeared. Neither do we say that keeping the Sabbath is always an *infallible* sign, for wicked men may keep it with superstitious strictness as a mere ceremony. We remark here, that those who unnecessarily infer that there was no rainbow before the flood, deprive the advocates of the Sabbath of a conclusive answer to one of the principal arguments against its perpetuity, as well as keep up an unnecessary conflict between Scripture and science. Returning to our enumerations of already existing things made signs: God's words were to be a sign;‡ persons were appointed signs—Isaiah § and Ezekiel || to the Israelites. When the lion passant was made the sign or cognizance of the Percys, or the eagle that of the French Empire, it did not imply that the lion or the eagle was a new creature, or that one was peculiar to Northumberland, or the other to France, or that they had not been used for similar purposes hundreds of times before. Adoption of anything as a badge does not imply novelty, or that its use as a badge is its only or principal use. One purpose does not exclude others.

The Sabbath seems to have been treated as a memorial of the deliverance from Egypt.¶ There is no intimation that this was its principal purpose. No other reason for it appears, than that deliverance restored it to them after deprivation by Egyptian slavery.

Another objection to our argument is, that the Hebrew legislation did not distinguish between moral and positive laws,

* Gen. iii: 18.

† Gen. ix: 13.

‡ Deut. vi: 8; xi: 18.

§ Isa. xx: 3.

|| Ezek. xii: 6.

¶ Deut. v: 15.

but that they are often in the same list, as if of the same class; and especially, that commands to keep the Sabbath occur in the same lists as purely ceremonial commands. True, man did not recognize the distinction, but it is not the less real. God did recognize it in the purely moral character of the decalogue. In other enumerations of laws they might be grouped, not according to their nature or ground or importance, but according to their associations at the time, among the people to whom they were addressed. As the distinction in question is real, God knew it, if man did not; and we should expect an enumeration of radical laws in which it is observed.

We do not suppose the exhortations to keep the Sabbath, and the directions about it in the Old Testament, outside of the decalogue, add anything to the evidence of its perpetuity, except that it did not, as some ceremonial laws did, become obsolete under the divine national government. For other moral commands are repetitions, specifications, amplifications, or applications of those of the decalogue.

The conclusion then is, that the Sabbath law, being moral in nature, established from the foundation of human society, founded on reasons universally applicable, and found in a code presumably all moral, and recognized as the sum of human duties, is declared to us in the fourth commandment to be a part of the divine law, binding on all mankind.

In reply to the arguments which support this conclusion, it is said that the New Testament releases Christians from the Sabbath law, both in direct terms, and by excluding it from all its enumerations of duties. In reply to the argument, from the necessity of the Sabbath, it is said that the silence of the New Testament leaves the whole subject open to the discretion of Christians.

Our Saviour did protest against the traditionary exaggerations of the Sabbath laws; perhaps, even relaxed the merely positive features of the laws themselves, for he was "Lord of the Sabbath,"* but he recognized it as "made for man,"† and, therefore, to continue as long as necessary for man—not one set of men, but for all men.

Paul recognizes each Roman Christian's right to esteem "one day above another,"‡ or, "every day alike." Did he

* Mark ii : 28.

† Mark ii : 27.

‡ Rom. : 5, 6.

mean absolutely every day, or only every day enjoined by the ceremonial law, whose observance he was discountenancing? If the latter, then "every day" does not include that set apart anterior to and outside of the ceremonial law.

Paul also condemned the observance among the Galatian Christians of "days, and months, and times, and years,"* because those Christians were free from the law (not the moral, but the ceremonial), and were in danger of putting their dependence for salvation partly on it, instead of wholly on Christ. If the Sabbath is a ceremony, it is included among those days; if a moral duty, as all Christians virtually admit it to be, it is not.

The language of those passages is broad enough to include the weekly Sabbath, but not so definite as to make its inclusion certain. The question seems to be decided in the Epistle to the Colossians, where the Apostle gives the reasons why the ceremonial observances should not be kept up: He says, "Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holiday, or of the new moon, or of Sabbaths, which are a shadow of the things to come, but the body is of Christ."†

If the weekly Sabbath had been specifically intended, the expression would have been "the Sabbath," or "the Sabbath-day," or, less probably, "the Sabbath-days," as, by a gross mistranslation, our authorized version puts it. In every case in the Bible, where the weekly Sabbath is specifically spoken of, the definite article "the," or a limiting pronoun, or other word, as "my," "thy," "his," "her," or "every," is used. Once only where it is meant, it is mentioned as one of a class, "to-day is a holy Sabbath."‡ Other kinds of Sabbaths, or rests, and the class at large, have not the definite article. The weekly Sabbath is thus recognized as the special day of rest, unlike all other times of rest. The seventh year, the great Day of Atonement, the Feast of Tabernacles, etc., are each called "A Sabbath." As neither the definite article nor a defining pronoun is used here, "Sabbaths," *prima facie*, means, not the weekly Sabbath, but other times of rest—either days or years. That the weekly Sabbath is not included appears to be certain, from the reasons given for discontinuing the observance of such times of rest.

* Gal. iv : 10.

† Col. ii : 16, 17.

‡ Ex. xvi : 25.

Two reasons are given for this discontinuance: first, as the ordinances "against us," "contrary to us," were blotted out by the death of Christ—"THEREFORE, let no man judge you;" second, the ordinances enumerated are "shadows of the things to come."

Now, the Sabbath was made for man, is essential for man, and was kept by the first Christians under inspired guidance from the very first. It cannot, therefore, be included in a list of things that are "against us," and "contrary to us;" and that are discontinued for that reason.

The second reason for discontinuing these observances was, that they were "shadows of the things to come," the substance of which was of Christ. Now, in the Bible, the weekly Sabbath is never represented as a type or shadow of the things to come, or of anything else; its associations are with the past and present. It is excluded by this mark from the Sabbaths that are shadows of the things to come, and that are for that reason obsolete or optional. It is true that uninspired men, inconsiderately following tradition, sometimes speak of the Sabbath as if intended for a type of "the heavenly rest;" but in doing so, they divert attention from its true significance, and the representations of Scripture about it, and gratuitously furnish to its opponents their strongest argument against its perpetuity. Even if Heb. iv: 9, refers to heaven at all—which we maintain it does not—calling its occupation a Sabbath-keeping does not recognize the Sabbath as a type of heaven, but only as having similar pursuits. If everything to which some spiritual thing is compared is a type, then it may be plausibly argued, that marriage, being a type of Christ's relation to the Church, is obsolete, because a shadow of things to come.

Such are the mischiefs done by the reckless assertions, of which some of old commentaries are so full, that this or that person, place, event, or institution, is a type, or has some mystical meaning, in cases where the Bible intimates no such thing.

We have in the Bible a list of laws, in which the great features of the moral law are declared and defined. In this list the Sabbath law is included. We have, also, a list of suspended laws, in which we will, for the moment, suppose the Sabbath law may or may not be included. It is certainly in-

cluded in the first ; it is not certainly included in the second. We are bound by that which is certain ; not released by that which is uncertain.

All the arguments which go to prove that the Sabbath is moral in nature, of pre-Mosaic origin, and founded on reasons permanent and universal, and that the code containing it declares the moral law, also go to prove that it is not included in the list of obsolete observances.

It may be objected, that if Paul did not intend to represent the Sabbath law as no longer in force, his language was, at least, incautious. So he may seem to have spoken incautiously, when he said justification was without works, and James to have spoken incautiously, when he said justification was not by faith alone. In all these cases it was not the intention to give a guarded statement of all sides of a doctrine, but only to present one side to those who were looking only at the other.

The strongest arguments against the perpetuity of the Sabbath (except that founded on the fiction that it is a type) are, that it is not mentioned in any of the New Testament catalogues of duties to be performed, that its observance is not enjoined on the Gentile converts, and that it is not excepted in the lists of abrogated holidays.

In answer to this we remark, that our Saviour's recognition of the necessity of the Sabbath was equivalent to a command to keep it ; that its obligation must have been well understood among Christians, for they did keep it under inspired guidance : and that there was comparatively little necessity for calling attention to the particular day of worship, when such was the zeal of the early Christians, that every day was a day of worship, and that they were commanded to assemble* for social worship, which implies some known day, and we know that was the first day of the week,† called the Lord's day.‡

Besides the absence of necessity for repeating the Sabbath law to Christians in general, some of them, doubtless, lived under such municipal regulations, and in such servile condition, that commands to abstain from labor on that day would have burdened their consciences with obligations impossible to perform. The involuntary work of a slave on the Sabbath may, perhaps, be considered a work of necessity.

* Heb. x : 25.

† Acts xx : 7 ; 1 Cor. xvi : 2.

‡ Rev. i : 10.

But if we admit that difficulty of performance can in any case postpone this law, it may be claimed that we thereby admit that it is not an express divine law, but only a useful usage, and, therefore, only obligatory when, in our judgment, its usefulness preponderates over its inconveniences.

To understand this, we must remember that there are two great classes of moral laws—the primary, consisting of supreme love to God, and love to man, modified and proportioned according to his character and relations to us; and the secondary, or auxiliary, consisting of means and guards to the first. The primary class is never unenforced. Some provisions of the secondary may be for a time, not by man's judgment or option, but by divine allowance. For instance, the law of monogamy, established at the beginning, and guarded by the seventh commandment, was, for a time, unenforced, and polygamy and divorce were tolerated. They had taken such deep root that they could only have been eradicated by miracle. So they were allowed, for the hardness of their hearts. War, in nearly all cases a violation of the sixth commandment, has not been specifically and peremptorily forbidden. Slavery, often, if not always, a violation of the golden rule, was allowed by divine legislation. The New Testament enforced some laws previously unenforced; but not, in terms, all moral laws. It did not require the soldier to desert, nor the citizen to rise against Nero, nor the slave to run away. So slaves of heathen masters were not exhorted to rest from their work on the Sabbath, for they could not. This no more admits that the Sabbath is not a divine law than that monogamy is not.

We may be asked, if one divine law can be postponed, or temporarily unenforced, why not any other—for instance, not to sacrifice to idols? Because, such sacrifice involves a violation of the primary duty of supreme love to God, either by the offerer, or by those around him, and so must be stopped at all hazards. Moral duties, that are only auxiliary to higher moral duties, may—by divine, not human, option—be temporarily unenforced.

The catalogues of specific duties in the New Testament, as well as in the Old, were made out for immediate hearers, and adapted to their circumstances. In some cases, future generations were left to ascertain their particular duties from comprehensive

commands or general principles. In the case of the Sabbath, the fourth commandment, its obvious necessity, and the example of the early Christians who could keep it, ought to have secured its observance, when postponed, as soon as it became possible.

We do not propose to discuss the manner of keeping the Sabbath. The great point is to establish its divine obligation ; that once settled there is little room for doubt how it should be kept. The rigorous exactions and specific directions of the Mosaic law, outside of the decalogue, are not addressed to us, and when not moral in nature are not declaratory of any divine law to us ; and, therefore, are not binding on us. The moral, and still obligatory, part of the Sabbath law is to " keep it holy."

Anything is holy when set apart to the service of God. If it is a moral agent, his whole moral being is so set apart, and thus conformed to the character of God. If it is a thing, its only use is to be in God's service. If it is a portion of time, it is to be honestly appropriated to God's service. That is to be its only use, except (to use the happy classification of the old divines) works of necessity and mercy, such as were allowed by our Saviour. Boundaries more definite than this cannot be fixed beforehand. Particular acts will be on one side of the line or other, according to the varying circumstances of each generation.

One great reason why the divine obligation to keep the Sabbath is denied by so many is, that its advocates so often fail to point out the distinction between the moral precept and the purely positive national commands about it, scattered through the Old Testament. They sometimes even quote passages containing such merely positive commands as if directed to us. Thus they confound what really is commanded to us with what anybody can see is not, and so convince many that no command on the subject reaches us at all.

The Israelites kept (perhaps were commanded to keep) a particular day of the week, which, counting from their starting point, was the seventh day. But as one day is as good as another, the command to keep that particular day, even if meant by the language of the fourth commandment, is positive in its nature, not declaratory of moral law, and binding only on the nation to whom it was addressed. Other nations, though

bound to keep some day, were not bound to keep that particular one. We do, in fact, keep a different day.

If two carriages meet on the highway, it is the moral duty of each, irrespective of any human law, to turn out for the other. But the law of England, that each shall turn to the left, and the law of New Jersey, that each shall turn to the right, are positive, binding only where enacted, and subject to alteration. So the moral law of God, to keep holy one day in seven, binding on all mankind, was accompanied or followed by directions how and on what day it should be carried out by the nation to whom it was immediately given, leaving the rest of mankind, if they have good reason for it, to carry it out in some other way, or on some other day.

Any positive feature in the fourth commandment no more proves the Sabbath to be a mere positive institution, than the positive feature in the law requiring opposing carriages to turn to the right, proves it to be a mere positive regulation that they shall turn out at all.

Regarding the keeping of one day in seven as moral, and which day, as positive, the apostles and primitive Christians, with or without express divine command, could with great propriety discontinue the observance of the day associated with so many superstitious observances, and keep the day which, besides its other uses, commemorates the resurrection of the Redeemer.

Art. VII. — CHURCH QUESTIONS IN FOREIGN MISSIONS.*

By Rev. JOHN C. LOWRIE, D.D., New York.

WE often find in the Reports of our Foreign Missionary Boards, references to what we may call Church Questions. These questions relate to practical measures in the spread of the gospel, more or less ecclesiastical in their nature. They may be distinguished from the gospel itself, though almost necessarily included in all well-devised efforts for its extension in the world. We have an example in this Report, in the case of certain churches, "formed on the so-called union basis;" and it is added, "if it should be deemed expedient for them to remain as they now stand, they will virtually add a new denomination to the number of Christian churches," . . . "a result to be deprecated, but it is one which may be overruled for good, especially if grace be given unto all to follow the golden rule in their intercourse with each other." These church questions may be expected to occupy attention abroad, as well as at home. We cannot yet dispense with a "Committee on the Polity of the Church," and a "Committee on Bills and Overtures," in our General Assembly—two committees, by the way, which seem to be entrusted with similar duties; much less should ecclesiastical matters be left to shape themselves in newly-formed missionary communities. At the least, the principles on which they ought to be settled should be well understood, both by the supporters of missions and by the missionaries in the field. We do not design, however, to enter on any extended discussion of these matters; our aim is rather to give a statement of some practical questions, with brief suggestions as to their answers.

At the outset, we meet with a question which goes to the foundation of all church ideas. Why should we trouble converts from the heathen religions with ecclesiastical matters?

* *The Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.* New York, 1875.

Why should we say anything at all to them about the church? It is the gospel we wish to give them, not the church. Now, we do not differ from those, who thus put the case, in their views of the supreme importance of the gospel of the Grace of God in the salvation of sinners by faith in Jesus Christ; we define the point thus fully as of the greatest moment. But we must think that the way of doing this is not unimportant. We would not "trouble" the converts, but we would save them from trouble, by beginning our work for them on right views. The simple story of the cross includes correct instruction, presupposes the proper calling and training of the teachers, is followed by public confession of faith, receiving the sacraments, fellowship with the saints, a godly life, Christian discipline, active labors for good objects, and all the means of self-support and the perpetuation of the gospel ministry and ordinances. With all of these ideas, the Christian Church, the organization of Christians in church fellowship, is closely connected. The missionary might as well attempt to live in an ideal house, and not in one of wood or stone, as to preach the gospel in the abstract. If his preaching is with power from on high, an external organization of some kind must follow. Granted that the form of church government is of minor moment, as compared with the great truths of the gospel, but a scaffolding is needful for the rising palace. In this case both are sacred; "the church of God" is "the pillar and ground of the truth." All enlightened men in Christian lands have considered this church question; regard the church as a divine institution, and are not likely to change their convictions; and until these convictions are changed, it cannot be expedient for missionaries to proceed on the theory of indifference to this matter. As to leaving the native converts to choose for themselves the form of church government, eventually they will do so, without doubt; but at first we might as well leave it to our children to choose whether they will be Presbyterians or Episcopalians, republicans or monarchists; and in any case, the converts can not avoid meeting whatever disadvantage may arise from the existence of different denominations, as we shall see presently. For ourselves, and our missionary brethren, it is our happiness to regard our church system, in its doctrines and its leading features of order, as taught by sacred Scripture, adopted by

the primitive Christians, upheld by considerations of expediency, and having distinctive advantages in the great work of missions, as will be apparent further on.

Holding these views of the church—and, commonly, all but Plymouth brethren do hold distinctive views, while theirs are simply demoralizing, in a military sense—we next meet certain ideas of comprehension, and so we pass to the question of a union church. This is, in its last analysis, nearly the equivalent of Broad Churchism. It involves our making a distinction as to the relative importance of doctrines, which we should be slow to make; an affectionate child receives loyally the slightest intimation of a beloved father's wishes, and does not distinguish between great and small. Earnest men, moreover, will not long be contented with the idea of indifference which underlies this specious church theory. But while we abhor the notion of Broad Churchism in our missions, we may well cherish all Christian charity toward those who honestly differ from us, and allow to others the liberty we claim for ourselves—following the golden rule. The idea of a non-denominational church is attractive to some minds, but whatever may be its first steps, the union church usually ends its journey in one of the denominations, commonly in one of the extreme sects. In one of our foreign missionary countries the union church, bearing the great name of "The Church of Jesus," after a short course, ended under the banner of a narrow prelacy; in another, the union church, called simply "The Church of Christ," seems to be already an ultra independent body. In both these countries the leading denominations have their representatives, so that, practically, the non-denominational movement has secured no uniformity. We might easily predict this result. From the nature of the case, some order must be followed. Forthwith practical questions arise as to what it shall be. Shall the confession of faith of our native converts be made by their being placed out of sight in water, or will pouring or sprinkling agree with the Scriptural warrant, and sufficiently represent the virtue of baptism? And what shall be said of the infant children of believing parents? Shall the native minister be ordained by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, or by the hands of a single minister, or, per adventure, by a committee of the communicants, empowered

by a majority vote for the purpose? These and similar questions come for reply inevitably. At present they will receive different answers from different bodies of Christians; and we must tolerate the diversity until, under the teaching of the Holy Spirit, we reach the same views of what is true. In the meantime, let us not magnify, unduly, the points of difference.

On the other hand, we can see certain great advantages resulting from denominational action in missions. A wider range of field is occupied, a greater amount of work is done, a larger variety of method is brought into use, and tested for the common benefit, a clearer and fuller testimony for Christ and his truth is maintained, all for the greater spread of the gospel than could be secured under any plan of visible and organic unity. That such unity is not Christian union, is shown in the missions of the Roman Catholics; witness the disgraceful jealousies and contests of their different orders, resulting in their banishment from China, and the expulsion of Christianity for so long a time from Japan. That our Protestant diversity may also result in certain evils we need not deny; witness in our country the settlement of four or five ministers, each supported in part by home missionary funds, in a community of a thousand souls, with little or no prospect of numerical increase.

This evil can and will be corrected. Here and abroad the law of love, of simply doing as we would have others do to us, will govern all the faithful servants of Christ, and keep them from objectionable action. We must honor all who are in Christ by faith; we would lay no straw of hindrance in their way; we would help them to the utmost; yet both they and we must stand in our lot, as witnesses, unto Christ and his truth. This position is set before us in inspired words: "first pure, then peaceable;" "holding the truth in love." It is idle to tell us that we cannot love and honor our Christian brethren of denominations differing from our own, and, therefore, we must break down all lines of separation, and become fused in a visible unity. As well insist that there shall be no infantry, no artillery, no cavalry, in a well-organized army. It is all in vain to urge the differences among Christians as hindering the work of missions abroad. Fifty years of modern missions attest the general catholicity and the wonderful progress of their work. The difficulties of denominational action

are found mainly here at home. We may leave them to the teaching of the Divine Spirit, and the restraints and guidance of Divine Providence. When the churches of this country come to unite in one denomination, then may our missionaries abroad go and do likewise; but earlier movements of this kind on their part will be a vain attempt to march an army into an enemy's country, and to sustain it there permanently, after cutting loose from every source of supply and reinforcement.

We take it for granted that denominational action will continue, and we must consider the relation of the native church to the church at home. Here several questions of practical interest emerge. Shall the foreign missionary be ecclesiastically connected with the local or native church, or shall he remain outside of it? Shall the native church be independent of the mother church, or be affiliated with it for a time? How far shall the rules of the church at home be considered applicable to the missionary churches, referring specially to the subject of appeals to the higher church courts, and to the far greater subject of qualifications to be required for the work of the ministry? When missionaries of different churches, holding almost identical views of doctrine and order, find themselves in the same field, how shall they and their native churches sustain the best relations to each other, and yet retain their connection with the churches at home by which they are supported? This question is now a practical one in several countries. As showing the differing practice in some of these matters, it may be stated, that in the missions of our foreign board three methods are in use. In one country there is no general church organization, though there are local churches; the "mission" governs all. By its direction certain persons, not always natives merely, are ordained; the churches are not connected in presbyterial relationship; the missionaries, those of them who were ordained before they went abroad, remain in connection with the presbyteries at home. In another country, the missionaries are organized as a presbytery, in connection with our General Assembly, but it has neither churches nor ruling elders, nor does it expect to have any; while the native ministers and churches, a goodly number, are organized substantially as presbyteries, without connection with the

church here. In other countries still, the rule usual in our country is followed : presbyteries are organized in connection with the General Assembly, which embrace all the ministers, foreign and native, and all the churches within certain geographical boundaries, with a ruling elder from each church in the meetings of the presbytery. The first of these methods grew out of its history ; and the second has also certain reasons in its favor, which formerly had, perhaps, more weight than they have now. It is not the purpose of this article to criticise either of these methods ; while yet its views will favor the third as the more excellent way.

Instead of giving a categorical answer to most of these questions, we invite attention to some of the conditions of the case ; rightly viewed, these, we think, will suggest the proper reply. And first, as to the foreign missionary—the minister sent out from this country. It is important to form a just conception of his position, and yet, from the circumstances in which he is placed, mistakes may readily occur. He is usually superior in character and education to the native ministers ; often he is the honored instrument of their conversion ; they owe their training for the ministry largely to his labors ; and their support from the home church, so long as it is necessary, depends very much on his recommendation. On the other hand, they may sometimes be his superiors in intellect and breadth of understanding ; they possess a knowledge of the character, ways, modes of thought, language, etc., of their own people, which a foreigner seldom completely acquires. From the nature of the case, therefore, the foreign minister must be the counselor of his native brethren ; his temptation often is, that of being also their director. We think his true position is that of their co-presbyter. Both then stand in regulated liberty toward each other, and each may share the benefits of the distinctive gifts of the other, while bound by common sympathies. It is abroad as it is here at home in our presbyteries ; the most distinguished and gifted of our ministers meet cordially their less-known brethren as of equal grade in office. They may differ in talent, station, influence, as these things may be allotted to them by Providence ; they agree in their high calling by grace into the church and its ministry, which is their common and greatest glory in the Christian household. As

in the Presbytery of New Brunswick, so in the Presbytery of Ningpo—the gifts and grace of all the members are happily available in common bonds for the spread of the gospel. We magnify the divine institution of presbytery in this matter. Its apostolic history is quite sustained in its modern missionary examples. All that is valuable in counsel and direction, and, if need be, in authority, is well secured by its simple, easily-understood, properly-guarded administration. Nothing in the position of a missionary as a *quasi* bishop, standing outside of the native church, giving his counsel in a way that is almost necessarily irresponsible, for he is a member of a church association in a distant country, not able to supervise his actions closely; nothing in such a position can be favorably compared to the status of a co-presbyter in a mission field. We may go still further, and claim that nothing in the theory, not of a *quasi*, but of an official bishop, in the prelatie sense, can subserve so many interests as the episcopal functions of a presbytery rightly constituted and faithfully fulfilling its sacred duties. It can see that the gospel is preached, discipline maintained, godly living encouraged, self-support promoted, the calling and right training of ministers well considered; in a word, that all the gifts and grace of all the servants of Christ shall be subjects of careful study and wise nurture. And we believe that the greatest efficiency of our evangelistic work, at home and abroad, and also the wise economy of its administration, are to be sought in the line, not of centralization, but of presbyterial action, each presbytery taking charge, so far as practicable, of all such work in its own bounds. Not that we can at all dispense with the Central Board of the General Assembly, but that we should place all practicable details of work in the hands of the presbyteries.

We must not overlook the theory of some esteemed brethren, that the foreign missionary is an evangelist—a theory which may mean much or little, as it is defined. In the sense of Acts viii: 4, all Christians are evangelists, and this idea is properly coming to the front in recent times. But when our presbyteries ordain missionaries as evangelists, we apprehend the common idea is, that they are ministers without pastoral charge; to this is superadded, in most cases, the purpose of their going out to fulfil their ministry in new settlements, or

among the unevangelized, but still as preachers rather than as pastors. We see not on what ground a presbytery could ordain an evangelist who was to go straight to a pastoral charge in another presbytery; but in regard to foreign missionaries, in many cases at any rate, it would be found impracticable to ordain them abroad. Their work is essentially missionary, and not pastoral, yet it is not merely itinerant in our day. Sometimes the missionaries are pastors for a time; sometimes teachers, translators of the Scripture, etc. They are usually settled in their homes, and full of work at their stations, it being, perhaps, their temptation to neglect itinerant service; but in view of all their duties, it may well be questioned whether the title of evangelist, in the sense of our usual practice, is appropriate; it would seem to be preferable to ordain them simply as ministers of the gospel, a title convertible with any other, and suitable for every phase of missionary work. Thus far all seems plain; but when we are told that our foreign missionaries are evangelists after the order of Timothy and Titus, the case becomes difficult. Conceding this, our theory of presbytery, as connected with our missionary service, must be greatly changed; for Timothy received "the gift of God" from the hands of the Apostle (2 Tim. i. 6, 14); and he, as well as Titus, exercised powers which no modern presbytery would entrust to one of its members—among others, that of ordination. Perhaps, we may be content to regard these evangelists as occupying, not a permanent office in the church, not as representing a permanent order in the ministry, but as employed by the Apostles for a special service—a view which was held, apparently, by the framers of our form of government. (See ch. iii; see, also, *Dr. Alexander McLeod's Catechism*, under this title.) Eusebius speaks of them as having a special work: "Having laid the foundations of the faith in foreign nations, they appointed other pastors, to whom they intrusted the cultivation of the parts they had recently occupied, while they proceeded to other countries and nations." This is a description that is seldom applicable to modern missionaries.

While we cannot admit the Episcopal claim of diocesan duties for these evangelists, we can hardly regard them as ordinary members of presbytery; and, therefore, we do not derive from their history much light in solving some of the questions in

hand, and we fall back on our general principles as to church affairs. These lead us to give to all the members of our presbyteries in foreign missions, whether foreigners or natives, very much the same duties as are sustained by presbyters in Christian countries. We see no good reason for making the foreign ministers either semi-bishops or independents pure and simple; let them remain only Presbyterian ministers, members of presbytery with their native brethren. They may, after a while, be out-voted, as the native members increase in number, and the sooner the better. Dangers from class distinctions are suggested, founded on diverse nationality. We make little of either objection. The foreign members will probably always possess as much influence in moulding the action of presbytery as they ought to desire; indeed, the practical danger is that of their having too much, so that the gifts of the native members may lie too long in abeyance. So far as the local expenditure of the funds received from the Board at home is concerned, we need apprehend no injurious action by the native ministers and elders, even were this matter placed in the charge of the presbytery with all its other business, as we should prefer, rather than in the hands of a "mission." In either case, all financial matters would be committed to the hands of men appointed by the Board to take charge of them.

Turning now to the native church, we can readily see how its conditions point to the same conclusion. It may be taken for granted that this church, in doctrine and order, will be very much the same with the church by which the missionary was sent out. It ought to be, but it is fair to admit that there are points of diversity. The native church members are usually but little advanced in Christian knowledge, not reaching the attainments of many of our children of ten years of age. They have not been trained to habits of self-government, forecast, and orderly deportment. They are easily discouraged and too easily overcome by temptation. They are unduly influenced by their own previous ideas and by the examples of their unconverted neighbors. We do not disparage the grace of God that is in them, and which shall lift them to a higher level of character and conduct; but taking them as they commonly stand, we at once see why they should not be deprived of

any legitimate guiding, restraining, elevating influences. No theory can afford to leave the native churches to themselves; direction, counsel, advice, in some form or way, must be given in the first instance, and continued for a time. This may be given by those who stand outside of the local church, and then it may be liable to imputations of insufficient acquaintance, of partiality, of inadequate power, of irresponsible action, but whatever is good in such direction, need not be lost in the union of the foreign and native members in the same body; while their close acquaintance and official connection under the venerable forms of church organization, tend to guard against various evils, and to increase the force of all that is good. It tends especially to lessen the distance between the foreigner and the native, a matter of great moment. So stands the case as between independency and presbytery. As to the prelatic way of exerting the required influence, we may concede certain advantages of the "one-man power," in promptness of action particularly, but great are its defects in not developing the best energies of the native church, as well as its positive risks of ill-informed or of ill-judging administration.

In further support of the foregoing views, we may argue: 1. That the want of common church organization leaves the native Christians in a state unfavorable to their growth and strength; they are like grains of sand, instead of being knit together in one body and compacted by that which every joint supplieth. 2. That the want of organization on Presbyterian principles lessens their power of resisting those who seek their own things and desire to have the pre-eminence, and exposes them to the danger of divided counsels, while it weakens their sympathy for their brethren living in distant places; the great idea of the union of all in the faith, is in danger of being overlooked. 3. Especially in the training and ordaining of ministers is this organization, embracing both the foreign and the native factors of the case, inestimable in its practical use. 4. The duty of self-support can be well fostered on this plan of presbyterial relationship, in which the strong must help the weak, and the slow learn to keep step with their more active brethren. 5. Self-government is also promoted by well-known rules, cordially adopted, and tending to personal freedom combined with the welfare of the many; if these are "governed churches," it is be-

cause they so elect, and the result is self-government in the best sense. 6. These views accord with the definition given in our book of the members of a presbytery (see *Form of Government*, ch. x)—a definition founded on right reasons and sustained by our history. 7. Actual trial has shown that such presbyteries work well; witness the presbyteries in China, India, Brazil, and other countries. 8. We think the examples of the early Christians, as recorded in some instances, and inferable in others, support the theory here advocated, but from the limited space at command we cannot well enter on an examination of the subject. 9. One thing seems clear, that these Scripture precedents do not forbid nor discourage this conclusion, while the great text on the subject of church affairs, "Let all things be done decently and in order," may be accepted as supporting our views. We are not required to deny that some of the preceding points may be adduced in support both of prelatic and independent theories of the church; indeed, we concede a certain merit in some of the features of these theories, but we think our own system accords with the Scripture pattern, and happily embodies things essential to the welfare of missions. We are quite willing to see it stand or fall, as its merits are tested in the work of evangelization.

While we rest in this conclusion, we do not advocate too early organization. Much depends on the qualifications of men who are to be chosen as office bearers; and much depends also on general and local circumstances.

All thoughtful students of the earlier labors of missionaries to the Nestorian, Armenian, and other nominally Christian churches, must have sympathized with their desire to reform the evils of these churches from within, rather than by encouraging their converts to form separate organization. It was well to proceed in this way at first, nor is it surprising that the results were not encouraging. Not merely in the days of Presbyterian and Congregational missionaries did this method of proceeding soon reach its end, even the Episcopal missionaries among the India-Syrians were constrained to abandon the hope of reformation by the Syrian Church itself. Similar disappointment, in less degree, seems to have attended the Moravian "Diaspora" movement, and the purpose of Wesley to work within the English Episcopal Church. Reverting to the organ-

izing of churches in our foreign missions, we suppose that organization might usually take place when suitable persons are found for the office of elder; and if the right men are found as pastors, then the case is doubly plain. When they are able to stand alone, let these churches be encouraged, and, if need be, urged, to go onward by themselves; in the mean time, let them be so affiliated with the parent church, as to be under its ecclesiastical care and direction.

This provisional relationship does not imply, however, that our missionary churches in India, China, and elsewhere, should be related to our General Assembly in all respects, as are our home congregations, presbyteries, and synods. Certain modifications of our rules are needful in their case, as, for instance, in regard to studies for the ministry. The peculiar circumstances should be well considered. Probably, the time is not distant when judicious and careful action on the subject should be taken by our chief court. This may be taken, we apprehend, without following the method of sending down "overtures" to the presbyteries. We may regard the missionary churches as ecclesiastically connected with the church in this country, not by constitutional bonds, nor by those of legal charter, but by the procedure and formal action of its highest court, and by the sacred ties of common Christian faith and sympathy. No undue haste is admissible; no action not in full harmony with our church views is to be thought of; yet a competent commission might suggest important measures on the subject for the consideration of the General Assembly. It has been proposed that appeals and complaints should be limited to one remove, and thereby little encouragement be given to the litigious spirit which is said to characterize some of these foreign people. It might be considered whether the right of voting in the General Assembly, and on overtures sent down by it, should be given to the native members of the missionary presbyteries; leaving their right of membership in other respects untouched, but reserving authoritative action on much of the business of the Assembly to its American members. As to another point, we see no strong reasons for requiring annual meetings of synods. This matter was brought before the last General Assembly, and a report was adopted in regard to one of the missionary synods, which did full justice to one side of the

case. But it would require several times the sum of money recommended for the traveling expenses of this synod, if all the members were in attendance; it would take the members from work which they could not well leave; it would, in this particular case, require the use of four, if not five, different languages or dialects, doubling the confusion of former Canadian legislative experience. And if it be merely or chiefly the American missionaries who are to be convened, then the reply is obvious, they cannot be a synod in the sense of our church standards. In our own early history, it was many years before a synod was held, and it may be supposed that in our missionary churches for a good many years to come presbyteries can perform all needful supervision.

The only other question to which we shall now refer in a few words, grows out of the relations and interaction of presbyteries on the ground, which are connected with churches at home holding the same views of doctrine and order. In some countries northern and southern Presbyterian missionaries occupy the same or neighboring stations; in others the Reformed (Dutch), the Scotch, and the American Presbyterian missions are neighbors. It is evidently desirable to unite the native churches, whenever it is practicable, in common ecclesiastical bonds; and yet, it is also desirable that they should, for a time, maintain their relations with the parent churches; while the foreign members of presbyteries ought not to be separated from the church at home. How shall these differing features of the case be happily ordered? To solve this question requires careful study. We may suggest that much depends on the spirit with which it is considered at home and abroad; in some cases, nothing can probably be done at present. As to practical measures, wisdom from above will be given when the time shall come for taking action. In the meantime, not much will suffer by delay. Perhaps, it will appear eventually that a two-fold organization can be advantageously effected, all of the foreign and the native members being included in both. Certain matters should be reserved to each, so that they could go on harmoniously in separate grooves. First, a general affiliation with the mother church during the days of native feebleness, as already advocated; second, a local organization on some basis not inconsistent with the former; some general

method of this kind would, perhaps, answer the purpose. If not, some better way will in due time appear.

Here we end this paper. It has treated of questions of method and external order, but our interest in these questions is owing to their close connection with the spiritual welfare of the church in unevangelized countries.

Art. VIII.—THE UTRECHT PSALTER AND THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

By Rev. FREDERIC VINTON, Librarian of Princeton College.

EVERY reader of the Book of Common Prayer perceives the noble eloquence of much of its phrase. Comparatively few, however, are aware of the high antiquity of some petitions and formulas therein contained. From the frequent prefixing of Latin rubrics, they may infer that the originals belong to that older church, still revered in great part of Europe. But many do not suspect that the hymns and creeds they so often rehearse have come down unchanged from the early ages of Christianity, and are the product of pens famous in their day, but long since lost sight of, across the gloomy sea of the middle age. The veneration, or the presumption, of prelatists has claimed for some of these precious fragments antiquity and dignity to which they are not entitled. It is not surprising, indeed, that formulas held sacred from infancy should be defended with spirit against innovators in the English church. So remote is the period to which they must be referred, and so various the judgments of men claiming the recondite learning involved, that intelligent persons may well remain in doubt. Yet, some of those formularies are so evidently the fruit of polemic zeal; they exhibit such a passionate eagerness to bind the conscience to a specific conception of the trinity and of the person of Christ; and they denounce God's vengeance so promptly against such as fall short of their own extreme orthodoxy, that they have not lately carried universal assent. What is called

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the Athanasian creed manifests these characteristics in so high a degree, that the candid, though zealous, mind of Tillotson, two centuries ago, thought "the church would be well rid of it." It was dismissed from the prayer-book adopted for the church in America by the convention of Episcopal clergy who fixed the liturgy after the revolution. The ground of so doing was no lukewarmness about the trinity (almost the sole subject of this symbol), but a sense of unreasonableness in the damnatory clauses which fence its front, its flank, and its rear. This creed surpasses all others in the exactness of its philosophy, and the anxiety of its definitions, while yet it employs expressions not to be clearly understood. Yet it begins, "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith; which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." And after arguing the trinity and the incarnation in thirty-three out of thirty-seven of its clauses, it ends by saying "this is the catholic faith, which, except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved." Such audacity of assertion has no parallel in the Scriptures, and is foreign to all modern usage. Disestablishment in Ireland has lately led the English friends of prelacy to consider how to secure a lengthening of tranquillity at home. Some have wisely thought that their fortress would be made safer if they abandoned such an advanced bastion as the Athanasian creed. Its defenders have opposed the proposition to abstain from reading it, according to the rubric, by insisting on its honorable antiquity. None, indeed, are now so bold as to invoke for it the shelter of the venerable name it bears. But, it is maintained that it can be traced to the fifth, or certainly the sixth, century, and the erudition of Ussher is appealed to in confirmation of this claim. In his treatise, *De Symbolis*, written 1647, the archbishop of Armagh had mentioned a Latin Psalter, in manuscript, seen by him in the library of Sir Robert Cotton, at Westminster, to which was appended the Athanasian creed. This manuscript "he judged to come up to the age of Gregory the Great," who died A. D. 604.* But Dr. Waterland, writing

* Ussher's description of this manuscript is thus: In priore, quod Gregorii I tempore non fuisse recentius, tum ex antiquo picturæ genere colligitur, tum ex literarum forma grandiuscula, symbolum Athanasianum Fidei catholicæ præfret titulum.—*Ussher, De Symbolis, Præf., 2.*

of this creed in 1723, says, "There is not at this day, in the Cotton library any such manuscript of the Athanasian Creed; nor, indeed, any Latin Psalter that comes up to the age of Gregory, or near it." "These considerations persuade me, that Ussher had seen some manuscript which has, since that time, like many more, been lost or stolen from the Cotton library." The disappearance of the codex, described by Ussher, was long lamented by learned churchmen; since it was believed to be the most ancient known in Europe, containing the Athanasian Creed. Within a few years, however, the Rev. C. A. Swainson, Canon, of Chichester, guided by a description given by Prof. J. O. Westwood, of a manuscript he had seen in the library of the University of Utrecht, established the identity of that manuscript with the one described by Ussher, as seen by him in the Cotton library. The importance of this document in the renewed discussion respecting the antiquity of the Athanasian creed, led Dr. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, with the concurrence of Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, to solicit from the University of Utrecht permission to make photographs of several portions of the codex. "On these photographs, at the request of Lord Romilly, an elaborate report was made by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. In this report, after much learned argument—palaeographical, artistic, and historical—Sir Thomas arrived at the conclusion that the date of the manuscript must be placed at the close of the sixth century. The interest attaching to the opinion of so distinguished an antiquarian, led to further inquiries; which issued in an application on the part of the trustees of the British museum, to the authorities at Utrecht, to allow the manuscript to be deposited, for a time, with a view to inspection by the British Museum. This was permitted by the guardians of the Utrecht library; and thus the scholars and archæologists of England had an opportunity of examining it at leisure." Eight such experts, supposed the most competent British inquirers, reported to the trustees the result of their examination; and seven decided that the manuscript is of the ninth, or possibly of the eighth, century.* So far, therefore, as Ussher's judgment,

* These reports have been reprinted in an appendix to the Psalter; and it is to these that frequent reference has been made in the course of this article.

respecting the age of the Athanasian Creed, rested upon the supposed antiquity of this manuscript, it must be held to be unsupported.*

The *prima facie* evidence for the antiquity of the Utrecht Psalter is, that it is written in capital letters; that these are not separated by spaces between words or sentences (unless to indicate Hebrew parallelism), and that three columns stand side by side on the breadth of each page. These characteristics, it is assumed, point unmistakably to the earliest times. But it has been proved that the occasional use of all three continued many centuries later. In the British Museum is a Latin manuscript of Cicero's *Aratus*, having all these peculiarities, and formerly referred to the third century, which now is proven to be of the tenth. Both the Utrecht Psalter and the *Aratus* are accompanied by drawings, evidently of early origin; and it is believed that, to preserve the verisimilitude of the whole, when reproduced long afterward, the ancient character was copied, as well as the ancient ornamentation. In support of this theory, it is observed that the script is not of the firm and easy character common to a scribe who writes in a hand habitual to him. Certainly it appears to great disadvantage, when compared with the steady and vigorous strokes found in the uncial letters which form the headings and first lines of the Psalms (apparently in the scribe's own hand), or in the fragments of the New Testament, appended to this Psalter, perhaps by Sir Robert Cotton: "This impression of weakness increases on examination, till it amounts to conviction, that the writing is an imitation." The presence or

* Daniel Waterland (ob. 1740), of whom Archdeacon Hare observes, that "among theologians of his time, he was the most powerful champion of the true faith," attempted to fix the age of the Athanasian Creed by arguments drawn from the period when certain heresies originated, which this creed condemns. He refers it to the first third of the fifth century. It was the subject of a comment by Venantius Fortunatus, about A.D. 570; and, no doubt, it must have existed and gained extensive credit before it attained that honor. Waterland believes it to be of Gallican origin; finds traces of St. Augustine in its phraseology; and concludes it to be the composition of Hilary of Arles. No author of that period needed to blush if it was ascribed to him. In subtlety of thought, in dignity of expression, in concentration of meaning, it resembles the Institutes of Justinian. Its literary merit may partly account for its early and extensive reception.

absence of punctuation is a clear ground of discrimination among manuscripts. "The semi-colon, proper and inverted, is hardly seen in manuscripts before the end of the seventh century, and is not common till the end of the eighth or ninth. In this Psalter the two forms are freely used throughout, and have every appearance of having been inserted by the reviser of the manuscript," before it was considered finished. The color of the ink in the marks of punctuation is the same as in the letters themselves. Another sure sign of late transcription is found in the use of abbreviations. Except in sacred names, these are unknown in manuscripts of the period to which this Psalter has been referred. But this manuscript, on almost every page, exhibits such forms as *qnm* for *quoniam*; *nr* for *noster*; *oms* for *omnes*; *tra* for *terra*; as also *c* for *con*; *b* for *bus*; *neq* for *neque*; and even *st* for *sunt*; and *t'* for *tur*. Of the last, Mr. Bond, of the British Museum, remarks: "The frequent use of this contraction (*t'* for *tur*) is alone conclusive evidence of the late date of the Psalter." Another "decided mark of late age is the discontinuance of the practice of reducing the size of letters at the end of a line, in order to complete a word." "Still stronger, and more decisive of a later age, is the illuminated initial letter at the beginning of the First Psalm." "The initial B, of the first Psalm, gilt, edged with red, belongs to the class found in Carolingian manuscripts of the ninth century." "Early manuscripts have no large initials." It cannot be said this ornament was subsequently applied; for a large space was originally reserved for this initial; and, moreover, the same employment of gilding is found through the first line of every subsequent Psalm.

A separate argument for the recent execution of this manuscript may be found in the drawings, which occupy the space between every two Psalms. Evidently they consist of sketches originating very early, while a reminiscence of classic mythology still survived, yet modified long afterward by the introduction of a Christian treatment. Between the 105th and 106th Psalms (and often elsewhere) is a drawing, in which are represented the sun and moon: the one by a human head, crowned like that of Phœbus, with a circlet of rays; the other head has the horns of Selene above it. Yet, between these is a

figure of the Savior, having round his head a nimbus marked with the cross. In the drawing meant to illustrate the 97th Psalm (98th in our version), Christ is introduced with a nimbus, bearing balances as the King of righteousness, and surrounded by adoring angels; yet a classic river god reclines at the bottom of the representation, his limbs seeming to end in convolutions like those of a Triton. This incongruous mixture of mythology and revelation marks the twilight between paganism and Christianity. Yet, other drawings indicate an advanced period of Christian iconography, in which "the crucifixion is fully represented, and our Saviour's form is uncovered to the waist." Professor Westwood remarks upon this: "I consider that the subjects of many of the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter are such as would not have been tolerated in the 4th or 7th centuries; in fact, previous to the second Council of Nice (A.D. 787), the crucifixion, God the Father, the Trinity, the Blessed Virgin as an object of worship, etc."

Still another argument, leading to the same result, is deduced by Canon Swainson, from the anthology of sacred lyrics appended to the Utrecht Psalter; all being in the same character and handwriting as the Psalter itself. These consist of lyric passages from the Old and from the New Testament, the *Te Deum*, *Gloria in excelsis*, *Quicumque vult*, and other pieces. Dr. Swainson says, "I have now examined, or received notes of eighty or ninety Psalters, and the result is this: There is not a single Psalter known, of a date anterior to the time of Charlemagne, which contains the Psalms, Canticles, and other contents of the Utrecht Psalter." In addition to this, the text of these canticles, as the *Te Deum*, *Gloria in excelsis*, and the two creeds, was not fixed in the early centuries—perhaps, not before the age of Charlemagne. Yet, in the Utrecht Psalter, they read precisely as in our modern prayer books.

The result of all these converging lines of reasoning must be to produce the conviction, that the manuscript before us, though imitating an ancient original, was executed after the year 800. So far, therefore, as it has been relied on to support the claim of the *Quicumque vult* (known as the Athanasian creed) to bind the faith of Christendom, on the ground of

extreme antiquity, it wholly fails those who appeal to it. The arguments of Waterland, drawn from internal evidence, are far more persuasive.

So great an interest in the Utrecht Psalter was awakened by its return to London, after the long absence of two centuries and a half, summoned as a witness in a matter of national concern, that it was thought a judicious speculation to photograph it entire, and offer the *fac-simile* for sale. Of the copies brought to America, one is now before me; and bears on its cover the inscription, "Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J., from R. L. and A. Stuart, New York, 1875." It is a splendid folio, fifteen inches by eleven; (the dimensions of the vellum page having been twelve and a half by ten inches); thirty-two lines make a full page of writing, and the space occupied by the writing is about eight and a half by nine and a half inches. It is richly bound by W. Pratt, of London, in crimson morocco, finely tooled on the back and covers, and gilded on the edges. The whole number of leaves is 185, each being thick as Bristol board, and blank on the *verso*. Every *recto* has three columns of writing; and every two Psalms are separated by drawings, stretching the breadth of the page, and covering in all about as much space as the text itself. The *fac-simile* represents even the unwritten pages; and on that which may have been the cover, we find, after the well-known usage of Sir Robert Cotton's library, "Claudius, c. 7," indicating the book-case in which it once stood, having the bust of that emperor on the top. On this leaf we also see, "*Bibliothecæ urbis Trajectinæ donavit D. de Ridder*," showing the name, perhaps, of the Dutch family to whom it was sold by the thief who carried it from England. On the following leaf is an "*Elenchus contentorum in hoc codice*," enumerating more than the volume now contains. The third leaf exhibits the half obliterated name of "Robert Cotton,"* and at the bottom the

* Sir Robert Bruce Cotton was the most renowned antiquary of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. (1570-1631). He availed himself of the dispersion of monastic libraries, in former reigns, to acquire a great number of mediaeval manuscripts, once the treasure of ecclesiastics, but little regarded by the new possessors of abbeys and priories. Three generations of his blood and name contributed to augment the store, till it was felt to be worthy of national regard. In 1706 it became the property of the crown; and in 1757 the foundation of the British museum library.

stamp of the "*Academia Rheno-trajectina*." Leaf fourth is occupied by a rude introductory drawing, which appears to represent the Psalmist, writing under the dictation of an angel; while across the page the King of Israel sits on his throne, holding a sword whose point turns downward. Angels below are launching their weapons at the prostrate enemies of God. This action, representing the spirit of the imprecatory Psalms, is repeated almost continually throughout the volume; till the reader half forgets that the agency is celestial, and thinks he sees the fiends of Dante tormenting the sad inhabitants of hell. It may seem no unreasonable conjecture, that such drawings as these, grown perfect at length in malignant ingenuity, may have quickened that poet's conceptions of the Inferno; and also taught Henry of Saltrey to describe what the Knight Owen saw in Saint Patrick's pit.

The capitals employed in the Utrecht Psalter are not like the broad, square characters to which we are accustomed in *fac-similes* of uncial manuscripts of the Greek Testament. They are of the variety called rustic, written with much greater economy of room. Many of the letters (as E, F, T, L, P), are still further compressed in breadth, so as to occupy but half the lateral space which we are accustomed to see allowed them. A is never crossed, and Y is always surmounted by a dot.

Various unusual forms of Latin words are presented in this manuscript. In the 2d Psalm, at the 8th verse, we find *Postola a me, et tibi dabo gentes*. In the 10th verse of the same, we have *Herudimini, qui judicatis terram*. In Ps. cxxvii: 3, *Uxor tua sicut vitis habundans*. *Habyssi* is sometimes written for *abyssi*. The third and fifth verses of the 4th Psalm, are followed by the word *Diabpsalma*: though the word *Selah* is not found there in our version. The word is elsewhere written *Diabsalma*. In Psalm i, verse 4, the ablative case of *facies* is given as *faciæ*. Again, Psalm ix: 3, *Peribunt a faciæ tua*. In the Apostles' Creed, which is appended, we see "*Ex Maria Virginæ*." So, also, we have "*constituæ*" for *constitue*. It is hard to tell whether the ignorance, or the carelessness, of the scribe caused him to write, as a heading for the *Quicumque vult*, "*Incipit fides Catholicum*." Of the first it is impossible to acquit him; and oftentimes it is hard to forbear the charge of stupidity.

His carelessness caused him to omit several verses, (subjoined below in a smaller hand,) from the song of Moses, included in the appendix to the Psalter. These things afford some hint of the dark night of illiteracy which was hanging over Europe when they could be written. We might infer the same from the insipidity and dullness of an apocryphal Psalm, introduced at the end of the whole manuscript, in which David is made to narrate certain circumstances of his early life. So curious a fragment may be received with interest, having, perhaps, never before been printed in America : *

"Pusillus eram inter fratres meos, et adolescentior in domo patris mei. Pascebam oves patris mei. Manus meæ fecerunt organum, et digiti mei aptaverunt psalterium. Et quisquis adnuntiavit domino meo de me? Ipse Dominus, ipse omnium exaudivit. Ipse misit angelum suum, et tulit me de ovibus patris mei et unxit me in misericordia unctionis suæ. Fratres mei boni et magni, et non fuit beneplacitum in eis Domino. Exivi obviam alienigenæ, et maledixit me in simulacris suis. Ego autem evaginato ab eo ipsius gladio amputavi caput ejus, et abstuli obprobrium a filiis Israhel."

Meanwhile, it may be observed, that the text of the Psalms appears to be, word for word, the same as in a Psalter printed at Mayence, probably in 1462; while both agree with that of Tischendorf's Vulgate, printed in 1873. The rubrications prefixed to the several Psalms, fitting them for recitation in churches, are also the same.

In the drawings already referred to, artists have thought they perceived the work of two or three hands; one, at least, of a very early age, and one, much inferior—perhaps contemporaneous with the manuscript itself. It is plain, after slight inspection, that there are many coarse and careless sketches, dashed off apparently with great rapidity. The negligence becomes at length so great, that no regard is paid even to the perpendicularity of walls. Inelegant and impossible postures are given to human figures. The awkwardness of form and attitude strongly reminds one of the rude

* It is introduced by the following rubric: hic psal. proprie scribitur dd [David] et extra numerum cum pugnavit Goliath. Hic ps. L. in Ebraeis codicibus non habetur, sed ne a LXX interscriptus, b: edictus e[st] et idcirco repudat* [repudiandus.]

drawing in the Bayeux tapestry. Buildings represented are covered with tiles, seeming to indicate a southern origin. The same might also be inferred from the umbrella or parasol held over the head of a king, in the drawing which separates the 26th and 27th Psalms. The introduction of this canopy into northern Europe is of very recent origin. The agriculture, the sports, the arts, and the manners of the period are easily made out. Double and triple representation is constant in these illustrations, enabling even the unlearned reader to trace the meaning of the poet, and the progress of the action described, independently of his words.

Considered in its connection, either with literature, art, or theology, this *fac-simile* must be regarded with great interest. Although the scrutiny to which it has been submitted, has caused to be rejected the claim which was made for it to an extreme antiquity, yet the period to which it *must* be assigned is the age of Charlemagne, and of Haroun al Raschid. The great soldier and legislator of mediæval Europe died in 814; and the delight of Eastern fable expired in 810. The manuscript here presented to us was actually contemporaneous with these illustrious men, whom romance and song have so loved to commemorate, that something of mist and halo seems to environ those glorious names. This sensible relic of their age may help to rehabilitate them in colors of reality. The very strokes of the pen, which we are here enabled to trace, were drawn in the life-time of this glorious pair. We may even go so far as to imagine, that these very pages may have passed beneath the eyes of Charlemagne, friend and patron, as he was, of learning and religion. "The northeast of France" has been conjectured to be the region in which this manuscript was written; and that monarch reigned and is buried at Aix-la-Chapelle. When this manuscript was written, Germany was yet pagan; and Saxony had been the late and unwilling convert of Charlemagne. The fanatical hosts of Mohammed had been checked—half way across France—by Charles Martel, only seventy years before. The Danes and Normans had scarce begun their invasions of England and the south. The earliest university had not yet begun to be. Slavery prevailed in every part of Europe. America was to remain yet seven hun-

dred years beneath the horizon of night. This Psalter is more than a thousand years old.

The photographing of this manuscript may well seem an auspicious incident for the world of letters. We had *fac-similes* before of a few famous Greek manuscripts, executed at an enormous cost, and, therefore, accessible to few. Latin palæography had very seldom enjoyed such honors. And, as ancient manuscripts will never cross the Atlantic, American scholars may well rejoice at this opportunity—not merely to scan a brief *fac-simile*—but virtually to study, at leisure, a whole codex of early date. It has been suggested, by one of those who reported on the Utrecht Psalter, that the British Museum might borrow and photograph the chief palæographic treasures of Europe, and thus familiarize English scholars with secrets of learning shut up in Paris, Vienna, and Rome. Why, rather, should not an American association be formed, composed of wealthy amateurs, and the chief colleges, seminaries, and libraries of the country, expending ten thousand dollars a year in photographing the best monuments of learning of every kind? This would be virtually to efface the disadvantage of our transatlantic habitation, and place the original evidence on all questions of sacred and classical learning within the reach of the poorest scholar. A hundred partners, each contributing a hundred dollars, would afford the needful funds; and each would, in twenty years, be possessed of a store of palæographic documents far superior to the present treasures of the most favored metropolis.

Art. VIII.—CURRENT NOTES.

REVIVALS IN COLLEGES.

AS THE Day of Prayer for colleges, schools, and youth, recommended by the Assembly (the last Thursday of January) is at hand, we wish to call the attention of ministers, churches—and especially of Christians more immediately connected with these institutions—to the great importance and promise of Christian colleges, in connection with the revival of religion now in progress through the country.

Contrary to a very extensive impression, colleges organized like most of the older American colleges, contain more that is favorable to religion in their individual members, and favorable to these great religious awakenings which stir communities to their depths and *en masse*, by the powers of the world to come, than is found in most other spheres of life and activity, open to young men. Allowing the utmost for the temptations, and the powerful social currents toward evil that undeniably have place in them, still, where do not these have place? Where are young men set free from the moral probation which tests whether they will give way to their ruin, or withstand and conquer, unto glory, honor, and immortality? On the other hand, there are few spheres of youthful activity combining so many and such potent influences for good. The nature of the student's occupation involves constant attention to themes pure and high, either referring directly to the Great Supreme, or to topics related thereto, and lifting the soul from Nature up to Nature's God. This is true in various degrees of the Physical, Mental, and Moral Sciences.

Then it is ensured, as no where else, that all the academic community regularly attend daily and Sabbath worship, and receive regular religious instruction, so that they are never allowed to forget God, the soul, and eternity, as too often happens when they go from home to the mercantile or mechanical pursuits of the cities.

Then they come almost entirely from the Christian families, where they have been religiously trained, and have imbibed religious convictions and impressions, so that a large proportion have already become Christians in full communion by profession. For the last few years a record of the church relations of students matriculated in Princeton College has been kept, and from two-fifths to one-half of those entering there were already communicants. Others become so during their college course, and it may be safely assumed that something like half or more than half of the students of our Christian colleges are ordinarily Christian professors of some evangelical denomination. Could all these be induced to act as the salt of the earth, and to shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life, what a power for good beyond estimation would they be! How often would they arrest those in the downward road to perdition, while they "allure them to brighter worlds and lead the way."

And how does the quick and intense social interworking of college companionship running through so great a throng, constitute a medium through which, if evil sometimes runs, the celestial fire of God's spirit will fly with electric speed from soul to soul.

This is no fancy sketch or mere theory. It is verified in the relig-

ious history of American Christian colleges, in which, how often have those familiar with them seen the Word of God running very swiftly, and the whole body of students stilled and awed by the felt presence of God; the all pervading inquiry heard, "what shall we do to be saved," the chief anguish sorrow for sin, the most exuberant pleasure that of sin forgiven, "joy in God through the atonement," and in the hope of his glory. Such scenes have we repeatedly witnessed in both the colleges with which we have been connected, and among the fruits are great numbers of Christian ministers and laymen, serving their generation by the will of God, ornaments and pillars in church and State, some holding the supreme places of government and teaching in the churches to which they belong. Saying nothing of those Presbyterians and Congregationalists who hold chief pulpits or positions in seats of learning, two of our own class in Yale college who were subjects of a great awakening there, became and are now bishops of the Episcopal Church, and quite as conspicuous are the cases of Bishop Johns and the late-Bishop McIlvaine of Princeton College.

Shall we not pray and labor for such a visitation in our colleges during the present winter, which, if it bring in the reign of death in nature, is eminently the season of spiritual harvests? Shall it be that the church at large shall be thus quickened and increased, while colleges and other educational institutions are passed by, because they do not prepare the way of the Lord, and open wide the gates that the King of Glory may come in? God forbid; and let not colleges wait till the town or surrounding country, and their churches, are reached. Christian colleges present far greater facilities for the beginning of such a work than average communities, while, commonly, the revivals that have reached and blessed the churches and people around, have begun and had their strongest development in the college. And not only this, but so widely ramified are the connections of colleges, through their students, with other churches, that the sacred flame glowing in them has often kindled itself in other and distant churches, and thus promoted a general revival. So, in Yale College, in 1831, the work having first pervaded the college, spread thence with unprecedented power to the town, and thence to nearly every town in the State of Connecticut.

Let, then, all members, guardians and friends of these institutions, ask themselves, shall it be due to our apathy and sluggishness, if we now fail of similar blessings? Shall it be so that God will pass by and let us alone because we are joined to our idols? That Christ cannot do many mighty works among us because of our unbelief?

Art. IX.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

William Mullen, of Belfast, Ireland, and Scribner, Welford & Armstrong, of New York, bring out *Science and Revelation ; a Series of Lectures in Reply to the Theories of Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, and Spencer ;* a goodly octavo, at the price of \$3.00.

These lectures were called forth by the strongly materialistic and atheistic utterances which proceeded from Mr. Tyndall and others, before the British Association at Belfast, in the autumn of 1874. These have been made familiar to the thinking world, and have excited the general abhorrence and detestation of Christendom. It was felt that an antidote was needed in that city where the poison was sown. The result is the volume before us, portions of which had already been called for in pamphlet form by the thousand, and even ten thousand.

The several topics and authors, are as follows :

Science and Revelation : Their Distinctive Provinces ; with a Review of the Theories of Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, and Herbert Spencer ; by J. L. Porter, D.D., LL.D., Belfast. Design in the Structure and Fertilization of Plants—a Proof of the Existence of God ; by Dr. Moore, Glasnevin. An Examination of Herbert Spencer's Biological Hypothesis ; by Rev. Professor Watts, D.D., Belfast. The Doctrine of an Impersonal God in its Effects on Morality and Religion ; by Rev. W. Todd Martin, M.A., Newtownards. Miracles and Prophecy—Direct Proofs that the Bible is a Revelation from God ; by Rev. A. C. Murphy, M.A., Londonderry. Prayer in Relation to Natural Laws ; by Rev. Professor Wallace, Belfast. Man's Responsibility for His Belief ; by Rev. John Macnaughtan, Belfast. The Life and Character of Christ an Evidence of the Truth of Christianity ; by Rev. John Moran, Belmont. The Achievements of the Bible a Proof of its Divine Origin ; by Rev. William Magill, Cork.

The treatment of these momentous themes is able, of some of them remarkably so. The book in its spirit and contents is highly adapted to correct the aberrations of minds warped by the fallacies of fashionable skepticism, to strengthen the wavering, and to furnish valuable materials for offensive and defensive warfare to those who are called to contend for the truth against the specious attacks of recent assailants.

While all these lectures are able, and often fresh and original in their presentation of the issues and arguments of the controversies involved, we have been specially impressed with that of Mr. Martin, on the " Doctrine of an Impersonal God in its Effects on Morality and Religion."

Dodd & Mead publish *The Character of St. Paul*, by Dean Howson, a course of five lectures delivered at Oxford, on some endowment, it does not appear what, except that it prescribes that their topics are to " have some

Reference to the Difficulties of Scripture on the Evidences of Christianity." The analysis of Paul's character given by the lecturer is quite a fresh and original contribution to both of these subjects. The unfolding of his natural traits, as modified and vitalized by grace, and exhibited in the manifold exigencies that called them forth and put them to the proof, which the volume presents, is full of interest, while it is most instructive and suggestive as an example to others. The writer treats : 1. Of the Apostle's Tact and Presence of Mind ; 2. Of his Tenderness and Sympathy ; 3. Of his Conscientiousness and Integrity ; 4. Of his Thanksgiving and Prayer ; 5. Of his Courage and Perseverance. While all may be studied to profit, that on tact and presence of mind deserves special attention. Our observation convinces us that a vast amount of power in the ministry is wasted and sacrificed for want of tact.

Hodder and Stoughton, of London, have published *Bible Truth and Broad Church Error*. By WILLIAM RITCHIE, D. D. A timely and valuable contrast of the orthodox and evangelical doctrines, with that form of denial or disbelief of them, which constitute, what is known as Broad Church Theology. Dr. Ritchie gives no uncertain sound. He starts with maintaining plenary, including some sort of verbal inspiration, as being, duly explained, essential to any authoritative revelation, which can command our faith and obedience, as being the Word of God. He vigorously exposes the theories of natural inspiration, advanced by Theodore Parker, Grey, and Colenso ; also such inadequate theories of supernatural inspiration as those of Schleiermacher, Coleridge, Morell, and F. W. Robertson.

He sets forth and vindicates the catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, against Dr. Bushnell and H. W. Beecher, who deny to Christ a proper human soul ; also against the views of Dr. Young, Mr. Maurice, and Edward Irving. So also he upholds the doctrine of Atonement and Justification, as presented in the Westminster Symbols, against the authors above named ; especially Dr. Bushnell, whose work on the "Vicarious Sacrifice," he criticises at considerable length, and with an unsparing hand.

He also earnestly contends for Scriptural doctrine of Eternal Punishment, against the theory of Annihilation, and that of Universal Restoration, as advocated by Dr. Young, Mr. Jukes, Brooks, and others. He concludes with an exposure of the fallacy of "undertaking to exalt religious life, at the expense of religious doctrine," of which F. W. Robertson and Dr. Laird are adduced as conspicuous examples. The volume will prove, we hope, a wholesome tonic to many lapsed and debilitated souls, who have need that one teach them which be the first principles of the doctrine of Christ.

Lockwood, Brooks & Co., of Boston, publish, in neat style, *Toward the Straight Gate ; or, Parish Christianity for the Unconverted*. By Rev. E. F. BURR, D. D., author of "Ecce Coelum," etc., which works a vein different from the author's former publications, that aim to parry the objections hurled against Christianity from the side of science, or pseudo-science. Here he turns to practical work, and brings those appeals and expos-

tulations to bear upon the unconverted, which show the yearnings of his heart for men's salvation, and which are needed in every congregation and community. Without them, or their equivalent, Christianity can make little progress among the unbelieving. The pulpit must again ring aloud with them, before that glorious ingathering can be realized, for which so many new hope and pray.

Completeness of Christianity is the subject of an admirable Baccalaureate Discourse, delivered at Dartmouth College, June 20, 1875, by ASA D. SMITH, President. It fully sustains its title, and shows the perfect adaptation of Christianity to the intellectual, moral, emotive, volitional, and entire nature of man, with a striking and eloquent exhibition of its fruits, which confirm this claim.

The Vedder Lectures, 1875. "The Light by which we See Light; or, Nature and the Scriptures, by TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D. New York: Board of Publication of the R. C. A. These eloquent and inspiring Lectures, five in number, were delivered by Dr. Lewis before the College and Seminary of the Reformed Church in New Brunswick, N. J. The topics are: The Fearfulness of Atheism; the Denial of the Supernatural; the Cosmical Argument—Worlds in Space and Time; and the Kingdom of God, or, the Greatness of the Bible Theism, as Compared with the Physical, Scientific, and Philosophical. This last lecture is a noble demonstration of its main position, that the idea of the universe, as given in the Bible, is immeasurably greater than any which science or philosophy has attained unto. The two lectures on the Worlds in Space and Time, also illustrate this favorite theme of Dr. Lewis, which he has put better than anybody else.

The Revised Compendium of Methodism: embracing the History and Present Condition of its Various Branches in all Countries; with a Defense of its Doctrinal, Governmental, and Prudential Peculiarities. By Rev. JAS. PORTER, D.D., author of "The True Evangelist," "Revivals of Religion," etc. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

This work has elements of value, while it is disfigured by grave blemishes. As a summary, or storehouse, of the more important facts in reference to the origin, growth, polity, agencies, and achievements of Methodism, it brings much to view that is important, and not so readily accessible elsewhere. As an exposition of its doctrines, especially in contrast with those of other evangelical Christians, it is inadequate, unfair, and replete with exaggeration and distortion, sometimes running into misrepresentation and caricature, with proportionate violence of denunciation, which are none the better, even if sincere.

The style, at times, has a correspondent tinge of roughness. We are quite sure that our Methodist brethren, as a body—certainly their representative men—have risen quite above all this, in esthetic culture, as well as Christian insight and charity. They are cultivating a better appreciation of other evangelical denominations, instead of offensively obtruding and mag-

nifying their own differences with them. Until we read the portraits of Calvinism, and of the various non-Methodist forms of church polity and Christian life, in this volume, we had not for long years met with any demonstration from our Methodist brethren so fitted to provoke mutual repulsion, rather than "love and good works;" or that so reminded us of a former abortive attempt at proselytism from our own pastoral charge, which a Methodist minister of the highest authority did himself the credit to condemn.

Witness the author's statement of his "objection to the Calvinistic view of predestination." 1. "It renders all preaching vain." 2. "It directly tends to destroy all religion." Yet, in his most condescending charity, he is pleased to concede, "we do not say none who hold it are religious. Many of them are better than their creeds would indicate!" 3. "It naturally begets a feeling of asperity toward those who need the largest sympathy." 4. It is also "calculated to engender enmity toward the Creator." 5. "This doctrine directly tends to destroy our *zeal for good works*." 6. "It also tends to *destroy the Christian revelation*." 7. "It *contradicts the counsels of God* in reference to the atonement." 8. "It *discards the judgment*; or, what is still worse, represents it as a *solemn farce*." 9. "It impeaches the *goodness of God*." 10. "But this is not its worst feature; it is *full of blasphemy*." This will do. The italics are the author's. If he had applied the divine test, which tries teachers and doctrines by their fruits, we are sure he must have been convinced that the doctrine, thus held up to reprobation, is something very different in the minds of its adherents, from his own exhibitions of it, and that, before making them, he would rather have "let his right hand forget its cunning."

In like manner he concludes an attack upon the doctrine of perseverance in the following terms: "We have spoken thus frankly, because we believe this doctrine of certain perseverance is of very dangerous tendency. Its influence on believers is similar to that of Universalism on its votaries" (p. 288). Nothing more is necessary to show the flavor of the polemical—unfortunately, quite a prominent part of the volume.

Notwithstanding this and the like, it is with unalloyed pleasure that we lay before our readers the author's concluding summation of the growth and present statistics of Methodism.

"From this hasty sketch, it must appear to every reader, who is not blinded by prejudice, that Methodism has been peculiarly successful. A little more than one hundred years ago, it had no organized existence upon the face of the earth. Some *eight or ten* persons then came to Mr. Wesley, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. Here was the nucleus around which we now behold this mighty array. Has not the 'little one,' indeed, 'become a thousand.' This movement occurred in the City of London, and, for aught that was known to the contrary, was to be limited to that great metropolis. No mortal could then foretell that it would be re-enacted in any other place. It was a mere *trifle*—a circumstance that might have occurred a hundred

times without public notice—and indicated nothing remarkable. But, like the ‘grain of mustard seed (which is the least of all seeds)’ that became the ‘greatest among herbs,’ this germ has shot forth its branches over the four quarters of the globe, and innumerable birds lodge therein.

“What its destiny is we are unable to foretell. But if, with such means, against such fearful odds, and under so many discouraging circumstances, it has achieved such results, what may we not anticipate if we walk by the same rules and mind the same things? The gospel is no less efficacious now than formerly, and people are, probably, about as susceptible of being affected by it. Only let the church maintain the simplicity and faith of the fathers, and employ her improving facilities for doing good as she ought, and what has been, will be only as the first fruits of a mighty harvest. But if she shall prove recreant to her high trusts, her sun will go down in shame and everlasting contempt.

“We close our sketch of its fortunes with the following statistical table for 1874 :

“TABULAR VIEW OF METHODISTS.

“1. EPISCOPAL METHODIST.	Itinerant	Local	Lay
	Ministers.	Preachers.	Members.
Methodist Episcopal.....	10,845	12,706	1,563,521
Methodist Episcopal, South	3,371	5,344	667,885
Colored Methodist Episcopal.....	635	683	67,888
African Methodist Episcopal.....	600	1,300	200,000
African Methodist Episcopal, Zion.....	694	1,416	164,000
Evangelical Association.....	737	476	90,249
United Brethren.....	967	742	120,445
Total Episcopal Methodists.....	27,749	22,667	2,873,988
“2. NON-EPISCOPAL METHODIST.			
The Methodist Church	624	300	65,000
Methodist Protestant.....	423	250	65,000
American Wesleyan.....	250	190	20,000
Free Methodist.....	90	80	6,000
Primitive Methodist.....	20	25	2,000
Total Non-Episcopal Methodists....	1,407	1,845	158,000
Grand Total Methodists in U. S.....	19,156	24,512	3,031,988
British Wesleyans in Great Britain.....	1,715	13,720	376,439
Irish Wesleyan Churches.....	152	760	20,740
French Wesleyan Churches.....	28	96	2,012
Australian Wesleyan Churches.....	348	1,438	66,686
Primitive Methodist Church.....	1,020	14,838	164,660
Methodist New Connection Church.....	240	1,270	33,563
United Methodist Free Church.....	358	3,361	66,909
Bible Christian Churches.....	244	1,747	26,878
British Wesleyan Reform Union.....	365	148	8,109
Methodist Church of Canada.....	1,004	1,027	102,887
Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada..	236	214	22,641
Grand Total.....	24,866	63,131	3,923,512”

— (Pp. 199, 200.)

The author, of course, advocates the attainableness of Christian perfection in this life. But when he proceeds to show in what it does and does not consist, we think we know very many who give every sign of having substantially reached this standard, who, nevertheless, would yet consider themselves, and be considered by others, as quite short of sinless perfection.

The great increase of the Methodists might be considered, by some, a proof of the truth of the Arminian element of their doctrinal system. But Dr. Porter is sagacious and candid enough to admit the contrary. He says: "It cannot be attributed to our doctrines merely, for others have preached the same; it is evidently attributable to many causes" (pp. 197-8). Perhaps the account he gives of the revival, which reached its height in 1843, and was felt in nearly all the Evangelical churches of the country (an account confirmed by our own personal knowledge, within the sphere of our personal observation and experience), will do something toward explaining how a great and, on the whole, genuine work of grace may be much implicated with incidental errors.

"Another circumstance probably had considerable effect. We refer to the emphatic inculcation of the doctrine of Christ's second coming, and the transactions which are to follow. Various ministers of different denominations heralded these truths all over the land with great pathos and power. The errors with which they were associated did not lessen their influence, but rather rendered them more impressive. Taken together, the presentation was an alarming affair. Some of the sermons delivered on different occasions were almost enough to frighten 'the very elect,' and it would not have been wonderful if many had plunged into hope' less despair. For the argument was, so nicely drawn that few could see its fallacy; the honesty and devotion of many of the speakers so manifest, they could not well be questioned; and the sentiments inculcated so exciting in their tendency, that none but very good or very bad people could hear them proclaimed without trembling for their own safety. Hence, while few believed the doctrine that Christ would come in 1843, many feared it; and having full confidence in the divine reality and importance of religion, they were impelled to seek it then; whereas, under other circumstances, they might have remained impenitent. But still, they were really converted. Though it was a mistake which stimulated them to action, the process they pursued was right, and the result pure. The mistake had no other influence in this regard, than to prompt them to seek religion *then*; which done, they found peace in believing. But it afterward became identified with so many other heresies, it poisoned all who came under its influence, and interposed one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of religion that has ever been contrived. This we believe to be a just view of the subject in general. There were, doubtless, instances in which religion and Millerism were so combined, that, when the error of the latter was demonstrated, all confidence in the former was abandoned.

"Under all these circumstances, it is not improbable that some improper measures were employed, or that others were carried to extremes, and operated to produce more chaff than wheat. But, notwithstanding, there was much wheat gathered. It is true many fell away, but not a larger proportion, we think, than is usual. When it is said that the Methodist Episcopal Church suffered a net decrease of more than *fifty thousand* members between the years 1844 and 1847, it

should be remembered that in 1843 her net *increase* was 154,634; and the year following, 102,831; making a net *increase* in two years of 257,465 members; thus exceeding all precedent by tens of thousands. The ordinary ratio of apostasies, therefore, accounts for an appalling decrease, without disparaging the character of the work in the least.

"But other items come into this account that are important to the calculation. During this time there was a vigorous effort made by come-outers of different classes to break down the churches, and scatter them to the four winds. While the revival was in progress, their influence was partly counteracted; but as the excitement abated they became more successful" (pp. 173, 174).

We have received from Nelson & Phillips, too late for special notice, the following books: *Butler's Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*. To which, are added *Two Brief Dissertations on Personal Identity and the Nature of Virtue*. By JOSEPH BUTLER, LL.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. With a Life of the Author, copious notes, and a special index. The whole edited by Rev. JOSEPH CUMMINGS, D.D., LL.D., President of Wesleyan University.

Christians and the Theatre. By J. M. BUCKLEY.

The Wesleyan Demosthenes; comprising Select Sermons of Rev. JOSEPH BEAUMONT. With a Sketch of his Character. By Rev. J. B. WAKELEY, D. D.

Fellowship with the Sufferings of Christ. A Sermon. By E. WENTWORTH, D.D.

Preaching to the Masses. An Address. By Rev. T. DEWITT TALMAGE D.D. Delivered at the Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., Wednesday, March 3, 1875.

Commentary on the New Testament. Intended for Popular Use. By D. D. WHEDON, LL.D. Volume IV. 1st Corinthians—2d Timothy.

PHILOSOPHY.

A Thesis on the Dual Constitution of Man, or Neuro-Psychology, by S. S. LAWS, A. M., M. D., of New York, presents a very able and learned disquisition on the twofold nature of man, as evinced by a comparison of the mental with the physiological elements in his constitution. Dr. Laws very clearly and conclusively disproves the identity of mind and body, whether in the form maintained by idealists or materialists. While the thesis contains much which the student of physiology and psychology alone can appreciate, it has much which can be appreciated by all cultured readers. Some of his arguments for the dualism of our nature are original and ingenious, as well as conclusive. Occasional statements would not be satisfactory to all those who agree with his main positions. When he says, "Innate knowledge, and innate ideas have vanished, like many of the fictions of physics and physiology," all depends on the sense in which the words are taken; some "knowl-

edge and ideas" are innate just as far as reason itself is innate; *i. e.*, they are potentially inborn, to be subsequently developed. Such, for example, are causality, substance, right and wrong, etc. Much of his reasoning depends on the Aristotelian principle, that the soul is "all in the whole, and all in every part," which, if rejected by some, we see no reason to dispute.

The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century Considered. By ROBERT L. DABNEY, D.D., LL. D., Prof. in Union Theol. Seminary, Va. Randolph & Co., New York. \$2.00. We have received this work too late to notice it fully at present. It is an important contribution to current discussions. It handles the great questions involved with acuteness and vigor. There is a review of the main sensualistic systems of the last century, particularly the English. Positivism, the Evolution Theory as Materialistic, Physiological Materialism, the Spirituality of the Mind, *A Priori* Notions, Sensualistic Ethics, and the Philosophy of the Supernatural, are the chief topics discussed. The work deserves attentive study, and we cordially recommend it to our readers.

Randolph & Co. also publish *Job's Comforters; or, Scientific Sympathy*, by JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple, London, who is well qualified to do the subject full justice.

J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, have published *Principia; or, Basis of Social Science; being a Survey of the Subject from the Moral and Theological, yet Liberal and Progressive, Standpoints*, by R. J. WRIGHT, in a neat and solid octavo volume. The topic is inviting, including, as it does, a wide range of questions and problems, which are yet far enough from the solution the welfare of society so urgently needs. Whatever success the author may have attained or failed of, it must be conceded that he has given out no second-hand or hackneyed views. His book is the fruit of long observation, careful study, and profound thinking. It abounds in reasonings which are original, often just, and generally, even when obnoxious to criticism, highly suggestive.

Mr. Wright carves out his volume into many divisions and minute subdivisions, the logical and rhetorical grounds of which are not always apparent. We often notice some crudeness or awkwardness in his use of words and structure of sentences. But we are never at a loss for his meaning. His chapters and sections are so titled and numbered, that the complete index at the beginning enables us at once to turn to what he says on any subject in almost any half-page of the volume. These features greatly enhance its value, and render minor defects of style insignificant.

The author shows a breadth and depth of view quite beyond that of average specialists and writers on it, or its different branches, in the importance which he assigns to theology, metaphysics, psychology, ethics, in short, all the mental sciences, as a needful propædæutic for mastering sociology. Here he is *toto calo* above, as well as different from, Compté, and the entire

school of positivists, sensualists, and materialists, who deal with sociology or any other subject which has its basis in the nature of the human soul, and its relations to other souls, created and uncreated. With Compe, psychology was an impossibility, while metaphysics and theology were obsolete fictions. Mr. Wright justly says :

"The study of theology is the scientific study of religion, and, therefore, calls into exercise the higher faculties of the mind. Hence, it is one of the best preparations, for earnest, original study in any of the sciences. The success of the German and Scotch metaphysicians is chiefly owing to this cause. The *peculiar* fitness of the studies of the theologians, as discipline and preparation for political philosophy, is farther proved by the fact, that at various times they have become the best and foremost political statesmen of the world. Ximenes, Woolsey, Richelieu, Cranmer, Talleyrand, and others, may be mentioned. And then, also, the fact, that the statesmanship of Rome, which is conducted entirely by clergymen, is acknowledged to be the most far reaching in the world. Remember, also, those old Puritan statesmen of Cromwell's day, who knew their Bibles and their catechisms better than their laws, how readily they were turned into generals and statesmen whom all the world wondered at, and who out-generaled and out-witted even the Romans themselves.

"A more likely class than either the ordinary statesmen, or the ordinary physicists, to look to for social science, would be the true scientific theologians, if they had the time to spare from their other avocations. But this seems seldom to happen, since most of them either have the charge and the daily labor of large congregations, or else of educational institutions. These latter, namely, the theological head officers of the secular institutions, may contribute much toward our science, when there arises a sufficient public demand to turn their business attention to it, and when more leisure is afforded them. Theologians are, by their training, best fitted for universal, or general study. Wells, whose occupation is the examination of heads, says, 'As a class, they (the theologians) have the best heads in the world.'"

This is quite contrary to the vulgar prejudice common among skeptics pseudo-scientists, and philosophers, that theologians are, of course, narrow and singular in their views. It is rather the spurious liberalists and hobbyists, that are "like the needle with one eye and one point." The author, however, "would not be misunderstood as saying, that statesmen, practically, ought to be selected from among clergymen. The experience of the Middle Ages, culminating in the Inquisition, is against the selection of clergymen, with civil or coercive powers, from among professional theologians." To this, we say Amen.

With like cogency he argues for the predominance which must be given to metaphysics over some other studies, as preparations for social science.

The above quotations will be found scattered, from pages 31 to 36, inclusive, and will suffice to give a taste of the book, which may lead some to a further examination of it. While we highly value it, we dissent from some of its positions, particularly the grand conclusion, wherein he favors a modified communism. Into this he proposes to infuse enough of Christianity,

and from it, as heretofore tried and tested, thus to extract enough of its virus, to realize a true social ideal.

We regret that the foregoing notice, prepared for a previous number, has been, by inadvertence, delayed until now.

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms, with a New Translation, by JAMES G. MURPHY, LL.D., T. C. D., Prof. of Hebrew, Belfast. Andover: W. F. Draper. We are generally sure of having a good book from the Andover press, scholarly and well got up. Dr. Murphy's previous volumes on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus are, on the whole, as useful books as a student can find for his work. There are so many excellent commentaries on the Psalms, that it would be hazardous to say as much of this volume, but it is at any rate quite equal to the author's previous volumes—in some respects, we judge, even better. It is more to the point, lopping off all superfluities. The translation is quite literal; the notes on the text are concise; the general exposition is lucid. A student here gets about what he needs for immediate use. He is not compelled to grope his way through a labyrinth of interpretation, without a clue, but a straight path is prepared for his feet. Of course, we are not supposed to endorse all the author's interpretations, but we like his method. And in studying the Psalms, it is a good thing for the student to work with the help of a good method; it is a training school.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Historical Scenes from the Old Jesuit Missions. By the Right Rev. WM. I. KIP, LL.D. Bishop Kip is already well known in the literature of the Jesuit missions by his volume on the *Jesuits in North America*. This is supplemented by the present work, relating to their various missions in other countries, as given for the most part in "Letters" written between 1720 and 1750. These letters contain accounts of their indefatigable labors in China, California, Malta, Mount Lebanon, the Delta, the Thebald Desert, Lima, Paraguay, and several other places. They were well worthy of being translated, and they are very well translated. This volume is a real addition to the popular, accessible materials for the History of Missions.

Scribner, Armstrong & Co. publish *Egypt, from the Earliest Times to B. C. 300*, by S. BIRCH, LL.D., as the first of their series on *Ancient History from the Monuments*. It is to be followed by *Assyria, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Nineveh*, by GEORGE SMITH, a name illustrious in this department of archæology; and by *Persia, from the Earliest Period to Arab Dynasty*, by W. S. A. VAUX, M. A., F. R. S. This series gives a compact but popular presentation of the results of recent archæological investigation, derived from monuments, cuneiform inscriptions, and other original, but authentic sources. These shed great light on the early development of the race in religion and civilization, as well as on

the earlier books of the Bible. As such, they will be prized, not only by Biblical and other scholars, but by all students and intelligent readers of the Bible, and of the early history of our race.

The second volume of the *Autobiography and Memoir of Dr. Thomas Guthrie*, by his sons, Rev. DAVID R. GUTHRIE and CHARLES J. GUTHRIE, M.A., is published by the Carters, and on sale by McGinness & Runyan, of Princeton. The former traced his life and growth till he reached the summit of his power and fame as a preacher and pastor. This volume continues his subsequent career, in which, without any decline of pulpit and pastoral power, he took a leading part, and exercised a commanding influence in great evangelical, ecclesiastical, and social movements of a wider reach, affecting his own church and country, and, in their measure, Christendom itself. It begins with his agency in the disruption of the Church of Scotland, of which he was one of the great leaders. It gives an inside view of this great exodus from bondage to the State into freedom in subjection to Christ, as to its causes, agents, and issues, direct and collateral, and thus forms an important and graphic supplement to all other histories of this movement. It is mostly in the very language of Dr. Guthrie and his coadjutors, at the time of the events of which they formed a conspicuous and leading element, and to which they served to give "form and pressure." Succeeding chapters give an account of his prodigious success in raising the Manse Fund; Ragged Schools, and his agency in organizing and sustaining them; his efforts in promoting the cause of Total Abstinence; his eloquent pleas in behalf of National Education; his "Interest in other Lands."

In all these departments he did much to enlighten the minds, stir the hearts, and mould the actions of his countrymen, and of great numbers in other countries. He was indefatigable in his labors by tongue and pen, through the pulpit and press. He had great magnetic power. His clear convictions, blood-earnestness, vivid imagination, found utterance in clear and fervid language. His trumpet uttered no uncertain sound. It rallied the people, as by a bugle-blast, on clear and unmistakable issues, which they were constrained to meet.

No part of the book is more valuable and interesting than that which gives his views of preaching and his character as a preacher. It would be difficult to find much on the art of preaching which is not virtually included in the following sententious advice to a young preacher:

"Mind the three Ps. In every discourse the preacher should aim at proving, painting, and persuading; in other words, addressing the reason, the fancy, and the heart."—p. 190.

The following vivid portraiture of his preaching, by Lord Cockburn, is a fresh illustration of a conviction we have long held, that the very best style of preaching is most profitable to and appreciated by the highest and lowlies, of men alike. He describes him as:

"Practical and natural; passionate without vehemence; with perfect self-pos-

session, and always generous and devoted, he is a very powerful preacher. His language and accent are very Scotch, but nothing can be less vulgar, and his gesture (which seems as unthought about as a child's) is the most graceful I have ever seen in any public speaker. He deals in the broad, expository, Ovidian page, and is comprehended and felt by the poor woman on the steps of the pulpit as thoroughly as by the strangers who are attracted solely by his eloquence. Everything he does glows with a frank, gallant warm-heartedness, rendered more delightful by a boyish simplicity of air and style."

The Sermon delivered by the Rev. WILLIAM ADAMS, D.D., in the Town Hall, Lexington, Sunday Evening, April 18, 1875, on the occasion of the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Lexington, is before us. It is an out-flow of "godly patriotism" and Christian oratory, worthy of the distinguished author and the great occasion. Not only so. It exhibits the scriptural basis of civil government and the ethics of revolution, with a clearness and justice which are well fitted to remove the confusion and error so widely prevalent on these subjects. But we cannot do better than to let the author speak for himself on their nature:

"Some have expressed surprise that the Bible contains so little of special instruction concerning civil government, who afterward, upon a more copious induction of facts, have felt a grateful surprise that it contains so much.

"First of all, revelation asserts that government is a divine ordinance. 'The powers that are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.' Here is a doctrine set forth by Christ and his apostles, which disposes of all those theories broached by visionary men like Rousseau, representing civil government to be a mere 'social compact,' the creation of individual wills. It is not of man's choice that he is born a subject of government, any more than that he is born a member of the family. The family is not more a divine organization than is the State. Civil government—I speak not yet of its form—is an absolute necessity in some form, and so is to be pronounced a divine ordinance. Without it, civilized society is an impossibility. Anarchy, the absence of all government, every man doing what is right in his own eyes, could it be realized, would be the most frightful condition that the imagination could conceive. Government is a most beneficent institution for human protection and welfare. The best definition of the true design of civil government is contained in that inspired precept which directs us to play for all that are in authority, 'that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all goodliness and honesty.' Verily, there is more truth concerning the domain and prerogatives of human government packed into that portable verse, than in many volumes, in many languages, on the same subject. It is condensed into such a brief space, like a small ingot of gold, that many have overlooked it. Government has ever assumed more than belongs to it. What more do we need to concede concerning it than this: government ordained of God for human protection, so that we may lead quiet, peaceable, and honest lives. While government is, in this sense, a providential necessity and a divine ordinance, revelation does not prescribe the form in which it shall be administered. . . .

Thus we have reached with clearest certainty the ethical Christian principle, which alone justifies the revolution of any government. When government is so far per-

verted from that use and purpose which divine benevolence proposes, as to be an agent of wrong, of hindrance, and oppression, then religion not only permits, but enjoins, if government cannot be reformed and reclaimed to its blessed intent, that it should be changed, and another, which is better, substituted in its place. How wide the distinction between a revolution inspired by such a purpose, and all those uprisings and overturnings which have been instigated by the lust of power, by rival factions, by partisan ambition, by private resentments, and by that frightful communism, which would consume all governments in fire and blood! Am I expected to define that line of demarcation on which religion bases the right and duty of revolution? In the nature of the case, it cannot always be drawn with mathematical precision. It is a decision which is to be reached by the highest exercise of reason, by the soundest judgment, and by the loftiest religious wisdom. It should be free from all vulgar passions, from private animosities, and from political ambitions. It should be justified by the best of reasons, by the most urgent necessities. There should be, in forming a judgment in premises so grave, the most dispassionate inquiry after tendencies and consequences, a counting the cost, a calm and rational weighing of the good to be gained, and the price at which it is to be bought. 'In many cases it is better to 'bear those ills we have, than to fly to others we know not of.' Our fathers were not rash revolutionists. They brought themselves under the name and stigma, for a time, of insurrection. But they had no affinity with lawless insubordination. They were deliberate, self-controlled, and loyal to good government. The 'spirit of seventy-six,' as goes the familiar expression, was no denomiacial frenzy, no sudden ebullition of passion. It was eulogized by Edmund Burke as the legitimate descendant of British law. It was impregnated with the imperial wisdom of Milton and Selden, of Hale and Mansfield, and the martyr heroism of Argyll and Russell. As the genealogy of man runneth back to the Throne ('who was the son of Seth, who was the son of Adam, who was the son of God'), so the national act we celebrate, instead of being an extemporized expedient, traces its pedigree far back to the martyrs and patriots of all ages, and to historic changes in the Old World, each and all accumulating force in endless succession, and transmitting the necessity of still further improvement from generation to generation."

The Progress of the Human Race, is the title of a Thanksgiving Discourse, by Dr. THOMAS H. SKINNER, of Cincinnati, in which he gives cheering views of the present and future, as compared with the past, wisely expounding and applying the words, "Say not thou what is the cause that the former days were better than these; for thou does not inquire wisely concerning this."—*Ecclesiastes*, vii: 10.

The Thanksgiving Sermon, by Rev. WM. W. ADAMS, of Fall River, Mass., on *Divine Providence in Human History*, is an excellent, comprehensive, and condensed sketch of this great subject, bringing out, especially, the religious elements of our history in their relations to our civil liberty and our prosperity as a nation.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

A. S. Barnes & Co., New York and Chicago, have issued, in beautiful style, a complete edition of *the Poetical Works* of Ray Palmer, which is on sale by McGinness & Runyan, Princeton, at \$4.00. Nearly one-half of this work is

occupied with hymns, some of which no wise fall below "My faith looks up to thee," which is already known "to earth's remotest bound," and has given its author undying fame. The other poems are exquisite representations of domestic and social affections, as purified and refined by Christianity, such as could only be given by a gifted Christian poet. This volume deserves, what we have no doubt it will receive, a wide welcome to the hearts and homes and libraries of the people. We hail it with the more pleasure, as it is a realization to us of the author's bright, early promise, while a fellow student in college.

The eloquent oration of Dr. Moses B. Hoge, at the inauguration of the Statue of General Thomas J. Jackson (the famous "Stonewall Jackson") is before us. Few will fail to appreciate and sympathize with the author's grand tribute to the heroism, the splendid generalship, and the devoted piety of this extraordinary man, conspicuous among those previously obscure men, whom the late war lifted into world-wide fame. And surely, he could not have had a more fitting eulogist. We hail with pleasure his abundant protestations for himself, and the Southern people, of devotion to the welfare and glory of our one common country and government; and this, although they are sometimes suspended upon conditions, which, as stated, may mean more or less, but which, we will assume, mean nothing that impairs their value, until a more explicit statement shows the contrary.

We have received an elaborate paper, of considerable power, on the *Organization of the Educational Forces in Society: a System of Universal Education. An Address before the Pennsylvania State Teachers' Association, at its Twenty-second Annual Session, at Wilkesbarre, August 10, 11, 12, 1875.* By WILLIAM S. SCHOFIELD. The author presents the following outline of his plan, and requisites of his system :

"To thus organize the educational forces in society into a comprehensive system, it is necessary,—

1. To specify, classify, and unite all societies, associations, coteries, and other educational means, by which the psychical and physical condition of a people may be improved, into general and special educational associations in every community; and
2. To co-ordinate these organized communities — the district or community associations — into County and State associations and a National system.

The educational means or forces, one or more of which may be specified as operative in every community, are:

A library; a lyceum; a platform lecture course; a reading-room, reading-circle, or literary coterie; an educational institute; a music-class, or singing-school; a farmers', fruitgrowers', planters', or mechanics' club; a building or loan association; a ladies' domestic-economy society; a Sabbath-school; a croquet, base-ball, or boating club; and, when physical energy overthrows with ambition, a gymnastic or military company.

In addition to these, are the more or less irregular school picnics, exhibitions, etc., anniversary and celebration occasions, and that popular democratic institution — the peoples' mass meeting — for educational, patriotic, political, and other

purposes. These educational forces, properly organized, are capable of grand results for humanity; but they will never rise from partial impotence, by accumulative power, so long as they are disorganized. The mountain rills and the hillside streams would not grow in volume and power if they ran forever in silver ribbons and tiny cascades, amid their native flower-banks and over flashing pebbles, without union and without direction. It is when they unite in one progressive course, and form rivulets and rivers, that they grow in majestic volume, and sweep, an irresistible flood, into the wide ocean. The higher musical harmonies are made possible by the construction of the organ and the organization of the orchestra; and the highest human harmonies can only become revealed by a comprehensive education and the organization of a perfect society."

Perhaps something may be done in the direction indicated, toward a more comprehensive organization and unification of educational forces. But, as a whole, the project seems to us alike magnificent and impracticable.

William Wood & Co., 27 Great Jones Street, New York, have just published a solid and finely printed octavo, entitled, *Hospital Plans: Five Essays Relative to the Construction, Organisation, and Management of Hospitals, Contributed by their Authors for the Use of the John Hopkins Hospital, of Baltimore*, which is of high character and sterling value. It is unique in character, and contains a vast amount of information and suggestions not only on medical, sanitary, and hygienic subjects, but on architecture, as related to them, not to be found without vast labor of search from other scattered sources; it contains much, indeed, that is novel, and not at all to be found elsewhere.

Nothing is now commanding more attention than sanitary science. This book is quite up with the latest discoveries on that subject, at least, so far as they any way cover the location, structure, arrangements, and conduct of hospitals. It is prepared and published without regard to expense, and with no expectation of being reimbursed by sales, from the fund of some three millions, which Mr. Hopkins dedicated to the founding and endowment of the hospital, which is to bear his name, in order that its trustees might have the fullest light to guide them in the discharge of their high trust. The plates, showing architectural and other plans for its proper construction, arrangement, and fixtures, are very numerous and excellent. While these, and the essays accompanying them, shed light upon all matters affecting health and disease, as related to the construction of hospitals, they also shed light upon the same matters as affecting the proper construction and location of all human habitations. The trustees have wisely judged that they could in no way better further the object aimed at by the benevolent founder, than by the publication of the important contributions of this volume to the subjects of which it treats, both for the guidance and aid of others engaged in like undertakings, and for the aid they themselves may obtain from the criticisms it may evoke. Our readers are doubtless aware, that this is the same JOHN HOPKINS who has left an equal or larger sum for the founding and endowment of a great university of learning in Baltimore. The increasing disposition of those who have amassed vast wealth in cities,

and by means of their growth, to which the toils of the poor largely contribute, to devote that wealth to the establishment and support of public institutions of learning and charity, cannot be too strongly commended.

The Lexington Centennial, April 19, 1775-1875. Published by the town. This is a publication worthy of the occasion. Mr. R. H. Dana's Oration, and the Sermon by Dr. William Adams, of New York, which we have elsewhere more fully noticed, are admirable. The other addresses, and the historical reminiscences, brought out the various incidents and relations of this important event. The letter of Mr Gladstone is specially noteworthy.

The Story of the Hymns; or, Hymns that have a History. An Account of the Origin of Hymns and Personal Religious Experience. By HEZEKIAH BUTTERWORTH. American Tract Society. This beautiful volume, adorned with quite a number of portraits, will be welcome to the lovers of sacred song. It gives the origin and personal relations of many of our best known hymns, with biographical notes on the writers. It is a very interesting narrative, and fit to accompany any collection of hymns.

The Bertram Family. By the author of "Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family." New York: Dodd & Mead. Though this volume has not as much of incident as many of the productions of its gifted author, yet her elevated tone of thought, wide and deep Christian experience, and power of depicting the inner life, are nowhere more apparent. Some of the best aspirations of the "higher Christian life" are here found in a wholly unobjectionable form.

Luther as a Hymnist. By Rev. BERNHARD PICK. Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store. The Reformation opened a new era for hymnology, as well as for faith. Luther's hymns had wonderful power, and awakened the highest enthusiasm. They number thirty-six, and are all collected in this volume, which is excellently edited by Rev. B. Pick, a Lutheran pastor in Rochester, N. Y., a graduate of the Union Theological Seminary, N. Y. The hymns are arranged according to the order of the Christian year. The best translations have been selected, sometimes several for each hymn; there are sixteen versions given of the great Reformation hymn, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*. The book is an excellent monography on the subject, by a scholar of promise.

Dodd & Mead publish, in a neat style, a striking temperance tale, *Brought Home*, by HESBA STRETTON. It is a sad and impressive story.

The Tract Society has recently published some beautifully illustrated books for Sunday-schools and children, *Proud Little Dody*, by Sarah E. Chester; *How Tiptoe Grew*, by Katherine Williams; *Ada and Gerty*, a story of school life, by Louisa M. Gray.

Daily Thoughts. By REV. T. DE WITT TALMAGE, D.D. Edited by Rev. J. D. Shurts. New York: Dodd & Mead. Mr. Talmage's most striking

thoughts are arranged for each day in the year, making a sort of "daily food." Each is upon some passage of Scripture. There is great vivacity, as well as variety, and the thorough evangelical sentiments are spiced with wit and pointed sayings.

From Jest to Earnest. By Rev. E. P. ROE. New York: Dodd & Mead. When ten thousand copies of a book are sold in advance, there must be something in it. Mr. Roe's books are very popular, and deservedly so, for their earnest practical religious spirit, for the rational and true way in which religion is treated, and for their high aim. It is a good sign when such books displace a meretricious and sensational literature.

The Church, our Modern System of Commerce, and the Fulfilment of Prophecy, is a pamphlet by WILLIAM BROWN, the author of several tracts on Christian Economics, which contain one truth, viz.: that the precious metals were "intended by nature to fulfil the functions of what we understand by the term money," and that "labor is the one essential principle that confers upon them their value," along with the fact, that they are objects, on their own account, of ardent human desire. As to the other principles urged by the author, that paper notes, promising, and immediately convertible into coin, are oppressive to industry, that it is wicked to receive interest for money, as also his lucubrations on prophecy, they hardly merit discussion.

Elsie's Womanhood. A Sequel to "Elsie's Girlhood." By MARTHA FINLEY (FARQUHARSON.) New York: Dodd & Mead.

Art. XI.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

THE first volume of A. Schone's critical edition of *Eusebii Chronicorum Libri duo*, is nearly ready for publication; the second volume was published in advance, in 1866, edited by Petermann, containing Jerome's Latin edition of the Chronological Canons, and a Latin translation of an Armenian version of the same. The first volume will contain all the other versions, and fragments from various sources, besides several ancient works, illustrating the Chronological Canons, derived from all the known sources, with collections of manuscripts, such as the Armenian and Latin *Series Regum*; a Syriac epitome from the British Museum; a Greek *Chronography*, first edited by Cardinal Mai; and an *Excerptor Latinus Barbarus*, so called by Scaliger, not reëdited since his times.

Leopold von Ranke is engaged in preparing for publication the memoirs of the well-known German minister, Von Hardenberg. These documents, which refer more especially to the events of 1805-1806, and the leading men who participated in them, were, on the death of the Count, deposited in the Prussian State archives, where they have hitherto remained, in accordance with the express injunctions of the King, Friedrich Wilhelm III., of Prussia, that they should not be made public till after an interval of more than half a century.

George Weber, author of the well-known "Universal History," has published a volume on the "History of the Reformation," containing essays on the Anabaptists, the Peasants' War, the reformation in popular literature, Charles V. and Protestantism. He had previously written on the "History of the Reformation in Great Britain," 1853, and incorporates parts of that work in the present volume.

Dr. Ernst Bernheim, on "Lothaire III. and the Concordat of Worms," gives a valuable account of the great struggle between the Church and the Empire on the subject of investitures, ending in the Concordat of Worms between Henry V. and Pope Calixtus, A.D., 1122. Dr. Bernheim shows how this treaty was understood and carried out by Lothaire III., successor of Henry V., and contributes to the understanding of this vital question. This Concordat, like many subsequent ones, was a compromise and an armistice. The same question, essentially, is now up between the German Empire and the Papacy.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Part I., 1876.—Some of the German theological reviews are published more punctually than ours; we received the above about the middle of November. The first article is a continuation and conclusion of Prof. Köstlin's admirable essay on the "Proofs of the Being of God." Having previously disposed of the so-called ontological proof, whose validity he questions, he here takes up the cosmological, the teleological, the moral, and the other arguments. His analysis and statement of the cosmological proof is especially noteworthy. He puts the teleological in a right point of view against recent objections. The only notable deficiency in his whole discussion is in respect to his non-appreciation of the value and force of the ontological proof, as a necessary part of the whole argument. The combination of the ontological with the other arguments, gives the whole chain, or circle, of evidence. Neither the ontological, nor the teleological, is, by itself, sufficient. Each supplies what the other lacks. Such a thorough discussion as that of Köstlin ought to be made accessi-

ble to the English-reading public. The other articles of the review are, Rotermond on Ephraim and Golgotha; Schum on a Quedlinburg Fragment of an Illuminated Itala, with a *fac-simile*; Rüsck on King Phul; and reviews of Voigt's "Fundamental Dogmatics;" and Von der Goltz's "Fundamental Truths of Christianity"—both of the latter works illustrating the apologetic character which Christian theology is now taking on in Germany.

Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie, III., 1875.—1. Weizsäcker, Reminiscences of Dr. Christian Palmer—an affectionate and worthy tribute to the memory of a true Christian scholar. 2. Sieffert, the First Epistle of Peter on the Sufferings and Death of Christ in Relation to Salvation. 3. Wagenmann, Thoughts on the Prologue to John's Gospel. 4. Prince Louis Solms, Remarks on some Passages of the Gospel of John. 5. Sander, Historical Introduction to the Smalcald Articles. Among the notices, special attention is given to Prof Lorimer's recent work on John Knox and the Church of England, which has been too little appreciated in this country and England.

Zeitschrift f. d. lutherische Theologie. Part I., 1876.—Dr. Klostermann defends Isaiah xl—lxvi, as a genuine work of the same prophet who wrote the first half of the prophecy. Fr. Delitzsch, in a "Biblical Study on 'Nothing,'" contends, that in the Bible nothing is non-being, in contrast with God—who is the fulness of being; and that the Bible nowhere teaches that anything that is, can, or does become nothing. K. Kinzel's article on "The Biblical Doctrine of Election, with a comparison of the views of Augustine, Luther, and Calvin," written from the Lutheran standpoint, contains a good selection of historical material. He shows that Luther held even the *supralapsarian* view of the doctrine of election.

Zeitschrift f. die wissenschaftliche Theologie. Parts III., IV., 1875. Waldemar Sonntag, The Essence of Fanaticism. A. Hilgenfeld (the editor), on Ritschl's Representation of the Biblical Doctrine of Justification and Atonement, an able and thorough review, showing some of the defects in Ritschl's interpretation of the biblical view of the doctrine. A. Thoma, Justin's Literary Relation to Paul and to the Gospel of John—two articles of importance in reference to the controversy now going on in England on this subject, raised by the rash speculations of the work called "Supernatural Religion;" Thoma allows that Justin knew the Gospel, though he does not name its author; and his theory is, that Justin considered it as belonging to "Christian Gnosis," and not to Christian history—a somewhat violent hypothesis. C. Siegfried, The Jewish Hellenism in its Historical Growth, with a criticism of the latest works upon it. A. Hilgenfeld, in a criticism of a work on the Epistle to the Philippians, by Hoekstra, a Dutch writer, defends the genuineness of the epistle, as he has before done. He also reviews "Supernatural Religion" with some sympathy, but takes the other to task for several of his heedless assumptions and theories.

As reported in the *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, the Director of Missions, Dr. Wangemann, in a pamphlet recently published, finds no less than twelve errors in the addresses and writings of Mr. Pearsall Smith, in Germany, England, etc., viz: the doctrine of the Higher Life has no basis in the Scriptures; the evangelical doctrine of Justification is dishonored by the position, that it only leads to a lower stage of the Christian life; his views of Sin, and of original Sin, are superficial; that one can live without sin, is self-deception; he leaves no place for repentance, daily sorrow for sin, in those who live in this higher life; the Scriptures do not promise constant joy to the believer; the church is not rightly appreciated as a means of grace and a divine kingdom; in insisting upon immediate

sanctification there is impatience with the ways of God; the ministry and sacraments are undervalued or ignored; Smith's interpretations of the Bible are often fanciful and forced, etc. He calls it "a new Methodism, not of high-strung repentance, but of high-strung joy." The *Kirchenseitung* adds, that Mr. Smith also virtually annuls the co-working of man in sanctification, makes him entirely passive; he lets "Christ do all and answer for all." "The Lord would not have us be agents, but instruments," says one of his followers. Some of these errors and loose expressions rest upon inconsistencies, but there is room for criticism as to the fundamental theory. Faith, doubtless, works in sanctification, but not in just the way it does in justification; in the latter it is once, and once for all. In respect to Perfection, Mr. Smith is undoubtedly inconsistent. He shows, throughout, the lack of theological training.

Historische Zeitschrift. Edited by Prof. Von Sybel. Parts I, II, and III, 1875. Part I contains an article by Carl Von Noorden, "On the More Recent History of Spain;" and a review, by Ludwig Geiger, of the latest works on Humanism. The publications noticed by the latter, are mainly contributions to the biography of the leaders of the humanistic movement, Petrarch, for example, in Italy, and the brilliant circle of scholars at the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent; Sir Thomas More and John Colet, in England; Erasmus and Reuchlin, in Germany; and many lesser lights. In this number is also to be found the Report of the 15th Meeting of the Historical Commission of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Part II contains: "Henry IV. of France, and the Contest of Succession in Jülich," by Martin Philippson; "History of the Constitution of the United States of Colombia," by H. A. Schumacher; an article on "Thomas Aquinas," notices the recent publications of Baumann and Thömes; and "Pope Alexander VI. and his daughter, Lucrezia Borgia," by Moritz Brosch, reviewing Gregorevius' "Lucrezia Borgia, from Documents and Correspondence of her Own Time." Part III is exceptionally rich in articles embodying the results of original investigation. Reinhold Röhricht contributes "The Preparations in the Occident for the Third Great Crusade;" Dr. Sauerland writes the history of "Gregory XII., from his Election to the Treaty of Marseilles;" and F. H. Reusch corrects many of the errors of previous writers in an account of "The Trial of Galileo." This number has, also, a review of the latest publications of the Swiss Historical Societies, by Von Knorran. Von Holst, the author of "Verfassung und Demokratie in den Vereinigten Staaten," contributes to the literary notices rather a sharp review of the tenth volume of Bancroft's History of the United States. He accuses the historian of writing with a "Tendenz." The number closes with the report of the Central Direction of the Monumenta Germaniæ, in Berlin. Appended to Parts 1 and 3, will be found a catalogue of the historical publications of the year 1874 in Europe and America, a special reprint from Dr. Muldeners Bibliotheca Historica.

FRANCE.

The Revue des deux Mondes, Nov. 1. Containing an admirable article by M. E. Caro, of the French Academy, on the Ethics of Evolutionism, as found in the leading English writers of this school—Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and others. M. Caro is one of the chief representatives of the "spiritual school" of philosophy in France, and he subjects to a keen analysis the methods and principles of the materialising evolutionists, stating them fairly, and refuting them with precision. He shows how the doctrine of the development of force annuls all moral distinctions and all natural rights. The theory, as its advocates avow, would lead, under the law

of natural selection, to the propagation only of those of sound minds and bodies, and all others must be excluded from the marriage state. The whole end and aim will be the enjoyment of life. Legislation must be enforced against the marriage of "those feeble in mind and body, those who are poor and weak;" the race is to be propagated on the principles of stock-breeding. What then becomes of sympathy, Christian love, human rights? The only right is might; the one law of progress is sexual and natural selection. "Who knows if, in such a society, Pascal, the feeble and suffering, could obtain the right of existence and of genius?" But the true principle of morality is love. "It seeks to elevate all, through and by their sufferings and evils." "And when it has succeeded it has done more and better than the science of evolution, which only follows and imitates nature. Love is like art—it does not imitate nature, it transforms it. As a sculptor takes a block of stone and imprints upon it the likeness of his thoughts, so charity takes suffering humanity, it chisels it—if I may so say, it transfigures it—by imprinting upon it a superior beauty," etc. M. Caro also argues the question in its bearings on the democracy of the future, and the result of its adoption upon political and social life.

M. Ganneau announces that the work of completing the famous Moabite Inscription about King Mesha is nearly completed, and that it will soon be published in full. A part of the "right angle," he says, has been recovered, and gives the commencement of three lines, this being "almost the only part" which could be satisfactorily determined. "There are also two small fragments, the position of which is uncertain."

M. F. Lenormant's (the eminent historian) *The Primitive Language of Chaldea and the Turanian Idioms*, is said to be "an epoch-making work," settling the position of the Accadian language, viz. that spoken by the earliest inhabitants of Babylonia, and preserved in the cuneiform characters.

A new periodical, *The Philosophical Review*, is announced by Messrs. Bailliére, edited by M. Ribot (author of the work on *Heredity*, translated, and published both in England and this country), with the aid of Caro, Janet, Wundt, Bain, Herbert Spencer, and others. This list of contributors seems to indicate that the new *Review* will be eclectic, so far as its contributors go.

Seven hundred and fifty-four journals are published in Paris, thus classified: Theological, 53; jurisprudence, 63; geography and history, 10; entertaining reading, 56; public instruction and education, 25; literature, philosophy, linguistic, ethnography, and bibliography, 53; painting, 11; photography, 2; architecture, 8; archæology, 5; music, 17; the stage, 7; fashions, 61; industrial, 78; medicine, etc., 69; science, 47; military and naval art, 23; agriculture, 18; various subjects, 12. The number of political dailies is 37, and that of political reviews, 11.

ENGLAND.

The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, October. 1. *Servum Arbitrium*, by Rev. Prof. James Macgregor, D.D. 2. The Epistle to the Hebrews, by Rev. Thomas Burditt. 3. On the Relation of God to the World, by Rev. James Iverach. 4. The Course of the Church in Prussia during the Present Century, by Rev. Daniel Edward, Breslau. 5. Jephthah's Vow, by Rev. Geo. Patterson, Canada. 6. D'Aubigné on the Reformation in Scotland, by Rev. Prof. Mitchell, D.D., of St. Andrews University—a very competent critic. Dr. Macgregor holds

to the bondage of the will through sin, and to its freedom in a sense consistent with its servitude. His theory is, that "the constitutive essence of moral agency, the one only condition of responsibility, is rationality." We cannot see that this essentially helps the matter, or relieves the difficulty. The distinctions made by Edwards came nearer to the point. The second article finds in the Epistle to the Hebrews the missing letter to the Corinthians, referred to in 1 Cor. v: 9; comp. Heb. xii: 18, and xiii: 4, etc. The article on Jephthah's Vow revives the theory, that the sacrifice in the case was a devoting of his daughter to the special service of the Lord; it is ingeniously argued.

The Camden Society proposes to publish, during the coming year, Milton's Commonplace Book. It will be edited by A. J. Horwood.

The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle, now first edited in a complete form in the original Syriac, with an English translation and notes, by G. Phillips, D.D., President of Queen's College, Cambridge, is to be published by Messrs. Trübner & Co.

Copies of the text of the fragments of the newly-discovered cuneiform tablets, which contain the Chaldean account of the Creation, are being made by the Society of Biblical Archæology, in England. They will be published in the next volume of the *Transactions* of the Society.

Dr. Crawford, Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Edinburgh, died at Genoa, of consumption, at the age of 66. He had been Professor in the University since 1859, succeeding Dr. John Lee, in the chair once held by Dr. Chalmers. He was connected with the Established Kirk of Scotland. His able writings are well-known and highly esteemed in this country. His theology was Calvinistic and conservative—definite, but not extreme. His work on the Atonement is one of the very best and clearest of the recent treatises on the subject, especially in opposition to subjective views of its nature and effects. On the Fatherhood of God he successfully defended the current Calvinistic view against the speculations of Dr. Candlish, and the loose views of the Broad School.

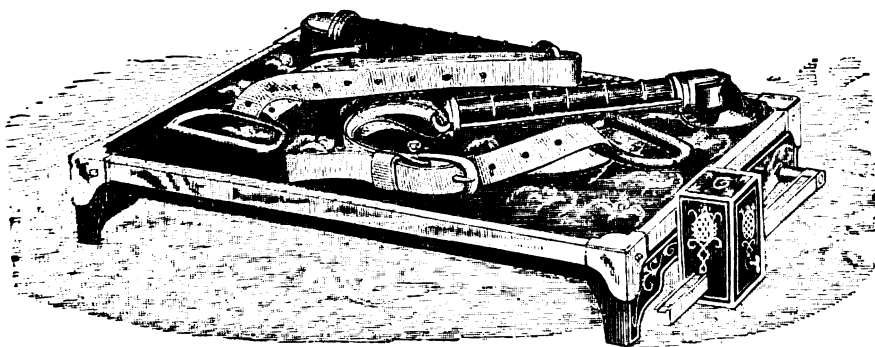
A posthumous work on *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, by Dr. R. S. Candlish, late Principal of New College, Edinburgh, is announced by Messrs. R. & C. Black.

BOOKS ANNOUNCED.

Rev. Wm. Jackson's Bampton Lectures, 1875, *The Doctrine of Retribution*. Lectures on the *Credentials of Christianity*, by the Bishops of Gloucester and Bristol, and Carlisle, Canon Barry, etc. G. de Pressensé, *Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church*, translated. *The Old and the New Testaments, newly revised and arranged*, by Rev. Drs. Jacob, Gotch, etc. Walter de Gray Birch, *History, Art, and Palæography of the Utrecht Psalter*. George Smith, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, on the Comparative Chronology of the Assyrian and Jewish Kingdoms from Solomon to Nebuchadnezzar. François Lenormant, *Ancient Chaldean Magic and Astrology*, translated from the French. Rev. H. P. Linton, *The Scriptures, arranged in the Order of Time as Written*. A translation from the Persian of *The Poems of Hafiz of Shiraz*, by Herman Bicknell. The fourth volume of J. Talboys Wheeler's *History of India, from the Earliest Times*.

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LYMAN H. ATWATER; HENRY B. SMITH.

APRIL, 1876.

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THE
PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY
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PRINCETON REVIEW.

NEW SERIES, No. 18.—APRIL, 1876.

Art. I.—CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION.

By LYMAN H. ATWATER.

- 1.—*Church and State in the United States*, by JOSEPH. P. THOMPSON.
- 2.—*Two Lectures upon the Relations of Civil Law to Church Polity, Discipline, and Property*, by HON. WILLIAM STRONG, LL.D., Justice of the Supreme Court, U.S.
- 3.—*The Last Annual Message of the President of the U. S.*
- 4.—*The Political Expostulation of MR. GLADSTONE*, and the *Replies to it* of DR. NEWMAN and ARCHBISHOP MANNING.

THE question concerning the right relation of religion to civil government has for some years been rapidly coming to the foreground throughout Christendom; and is compelling attention even in heathendom. In proof of this it is only necessary to call to mind the fierce conflicts in Britain and Germany, headed by Gladstone and Bismarck on the one side, and the Roman Pontiff and his subordinate hierarchs on the other; likewise, the contentions in our own country in regard to religion and sectarianism in State schools, the statutes for Sabbath observance, the taxation of church property, which have evoked an expression as explicit as it is unexampled, in the

last annual message of the President of the United States.

The following is President Grant's language on these subjects:

As the primary step, therefore, to our advancement in all that has marked our progress in the past century, I suggest for your earnest consideration, and most earnestly recommend it, that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of each of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools adequate to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birthplace, or religion, forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets, and prohibiting the granting of any school funds, or school taxes, or any part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit, or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid, or for the benefit of, any other object of any nature or kind whatever . . . I would suggest the taxation of all property equally, whether church or corporation, exempting only the last resting place of the dead, and possibly, with proper restrictions, church edifices.

Recapitulating at the close of his message, he says, with marked solemnity :

As this will be the last annual message which I shall have the honor of transmitting to Congress before my successor is chosen, I will repeat or recapitulate the questions which I deem of vital importance to be legislated upon and settled at this session :

First.—That the States be required to afford the opportunity of good common school education to every child within their limits.

Second.—That no sectarian tenets shall ever be taught in any school supported in whole or in part by the State, nation, or by the proceeds of any tax levied upon any community ; make education compulsory so far as to deprive all persons who cannot read or write from becoming voters after the year 1890, disfranchising none, however, on the ground of illiteracy, who may be voters at the time this amendment takes effect.

Third.—Declare the church and State forever separate and distinct, but each free within their proper spheres, and that all church property shall bear its own proportion of taxation.

Fourth.—Drive out licensed immorality, such as polygamy and the importation of women for illegitimate purposes. To recur again to the Centennial year : it would seem as though now, as we are about to begin the second century of our national existence, would be a most fitting time for these reforms."

Scarcely less significant is the amendment to the national constitution proposed by the late Speaker, Mr. Blaine ; less sweeping than the President's proposed amendments, yet, viewed in connection with his known aspirations and sagacity, it is

quite indicative of a deep movement in the public mind which political aspirants cannot ignore. It reads: "No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State, for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised ever be divided between religious sects or denominations."

These practical issues, which have been operative in local, and are thus coming to the front in our national, politics, cannot be solved without the light of the theoretical principles which underlie and control them, including, first, the normal relations of religion, especially the Christian religion, to civil government as such; and next, to our own special form of government. The topics thus brought under discussion are:

1. The extent to which the State ought to be controlled by religion, especially the Christian religion.

2. The extent to which it ought to aid, encourage, or support religion.

3. The extent to which its obligations in these respects are modified by the obligation to maintain liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment.

4. The extent of the State's rightful power over the church.

5. The relations of all these subjects to the divine authority and infallibility of the Holy Scriptures asserted by Christians; to the alleged infallibility of the Pope in interpreting and applying the Scriptures asserted by Papists, and to the tenets of Pagans, Deists, Infidels, and Atheists, who deny their divine authority; and, finally, the extent to which all these questions must depend upon the historic religious life and civilization of our own, or any nation for their adequate application.

Without promising to treat these questions in this precise order, since they largely so interlock that the discussion of any one may involve and dispose of others at the same time, we, nevertheless, judge it expedient at the threshold thus to bring the various points entering into the discussion distinctly before our readers. When they are disposed of, we shall be prepared to apply the result to such questions as the union of Church

and State, Sunday laws, laws prohibiting any forms of immorality and irreligion, religion or religious exercises of any sort in public schools, chaplaincies in Congress, the Army, and Navy, to civil laws maintaining the Christian institute of marriage and divorce, and forbidding polygamy and all forms of adultery, —in short, all legislation having a moral aim, or aim of conforming to the law of God.

Now, in regard to the first great question, how far civil government is, or ought to be, subject to the control of religion, it is safe to say, negatively, that it is not so in the same sense, or to the same extent, as the church, because the latter is exclusively a religious organization, constituted wholly for the purpose of teaching, maintaining, and exemplifying religion. In short, while the church and the State are divinely appointed organizations, and in their respective spheres alike indispensable to human welfare, they differ in that the church is supernatural in its origin and constitution, and has for its end man's eternal welfare; while the State is of the natural order, and has for its immediate end man's temporal and earthly well-being. Yet, though thus diverse, they are not conflicting, but mutually harmonious and auxiliary. For, first, whatever promotes man's eternal welfare, does thereby, in all normal conditions, tend to further his temporal well-being; what best fits him for heaven, best fits him for earth. The truest servant of God is himself the highest and happiest of men, and the best promoter of all that is good in and for men. "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and that which is to come."

Next, the State, in so far as it fulfils its proper function of securing the rights of men, the order of human society, and the temporal progress of the people, does so far forth, to say no more, furnish opportunity, facility, and encouragement to the church to pursue its own proper end with success, certainly without hindrance or molestation. The protection which the State gives to church property, the worship of Christian assemblies, and holy living, is of inestimable service to religion, as may readily be seen, if we think for a moment what are the fearful odds against religion when it is otherwise, as under the heathen emperors, or later intolerant and persecuting governments. Hence, if we may not look for rulers to be in any other

sense nursing fathers and nursing mothers to the church, we are required, at least, to pray for "king, and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." (1 Tim. ii: 2).

But, still further, in each of these spheres—the secular and religious—and in matters civil and ecclesiastical, in all things, we must obey God in respect to whatever he has commanded or ordained. We must obey our consciences, and this means that we must obey the clearly manifested will of God, whether evinced to us by the light of nature or of revelation. This cannot be gainsaid without abjuring our rational, moral, and accountable nature. It follows, that while the requirements of Scripture have vastly fewer points of direct and immediate contact with the State, as the great social organism for the temporal, than with the church, as the supernatural organism for man in relation to the divine and eternal, yet, within its sphere, as with man in all temporal and worldly relations, the ruler is bound to obey the commands of God in respect to all things which they touch. He may not, as a statesman, ruler, or voter, violate any precept of the decalogue—that comprehensive summary of eternal and immutable morality—any more than in any other capacity. This, though self evident on its face, is made to appear with great vividness and clearness in the paper entitled "Legislation on Moral Questions," presented by James Girdlestone, Esq., member of the incorporated Law Society of the United Kingdom, to the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York in 1873. It was one of the essays contributed under the general head of "Christianity and Civil Government."* It impressed us when hearing, and now does on reading it, as one of the most outspoken and timely of the many valuable discussions brought before that body. He calls attention to the fact, that the whole second table of the law respects man in his social, including civil, relations, and that it is all necessary to any fulfilment of the original command, "increase and multiply," which can raise human society above the condition of mere herds of brutes, we might say, pandemonium itself. It guards the order of the family and proper training of

* See *Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873*. Published by the Harpers. p. 535. It contains several able papers on this general topic by Presidents Woolsey, Hopkins, and others.

the race ; the sacredness of life and person, of chastity and marriage ; of the right to one's labor and its fruits ; of truth as against all falsehood ; while the last precept reaches the desires and covetings of the soul. These, indeed, cannot be the direct object of human cognizance or legislation, since "man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart;" but still they are so far recognized as belonging to the essence of morality, even by human lawgivers, that they profess: 1. To enjoin only such actions as a right inward spirit would prompt; 2. To forbid only what, if duly informed, it would forbid and refrain from; 3. To punish as crimes only such as bear a presumption of ill-intent, which presumption the accused may rebut. Thus in murder the design not only to take life, but with "malice aforethought," or murderous intent, is essential not only to the moral, but the legal crime. Although the killing be proved, yet if it be proved to have been done for a lawful purpose, or without murderous intent, the crime of murder is disproved. So of theft: the taking of the property of another without his consent, if proved to have been done for a lawful purpose, is no longer theft.

Now, in regard to the second table, or the man-ward part, of the decalogue, there can be no question that it underlies and ought to control all human legislation in the various stations and relations to which it refers, insomuch that: 1. Lawgivers may never rightfully enjoin or positively sanction any violation of them; 2. In all practicable ways consistent with their proper functions and prerogatives, they must enforce and promote their observance by visiting suitable penalties upon the transgressors of them. Indeed, the larger part of all civil statutes aim at the direct or indirect application and enforcement of them. And as to the common, in distinction from the statute law, it is but the unfolding and application of the principles of eternal justice, as embodied in the decalogue, to the progressive and ever varying conditions of mankind in civil society.

Now, if we pass to the other table, the God-ward part of the law, while it has nothing to do with any union of Church and State, or with enjoining the adoption or support of any sectarian form of religion by the State, yet, in perfect consistency with this, it forbids all worship or recognition of idols or false gods in place of the one living and true God, all worship or

recognition of images purporting to be the representatives or symbols of deity; all profanation of his name, whether by blasphemy, perjury, or the trifling and frivolous use of it; while it enjoins the sanctification of the Sabbath by a sacred rest from secular labor and occupation of the mind with the Divine Being, his worship and ordinances. Hence, the laws against profaneness and blasphemy have their foundation in the divine law and the enlightened Christian conscience. These gratuitous insults to God are not only an affront to pious souls, but a serious hindrance to the due honoring and worshiping of God by his people.

Still more is it necessary for the State to treat the Sabbath as a day of rest for its own officials, and for all the people, not only by making it a *dies non* for secular business and contracts, but by restraining that desecration of it which interferes with the due hallowing of it to the Lord by Christian people in becoming quiet, and in fit exercises of private and public worship. All this is incumbent on the State primarily and essentially, because God commands it. It is, indeed, expedient for man. It ensures the physical and mental relaxation, as well as the moral and spiritual culture, which are so requisite to his well-being; it marks that division of time, and secures that uniform day of rest from labor, which, however needful or useful they might appear by the light of natural reason, could never have been realized in the absence of an express divine command. Moreover, it is no less in its God-ward than its man-ward aspect, that man in every condition, private and public, is bound to observe it, and to remove all needless hindrances to the due observance of it by those who fear God. We cannot assent, therefore, to the doctrine, sometimes propounded from high sources, that human legislation should have nothing to do with the Sabbath in its God-ward aspect, whether as ordained by God, or as designed in its due observance to render him fit honor. No God-fearing legislator can ignore the obligation to observe it because God commands it, no matter what may seem the effect of its observance on the physical and mental condition of man. This is undoubtedly beneficent. But, irrespective of this, man is bound always and everywhere to observe it (works of necessity and mercy aside), because it is God's day, and its observance is divinely commanded. It is quite certain,

withal, that no mere consideration of its benefits to man, aside of God's command, ever can suffice to secure its observance. All else is mere matter of human calculation, obvious to some, obscure to the multitude, morally and religiously binding on none. And, therefore, men cannot set up or sanction idolatry, or image worship, or profaneness, or Sabbath breaking, as a collective political body, as legislators or voters, any more than in their individual capacity, without rebellion against God. They may not be warranted to punish or forcibly restrain idolatry or false worship on the part of others, out of respect to liberty of conscience, but they cannot enact or sanction these enormities themselves, nor can they, acting as a State, even out of respect to scruples of conscience, real or alleged, permit irreligion or false religion to interfere with or prevent the full discharge by all of whatever duties they owe to God and man, including the full exercise of the true religion, without disobedience to God.

In another aspect, as we shall soon show, the binding force of the other parts of the decalogue already considered is largely due to the explicit declaration of them in the Bible. But that regarding the Sabbath has this peculiarity, that, as to the designation of every seventh day to be kept holy to the Lord, this is a positive element in the command, undiscoverable by natural conscience, and made known wholly by supernatural revelation. The duty and advantage of setting apart some undefined portion of time for respite from secular labor, and occupation with divine things, are indeed discernible with more or less clearness by natural reason and conscience. Hence, the observance, or non-observance, of the Sabbath in every sphere of human action, private and public, is an act of obedience, or disobedience, to the revealed will of God. And here there can be no neutrality for the individual or the State. We must treat it as a sacred day by rest from ordinary labor; or as a secular day, by not abstaining from it. Ruler and people must herein obey or disobey the Word of God. Can a man as a legislator, or magistrate, disobey God any more than as a private citizen? The question answers itself, not only for every Christian, but for every man having a conscience. How then can government maintain that entire neutrality for which some contend, relative to religion and Christianity? For the State to set aside

or ignore the Sabbath, is as plainly an anti-Christian and infidel demonstration by the government, as enthroning the Goddess of Reason or a harlot in place of the true God by the State is to espouse beastly atheism or sensualism. It is only beginning what was for a time carried to its logical issue in the French Revolution, in the abolition of all the divisions and nomenclature of time which bore any vestige or trace of the Christian era—a monstrosity which not even the most apostate nation historically Christian, and in the heart of Christendom, could long endure, and toward which the most advanced American skepticism will not dare to take so slight a step as to ask the erasure of “The year of our Lord,” or “Sunday Excepted,” from our national constitution, or, of the rule of Congress requiring the suspension of public business on Sundays.

It is a very common assumption, that natural morality furnishes all the principles required for right and necessary legislation, without any guidance from divine revelation, such as might show any national preference for the religion of the Bible. The most radical advocates of the entire divorce of the State from religion maintain that a sufficient warrant for the cessation of labor by the State and its officers on Sunday, is found in our natural sense of the need of a weekly holiday, irrespective of any express command of God to make it a holy-day. This class objects to all laws for de-secularizing the Sabbath, or guarding its sanctity, beyond the mere suspension of their own labors by legislative bodies, and whatever else may be necessary to make it like any other legal holiday. We deem what has already been said a sufficient refutation of this idea of natural morality being a sufficient guide as concerns the civil rulers’ duty touching the Sabbath. And the same in a good measure true as regards the relation of legislation to the entire moral law.

For although the law of God, as to its moral element, which includes the whole decalogue, except the positive designation of the time and day for the Sabbath, is inscribed on the natural conscience, “written on the heart,” (Rom. ii, 15,) yet, owing to the Fall, which has infected our whole moral nature with its corruption, the conscience itself becomes “defiled” and “seared,” so that its vision of moral truths and distinctions becomes, in various degrees, blurred and distorted wherever it is left to

itself, unguarded and uncorrected by the light of revelation. No nation is so imbruted as to have lost all sense of moral obligations and distinctions. But it cannot be denied that beyond the bounds of Christendom, moral standards are fearfully perverted, much more, indeed, in the application of moral principles than as respects the ultimate principles themselves. They call evil good and good evil ; put light for darkness, and darkness for light. And if the light within them be darkness, how great is that darkness. The moral code in heathen nations, while it shows a conscience not yet extinct, but only perverted, is in various respects shocking and atrocious. It is only the light of the Bible that restores fully to the view of men those principles of morality which, originally inscribed on the conscience, have been so obscured and distorted that only this divine light can, like heat upon invisible ink, bring them again to sight with unmistakable clearness and accuracy. Hence, the elevation of the morality of Christian above heathen nations, and of Protestant and Evangelical above Romish communities, is due to the explicit proclamation of the moral standard in the Word, by the authority and as the law of God, and the re-affirmation of it in the New Testament by our Saviour, who declares he came not to destroy but to fulfil it. This he does *eminenter*, not only by reiterating the law, but by bearing its curse for the sinners he saves from it, and supplying the gracious aid requisite to strengthen fallen man for the due observance of it. The morality, then, which lifts Christians above heathen societies and states, is not mere natural morality, as that is understood and exemplified by fallen man, without a supernatural revelation, but as it is clarified and adequately set forth and enforced by the Word of God. And this law, to the exclusion of whatever is contrary to it, is what the State and rulers are bound not to violate in their own actions and their requirements of others. Otherwise they rebel against God, and compel his faithful servants to disobey them as they would obey Him. For, when God and man come into conflict, we "ought to obey God rather than man." (Acts v : 29.)

This holds, too, with reference to the knowledge of God himself by the light of nature, and of revelation. The apostle teaches that there is in the "things that are made," *i. e.* the light of nature, ample evidence of "his eternal power and

god-head," sufficient to leave even the heathen "without excuse," not only for pure atheism, but for their erroneous and degrading conceptions of the Deity.

Our text-books of natural theology prove that this is so. Yet, while the heathen nations show that the idea of God cannot be eradicated from their minds, they nevertheless always so turn it into some form of pantheism, polytheism, fetichism, or idolatry, that they only retain the most dim and shadowy perversion of it. "That which may be known of God is indeed manifest in them, for he hath showed it unto them," yet they do not know it, because they "do not like to retain God in their knowledge." So their "foolish hearts are darkened." (See Romans, i: 19-25.) The true knowledge of God which exists among men is, therefore, confined to the Christian nations and comes from the Word of God. This is the real source of all the true, or at least adequate, actual knowledge of God among men. In His light we see light. It is in the Christian nations, and in the light of revealed theology, that all good systems of natural theology are constructed. The God therefore known to Christian nations is the God of the Bible. The morality known among them is the morality of the Bible. His revealed will, therefore, so far as applicable to the temporal sphere, with which civil government has to do, must control the proceedings of all rulers and all people who would not incur his displeasure. "Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when yet his wrath is kindled but a little." (Psalm ii: 10-12.)

The impossibility of utterly divorcing civil government from religion, at least so far as all but infidels are concerned, is further apparent from its being the "ordinance of God." (Rom. xiii: 1-6.) From this, the apostle argues the obligation of being subject to it on the very logical ground, that whoso resisteth it "resisteth the ordinance of God;" and hence, that obedience to it is incumbent on us, not only from dread of its punishments, but as a matter of conscience; "not only for wrath, but for conscience sake." It is a no less necessary conclusion from these premises, that the government being, as to essence and institution, but not as to the mode of determin-

ing who shall bear rule, "an ordinance of God." those who administer it ought to conduct it in the fear and according to the will of God. So St. Paul teaches, that rulers "are not a terror to good works, but to the evil;" and St. Peter, that they are "sent for the punishment of evil-doers and for the praise of them that do well." This is the true criterion of all righteous and salutary rule. It must repress evil and promote what is good. Now, where is the standard which determines what is morally good and morally evil? Surely nowhere else than in the word and law of God, binding the conscience, and thus controlling the conduct of men. So, by every line of proof and argument we are forced to the conclusion, that civil government, no less than individual men, must be conformed to the law of God at all points of contact with it. We do not say that it is to apply and enforce this law in that spiritual sphere which belongs to ecclesiastical polity. Far from it. But we say, that in the departments of the secular sphere to which it relates, it should, of right, be conformed to and maintain, certainly never violate, the law of God.

Coming now to the next great question, how far civil government ought to favor or cherish religion? we observe:

1. That it is perfectly consistent with the foregoing principles, and, if consistent with them, required by a due regard to the claims of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, that equal protection be shown to all, and special favor or support to none, of the religious denominations which profess to be founded or guided by the Sacred Scriptures. For all these avowedly make the law of God their moral standard, not only in matters of perfect, but of imperfect, obligation; not only in respect to outward acts, capable of being defined and enforced by human statutes and magistrates, but in regard to all the interior life of the soul, and indeterminate duties of every sort, which no human laws or tribunals can enforce. The only qualification, or exception, respects Jews and other Sabatarians, who insist on observing the seventh instead of the first day of the week as the Lord's day. Of course, it is impossible to accommodate them as to the day adopted as the national day of rest. The day chosen must be that which is recognized as such by the great majority of the nation, and established in its historic life and usages. If others come to

dwell among us, believing in no Sabbath, or in a seventh-day Sabbath, they must submit to the conscience of the nation, not the conscience of the nation to them. There is no other alternative. The most that the dissentients can ask is free toleration in their own Sabbath, beliefs, and observances. So long as they do not molest the community in its own keeping and proper use of its true recognized Lord's day, this will be freely accorded them. If, under this drawback, they, attracted by still greater compensating advantages, choose to cast their lot among us, they are welcome, and have no cause of complaint.

2. The State cannot give support to the church by giving material support or aid to any one or all of its branches. Not the former, because all others would be justly aggrieved by being forced to pay taxes to support forms of worship, polity, or doctrine differing from that which they feel bound to support as most Scriptural and edifying in these respects. Not the latter, as this would compel all unbelievers to contribute for the support of what they do not believe in ; while indiscriminate governmental support of all churches of every sect, would encourage the indefinite multiplication of small sectarian churches, at the public expense, which, without such a stimulus, already goes enormous and deplorable lengths. So all, including the Romanists, at least professedly, are agreed as to the complete severance of Church and State. And thus understood, *i. e.*, as to supporting any form of religious organization, civil government should be wholly severed from religion.

3. But this must be taken in a sense which does not prevent the government from providing competent religious instruction and public worship for those in its service, whom it cuts off from such privileges elsewhere. This calls for chaplaincies in the Army, Navy, and the training-schools for them, in public hospitals, prisons, and the like, where the only resource for religious instruction and other ministerial service is in the chaplaincies provided by the government. Certainly, the government must not deprive of the support and consolations of religion those in her exclusive service and control. To say this is the same as to say that the great body of her conscientious citizens and their children are disfranchised so far as the government service is concerned. As to selections for chaplain-

cies, they must be not wholly or chiefly from any one Christian denomination, where there are many, but with even impartiality from those which, on the whole, represent, as far as practicable, the religious character and sentiments of the mass of the people. In Roman Catholic countries, of course, they will be Roman Catholic priests, and any Protestants or others entering the public service, cannot complain of the authorities for putting them to this trial of their faith. So of Mahomedan countries. The most that Protestants can ask in such countries is, that they be tolerated and protected in exercising their religion without let or hindrance. On the other hand, in a nation like ours, in which Protestant Christianity, as held and maintained by the various branches of the Evangelical church, is actually the faith of the large majority of its people, and has been historically the formative force which has moulded its institutions and life, the government chaplaincies should be chiefly or wholly filled from among them. The claims of small seceding sects out of communion with them are too insignificant to be considered. And as to the Romanists, who have come in among us as a foreign importation, in some respects an unassimilated element, working in antagonism to the genius of our institutions inbreathed into them by Protestantism, they must take us as they find us. If they have full toleration and protection in the exercise of their own religion, they can claim no more. If not content with this, let them go where they can fare better, or where better privileges are accorded to the non-dominant religion of a people, say to Rome, Spain, Mexico, or Austria. As they are uncompromising, and consign to perdition all out of the Catholic Church, Protestants cannot admit them as spiritual guides for themselves or their children. To admit them to chaplaincies in the various departments of government service, is virtually to exclude Protestants—*i. e.*, the nation itself, historically considered, certainly a great majority of the people—from that service. This is asking a little too much; that a Protestant nation should visit upon Protestants an exclusion from all employment in its service, as a penalty for admitting Roman Catholics to a civil and religious liberty purchased by Protestant blood, and seldom if ever accorded to Protestants in Catholic countries. This need not, however, interfere with allowing Romish chaplains to regiments

of Romish soldiers in a Protestant country ; or *vice versa*, Protestant chaplains to Protestant regiments in a Romish country, and so of all other governmental chaplaincies. All that we mean is this ; when our government provides chaplains for Protestants in her service, even if mixed with Romanists, and there is no alternative but a Protestant or Romish chaplain, the Protestant is entitled to the preference, because we are, in the sense already set forth, a Protestant nation ; as, *mutatis mutandis*, a similar preference would unquestionably be given to a Romish priest in a Romish country.

The obligation of the State to give no direct support to any form of religion should not prevent it,

4. From exempting church property from taxation. Into the general merits of this question we have now no space to enter. It is sufficient to refer to, without repeating, the arguments we advanced in a comparatively recent paper on this subject. (See this REVIEW for April, 1874.)

We also take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to a series of articles, by Hon. George H. Andrews, recently published in the *New York Times*. For the limitations to this exemption we must also refer to our former article. We only desire to say, that the reasons for exemption from it are—first, that it is a gift for public purposes wholly unproductive to its givers and owners, and only capable of being maintained and made effectual for the same by a constant heavy outlay on the part of its proprietors ; then, beyond all other property or agencies. it secures the great ends for which the State exists, viz. : that conformity to the moral law, the breach of which, in forms innumerable, necessitates the heaviest part of public expenditure and taxation. Still further, it enhances the value, the amount, and taxable productiveness of all other kinds of property. As Mr. Andrews says, property owners in neighborhoods or towns often incur the expense of building churches simply to make their property more marketable. They are, therefore, a gratuity to the public, unproductive to their owners, which cause a vastly greater accession to the public revenue than the amount of their own exemptions. So shallow is the allegation or implication often advanced, that religious people wish to shirk the burdens borne by others. On the other hand, the power of taxing church property would be fatal in its

effects on very many feeble Protestant congregations, especially incipient ones, struggling under a load of debt already crushing. How easy to tax them out of existence, to force them under the hammer into the hands of Romanists, especially where, as in some of our own towns and cities, the Romanists have the municipal government in their hands. Indeed, we have known Protestants, who have a mania for an all-embracing or all-devouring church unification, advocate taxation of church property as means of taxing to death small churches, and compelling them all to unite in a larger, even if against their conscientious convictions. Far sounder, and worthy of its author, too, are the closing words of the recent letter of Governor Dix to President Grant ;

"I have always been of opinion that the several States should tax all secular property belonging to churches within their respective limits. Cemeteries are exempt by universal consent. I think church edifices should be, as I believe they always have been, in Christian communities. To tax them would seem like making the Creator and Sovereign Ruler of the universe pay tribute to us for allowing a part of his footstool to be used for the worship which is his due."

In regard to this particular branch of the subject, Mr. Andrews, in the articles already referred to, quotes from Washington's Farewell Address, and from two of the greatest American jurists, what is so germane to the whole subject we have been discussing, that we place them here for permanent reference. Says Washington :

"It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends, with more or less force, to every form of free government." [Then he tells the country what the source of this morality is in these explicit words :] "Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education upon minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles."

And again he said : "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firm props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume would not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert

the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion."

In regard to that clause of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibit the free use thereof," Chancellor Kent said: "Though the Constitution has discarded religious establishments [or a State Church], it does not forbid judicial cognizance of those offenses against religion and morality which have no reference to such establishments, but are punishable because they strike at the root of moral obligation and weaken the security of the social ties." The policy of the government, as indicated by this clause, is neither to repress nor establish religious organizations. Congress cannot confiscate the property of religious societies. Under this clause Congress did, in 1868, exempt church property in the territories from taxation, as held by one corporation, to the amount of \$50,000, and has since legislated in favor of church exemption in the District of Columbia.

Judge Rush, of Pennsylvania, in a charge to a Grand Jury in 1801, said: "Let politicians speculate and philosophers dogmatize on forms of government as long as they please, it remains an eternal truth, that the liberties of a country can be preserved only by the practice of religion and morality. Here, and here only, is the solid rock on which human glory and felicity can be permanently erected. Hence it is that the enlightened law-givers of every nation, whose views are limited by the interest and happiness of the people, have made dissemination of the principles of sobriety, industry, and virtue the object of unceasing study and labor."

In another charge he said: "A government like ours, floating on the precarious tide of public opinion, can be held securely by nothing else but the principles of religion, and if it once be driven from this anchor by the storms of irreligion and licentiousness, it will be quickly overwhelmed in the waves of popular fury and violence."

We have already indicated in part the limitations to which the religious obligations of the State are subjected in order to guard liberty of conscience. While it is to conform to the law of God in all its requirements and procedures, this is to be done, as far as possible, in such a manner as not to wound the consciences of those who either disown it, or give diverse interpretations of it. Rulers must, *as far as possible*, avoid commanding men to do that which their consciences forbid, or which they even erroneously regard as contrary to the divine command. While this is the general principle, it must, nevertheless, be so construed and limited as not, under the pretext of liberty, to foster and sanction licentiousness. If men say that they believe in free-love, polygamy, incest, or any other form of unchastity, and that to prohibit such practices infringes upon

their rights of conscience, they are entitled to hold such mere opinions without molestation. But when they demand liberty to practise them, the State cannot yield to such a demand without setting at naught the fifth and seventh commandments, undermining the family—the nursery of all good commonwealths—and committing virtual suicide.*

It is compelled to prohibit all forms of adultery, however they may take shelter under pretended liberty of conscience, alike by the law of God, and of self preservation. The same principle applies to obscene publications of every kind. Nor ought the State to grant unscriptural divorces. So of laws in restraint of vagrancy, idleness, mendicancy, all contrivances for living upon the earnings of other men instead of their own, whether by personal theft and robbery, or by agrarian and communistic pillage. Such laws must be put in force, no matter what pleas against them may be interposed in the name of liberty of conscience; otherwise, we undermine human society and annul the eighth commandment. So the law-giver must enforce the prohibition of false witness, given in the ninth commandment, by requiring the speaking of the truth in all judicial inquiries under the sanction of a solemn oath or affirmation, and under the pains and penalties of perjury; by the just punishment of slander and exacting reparation for its injuries; by enforcing all contracts, and compelling men to fulfil their promises—a principle so fundamental that our national constitution will not even permit the States to enact any law “impairing the obligation of contracts.” Nay, the government cannot, out of regard to any alleged rights of conscience, or whatever else, fail to enforce the obligation of truth between man and man without destroying the foundations of human society; and if the foundations be destroyed what shall the righteous do?

So of the sixth precept. It not only forbids murder, but

* Governor Emery, in his late message to the Territorial Legislature of Utah Territory, says of polygamy: “In meeting this question openly and fairly, I can but regard it as a crime prohibited by the laws of our country, and that does violence to the accepted principles of Christianity. The country at large recognizes it as a blot upon our civilization, and our national Congress has enacted laws for its punishment and to prevent its continuance.” As we have seen, President Grant recommended the expulsion of “licensed immorality,” particularly polygamy, and the prohibition of the “importation of women for illegitimate purposes.”

whatever is needlessly destructive of human life, while it enjoins whatever tends to its vigor and preservation. And hence, the State may not only enforce laws for vaccination and quarantine, but all other needful sanitary regulations. It may restrain the use of intoxicants and narcotics, and various other practices detrimental to the health and life of society, whatever objections may be made on the score of the rights of conscience. So it may compel its subjects to bear arms, that it may fulfil its function of defending the life and estate of its citizens, of being a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well. But we need say no more to caution the unwary against mistaking liberty for licentiousness, or supposing that there can be any real liberty unguarded by restraining law.

If the State may not transgress the fundamental principles of morals, religion, or Christianity, out of regard to the alleged conscientious scruples of any; the question then arises, how far the State may control the church, or, the church the State; in other words, what is the true relation and boundary between the temporal and spiritual power?

The general answer is, that, under God, each is supreme and independent of the other, within its own proper sphere. Neither may infringe upon the rightful province or prerogative of the other. Neither can compel the other to disobey God, nor its own conscience, up to the point where this conscience does not, by perversion, collide with the rights and duties of others, moral, religious, personal, and relative.

It is not then the province of the State, in any manner, to prescribe or determine the doctrines, order, or polity of the church, or to subject its proceedings, legislative and judicial, to its own review or control. It can only inquire into these things for one purpose. It has the duty of securing church property, like all other property, to its rightful owners. In cases of litigation respecting church property in any denomination, each party claiming on the ground that it does, while the other party does not, conform to the principles of that denomination, and hence, is the rightful owner of the property in dispute, courts must inquire what the doctrines of the denomination actually are, simply in order to determine the question of identity. But even here, when we come to the question, what is the supreme authority in regard to the proper expo-

sition and application of the doctrine and polity of any church, the decision of the supreme ecclesiastical court in that church is final. The State courts certainly cannot, unless in some very exceptional cases, review or reverse the decisions of the highest tribunals of any denomination without usurping their prerogative, and putting all religious liberty in jeopardy. Such was the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the famous Louisville Presbyterian Church case, appealed to it from the courts of Kentucky. It decided that the party adhering to the General Assembly was entitled to hold the property, because the Assembly was the supreme court of the church, and was the ultimate authority in the interpretation and application of its own doctrines, back of which the State could not go without lording it over the church. The same principle prevailed in the Cheney case in Chicago, in which the decision of the bishop, as to who remained within and who had separated themselves from the church, was declared to be ultimate, because he was, *quoad hoc*, the supreme authority, according to the constitution of that church, in interpreting and administering its doctrine and polity, and this, no matter how great the apparent hardship might be.

The recent decision by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in *Steed vs. M'Auley*, growing out of the singing of hymns pronounced unlawful by the Reformed Presbyterian Synod, seems to have deviated in some degree from the above principles, and to have rather followed the sympathies of the judges and the Christian public. The majority of the court, however, appear to have founded their decision in part on the ground, that the defendants "had not refused proper obedience to the Reformed Synod," and had remained "in due subordination to the authority of that body;" that, "so far as appears from the records of this case, they are members in full and regular standing in the Reformed Church, and as such, are entitled to all the rights, and are answerable to the lawful rules and regulations, of the General Synod."

But, after all, it is easy to see that the material and controlling reason of the majority of the court was, that they thought the action of the Synod summary, arbitrary, and without justifiable cause. There is no doubt, however, about the general

principle, as Judge Strong has abundantly shown, * whatever difficulties may sometimes arise in the application of it. And in this case the eminent jurists, Chief Justice Agnew, Methodist, and Justice Sharswood, Presbyterian elder, dissented, in agreement with the courts below, on the ground that "the Synod was the proper and only judge of its own members and their qualifications," and "the highest judge of its own order." It is, indeed, lamentable that the constitution of any church, Protestant or Catholic, should be such as to warrant the excommunication of Bishop Cheney for omitting a word or two in administering the baptismal service, for the purpose of explicitly removing a ritualistic element which his conscience condemned; or of such a man as George H. Stuart, because he sees fit to praise God in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs not of Rouse's, nor any other special version. But in this free land they can take refuge in other more liberal organizations, if worst comes to worst.

Exceptions aside, it involves consequences most dangerous to the independence, liberty, and purity of our churches, to transfer from their own supreme tribunals to the civil courts, the ultimate and authoritative exposition of their doctrine and order.

Of course, we can never submit to the interference of civil courts to stop or obstruct the judicial processes of ecclesiastical courts in enforcing their own discipline. Occasional attempts have been made to stop ecclesiastical trials by invoking the prohibitory injunctions of civil courts, but, so far as we know, without success, until the recent case in the Presbytery of San Francisco, which has been permanently enjoined, by Judge Wheeler, from prosecuting a minister who undertook to withdraw his membership, and thus get away from its jurisdiction pending the trial of his case. We cannot but hope that this extraordinary decision is largely due to some misapprehension or confusion in the judge's mind as to the facts. This might easily arise, as it appears that the accused, during the trial, sent to the Presbytery notice of his withdrawal from the Presbyterian ministry, upon which they, at first, owing to some uncertainty about the evidence,

* *Lectures on the Relation of Civil Government to the Church*, p. 39.

voted to erase his name from the roll. But, before doing it, or communicating the vote to him, they reconsidered their action, and proceeded to arraign him upon charges based upon common fame. Against the reconsideration, complaint was made to the Synod of the Pacific. The complaint was not sustained, and the action of the Presbytery, in refusing to consider Mr. Dawson (the accused) out of its jurisdiction, was affirmed by a vote of thirty-four to two.

The Judge says: "I am clearly satisfied, that when complaint is made to the civil tribunals of the proceedings of an ecclesiastical body, or other voluntary association, involving or trenching upon the civil rights of the complainant, though a member of such church or association, it is competent for the court to inquire into the jurisdiction of the association thus assuming its exercise. If this be not the case, then an ecclesiastical body has it always in its power to acquire jurisdiction by simply assuming it, thus placing itself entirely above and beyond the law of the land. The right of a member of any association, of any church, of any political party, or of any benevolent society, to resign and to cease such membership, is a right that is universally recognized."

But for the doctrine here laid down, the ultimate decision might have been charitably attributed to some misconception of the somewhat peculiar facts in the case. He asserts, however, that a church member or officer under process may withdraw in the midst of, or in contemplation of, such process, and thus escape. This effectually subverts all ecclesiastical discipline. He further says, that the civil courts may determine when such membership has ceased in the face of the decision of the highest tribunal of the church. This is rank Erastianism, and places the church under the feet of the State. It is in direct contravention of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the great Louisville Church case already alluded to, and we hope will not be allowed to rest till it is reversed by this, if not by some lower, tribunal.

If the State may not lord it over the church under color of protecting property and rights, neither may the church lord it over the State, or interfere with its proper functions, under color of upholding the true standard of morality and religion. We have seen that the State is an organization of moral beings, and, therefore, for ends, either moral or not inconsistent with morality; hence, that its action must be controlled by, and be in no manner inconsistent with, the moral

law,—i. e., the law of God prescribed in his Word. Now, it cannot be denied that the church, through its ministry, is the great expounder of the Divine Word to men in every sphere of life and action, and this as respects both faith and morals. Magistrates, judges, and legislators, are no exception. These, like all other men in this sphere, as in every sphere, are bound to hear the Word of the Lord from the mouth of his duly appointed ministers, and to obtain what God-sent light and guidance may thus be conveyed to them from the Father of Lights. But this must be understood as subject to certain fundamental conditions, quite liable to be overlooked by those who have caught hasty and ill-defined glimpses of the truth in the case :

1. With reference to the truths and duties themselves, so to be taught by the church, through its pastors and teachers, to the State, in the persons of its rulers and officers.

2. With regard to the scope of the application of those principles thus inculcated to concrete facts and cases.

3. With regard to the ultimate arbiter or judge, whose decisions are to bind the conscience, whether of rulers or other men, as to what the Word of God declares and enjoins on this or other subjects.

1. As to principles of doctrine or duty inculcated by the church upon the State, rulers, or people, they are to be simply and purely those inculcated in the Word of God, neither more nor less. Thus, the duty of obedience to rulers, as powers ordained by God, is enjoined, but no particular form of government is prescribed, and, so far as appears, the obligation is complete with respect to any *de facto* government, monarchical, aristocratic, democratic, or mixed. Yet this does not forbid revolutionizing or reconstructing such *de facto* government, if it be intolerably oppressive, or refuse to adapt itself to the needs of a people who have outgrown it; nor does it teach any "divine right of kings" to bear rule, to the ruin or permanent injury of the people; nor does it teach that we are bound to obey rulers, or any superiors, when they command us to disobey God. Always and evermore we ought to obey God rather than men; otherwise, we abet rebellion against him. So the apostles certainly imply the possibility of Christian masters holding men

legally bound to their service, irrespective of their consent, without prejudice to church standing.

But they do *not* recognize as Christian any refusal to render unto such servants a compensation for their services, which is "just and equal;" any treatment which disregards marriage and family ties and obligations, or practises cruelty upon the slave; nor do they sanction, as Christian or moral, any slave-code which authorizes or permits such enormities, or makes a man a "chattel." A Scriptural proof that the relation of master and his involuntary servant is not necessarily and in all cases sinful, is no proof that the concrete system of slavery, as formerly legalized in the slave-codes of our Southern States, and now in various parts of the world, is not immoral and unchristian, though individual masters may be guiltless, and discharge the duties pertaining to the relation. In short, we are, from first to last, to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Just this, no more.

2. A second and momentous limit to the teaching of moral and religious truth by the church to the State, lies in the range of the application of the truths so taught. In regard to what is moral or immoral, divinely commanded or prohibited, *per se*, rulers must be charged, like other men, not to violate, and, so far as they act in relation to it at all, always to conform to the law of God, and therein to seek the highest welfare of the people. But in carrying out these principles in the sphere of the State, which is the temporal, and requires measures bearing upon whole communities and nations, we come largely into the domain of things indifferent in themselves—those having moral character only as respects their tendencies to promote good or evil in society. Now, in regard to these tendencies, the broadest diversities of opinion often obtain in honest minds. They often divide political parties, and excite the fiercest strife. It is seldom wise or right for the pulpit to take sides on such things, for they are not the direct matter of Scriptural inculcation. Thus, there is no doubt that the sixth commandment requires proper sanitary improvements and regulations. But it would hardly be within the province of the pulpit to discuss the best methods of drainage or sewer construction. The eighth commandment requires the best legislation for the organization of industry and production of commod-

ities. Free trade and protective tariffs have an important influence in this direction; so, also have the systems of free and chartered banks, of general and special legislation. The best of men may well have very deep and earnest convictions on these subjects, and strive to incorporate them in legislation. But all this is hardly fit matter for pulpit discussion and inculcation. To undertake it is to embroil the church in common partisan politics, and tends much more to secularize the eternal, than to eternize the temporal.

But while this is so, we think it overstraining the principle to say that a church, court, or pulpit, may not exhort the people to take up arms in support of their government and nation, when and by whomsoever assailed, without thereby becoming obnoxious to the charge of espousing one theory of government in preference to another, or "chaining itself to Cæsar's car." The support given by the churches to the government in the late civil war was not declaring for or against any particular human theory of government. It was simply a countenance of the "powers that be, that are ordained of God," by whomsoever and on whatsoever pretext assailed, in maintaining the struggle for their own and the national existence; an encouragement of the people not to "resist the power," when summoning them to rally and sustain it, in this struggle. It would be strange if some vehement and extreme language were not used on both sides in that great war of the age.

So our ministers and churches were very outspoken and vehement in encouraging the war of Independence. But they were not, therefore, propounding theories of the comparative merits of different forms of governments—kingly, aristocratic, republican, federal, or State-rights—but simply declaring that the time had come for this nation to be independent, and not to remain a mere colonial dependency; to be self-governed, not ruled by a trans-Atlantic sceptre. The idea that all deliverances by churches, as to the duty of the State, or of citizens, with reference to their duties to the State, are to be eschewed and put under the ban, on the ground that they are, forsooth, "political," is simply absurd. The truth is, "political" is a comprehensive, and, therefore, ambiguous term, including whatever refers to the body-politic, whether the principles of political philosophy and public law, the duties of Christian

citizenship, the moral and religious, as well as other issues that arise between political parties, no less than the small and often vile artifices of party politics. Ecclesiastical deliverances on any of these subjects are, in some sense, "political." But who will claim that the church is debarred from making deliverances on some of these matters because they are political? that it may not set forth the Scriptural doctrines respecting the duty of obedience to rulers, as an ordinance of God? or declare the Scriptural doctrine of marriage, divorce, adultery, and the duty of the State to sustain it? also to guard the sanctity of the Sabbath? to make laws for the repression of intemperance? to declare against the support of Romanism, or other sects, by the State in its public education, or in other respects? or that it is prohibited from taking ground on such subjects, because they happen to enter into living issues of political parties? or that thus it becomes secularized, or bedraggles itself in the slime and mire of vulgar party politics?

Suppose a multitude organize a rebellion against the government, on the ground that they have never consented to obey it, and all government acquires its authority from "the consent of the governed;" and suppose the church exhorts the people to sustain the government in that struggle for its own existence; is it, therefore, going beyond its province and making an illegitimate political deliverance about the dependence of government on the such "consent?" It has been well said, that for the church to bind itself by wire-drawn theories against proper deliverances on such subjects, when occasion requires, is to fetter itself with split hairs.

3. The next great question to be considered, is as to the arbiter to decide in case of conflicting interpretations of the teachings of Scripture touching the duties of ruler and subject, magistrate and citizen. This brings us at once to the great issue between Vatican infallibility, making the decisions of the Pope final and binding for every conscience, and the Protestant doctrine of private judgment, applicable alike to rulers and people, with reference to political and all other duties. According to this, while all must get what light they can from expositors, ministers, and other sources, yet, after all, they must judge for themselves what God requires of them in his Word, and, indeed, whether it is his Word as well; and for this judgment

they are responsible. Whatever any may teach about Christ, each one is held to a personal responsibility to answer for himself—"Whom say ye that I am?" (Luke ix: 20). Whatever any may say is the mind of God, be he pope, cardinal, bishop, or presbyter, all must "search the Scriptures whether these things be so" (John, v: 39; Acts, xvii: 11). "Every one of us must give account of himself to God" (Rom. xiv: 12). This is the doctrine of the right and duty of private judgment in regard to what the Bible requires of us in every sphere—personal and relative, private and public, man-ward and God-ward. If parties differ here, the only appeal is to the judgment-seat of Christ, before whom we must all appear.

The contrary doctrine of Papal infallibility, in itself and its relations to civil allegiance, so ably discussed by Mr. Gladstone in his *Political Expostulation* and other tracts, and in the counter tracts of Dr. Newman and Archbishop Manning, it is, of course, impossible to discuss here. We can barely advert to it. But it is becoming a power, not only in European but in American politics, and cannot be wholly ignored. To it the gravest political as well as other differences between Papists and Protestants are undoubtedly due. It is simply the assumption that the Pope—speaking *ex-cathedra*—is infallible in all matters of faith and morals, and that it is his prerogative to define the sphere of each; consequently, that when he speaks *ex-cathedra*, all parties, including the governments and potentates of the earth and their subjects, are bound thereby, and that thus they have no alternative but to believe and obey the Pope's commands, on pain of excommunication and perdition. This once admitted, he becomes logically the supreme authority to command, and has the sovereign power to govern rulers and subjects, so far as he sees fit to do so. We do not see that Mr. Gladstone's able antagonists, with all their polemical dexterity, have succeeded in parrying this portentous logical conclusion of the great Premier. It must, therefore, be accepted as the logical outcome of the doctrine. We hardly need say, that any attempted practical application of it in the political affairs of this country will only prove the fatuity of those who undertake it.

And yet, no doctrine, however false, can obtain the vast and enduring hold which this has had on the consciences of rulers and people, without containing at least some half-truth of which

it is a perversion, caricature, or exaggeration. Indeed, all greatly prevalent errors are but forms of some half-truth which gives them currency. There is a real, infallible knowledge of the great fundamentals of revealed truth vouchsafed, not to any external corporation, or visible organization, or the head thereof as such, but to every real Christian, and so to the whole people or invisible church of God, of whatever name, age, or nation. All such answer Christ's question, "Whom say ye that I am?" unhesitatingly and infallibly, "The Christ of God." They *know* in whom they have believed; that he is able to keep that which they commit to him. "They *know* the things that are freely given them of God," (1 Cor. ii: 12); that when the "earthly house of this tabernacle is dissolved, they have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" (2 Cor. v: 1); that no creature shall be able to separate them from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord (Rom. viii: 38-39). They have "an unction from the holy One, whereby they know all things"—*i. e.*, essentially "pertaining to life and godliness," and this not by a mere fallible opinion, but by a certain faith: for the "same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, you shall abide in him" (1 John ii: 20-27). Hence, it is safe to say that the doctrines of the Trinity in Unity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, Human Apostasy, Corruption, and Spiritual Regeneration, the Judgment to Come, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life Everlasting, in themselves, and in substance, if not in the definitions and expositions some give of them, are infallibly known by the whole church of God to be true through the sure teaching of his Word and Spirit. All real Christians know all this as being witnessed by the Word of God and not of men; that in teaching them, and exhorting men to believe and obey the gospel call, on pain of eternal perdition, they are not bidding them stake their eternity on cunningly devised fables, but on the sure testimony of God, attested not only by the seal of its own invidence, but the *semper, ubique, ab omnibus*.

But the infallible certainty of the believer's hope, and of the fundamental articles of the Catholic Christian faith, furnishes not the shadow of support to the doctrine of the sole and complete infallibility of the Pope, binding all Christians to receive his *dicta* throughout the whole domain of faith and morals as

divinely true and obligatory. Such a claim is the last extreme of mortal presumption, and the foundation of perfect ecclesiastical and civil despotism. It makes him the vice-gerent of the Almighty—nay, more, one that “sitteth in the temple of God and sheweth himself that he is God” (1 Thess. ii: 4).

As the true church invisible is infallibly taught the fundamentals of saving truth, so there is, within a very narrow and elementary sphere, what has been called the “infallibility of the human mind.” This holds only with regard to those axioms and intuitions, which constitute the first principles, the base, the condition of all our knowledge and possibility of knowledge. Beyond the merest elements, and the further we go beyond them, the knowledge reached by our unaided natural faculties is liable to uncertainty and error. Nevertheless, we are always going forward in the correction of these errors, the removal of our ignorance, the enlargement of our knowledge. But how could this be possible, unless we had at least some certain and infallible elements of knowledge, by which to correct our errors? How could we detect optical illusions unless we had some sure knowledge, by touch or sight, or other faculties, by which to detect and measure them? How know the deviations from a straight line without some rule, some square, or plummet, by which to prove them? How, in a word, know the light without an eye to see it? How could we know the Bible to be from God without a power to discern the radiance—the self-evidence of divinity on its pages? Is there not infallible certainty in regard to much necessary and formal truth, as in mathematics and logic, much certain truth in physics, in relation to mind and morals, of which men are so infallibly sure that courts of justice do not hesitate to treat those as irresponsible maniacs, who disown certain first truths, the rejection of which is intellectual suicide? But in all these things other men are as infallible as the Pope of Rome. Besides, and it is a fair case for the *argumentum ad hominem*, if the Pope is infallible in his definitions of faith and morals, so as to bind the consciences of men, and men are bound to be governed by them, ought they to have anything less than the power of infallibly knowing this Papal infallibility, in order to be bound by it? There is, indeed, a certain narrow sphere of infallibility in the human mind as such. This differs from the Papists' claim

of infallibility, as a safety-lamp differs from the fires of the Inquisition.

The government, laws, and institutions of this country will never be conformed to the doctrine of Vatican infallibility without a struggle, at least as obstinate as our late war.

Two questions are often put, on which the foregoing discussion sheds some light, viz.: Is this a Christian nation? Is Christianity the law of the land? They are both answered by competent thinkers and writers, now in the affirmative, now in the negative, according to the stand-point from which they are interpreted. If the question, is this a Christian nation? be understood as meaning, are the majority of the people, *prima facie*, or by profession, spiritually regenerate? does the nation articulately profess Christianity in its political constitution? are a majority of the people leading exemplary Christian lives? we must answer no. But if it mean, is Christianity the faith of the great mass of the people, as contrasted with any form of paganism, infidelity, or atheism? is it the religion of the great mass of the people, who have any religion? is it the religion, whose rites and ministrations nearly all the people resort to at weddings, funerals, and other occasions, when they seek religious service? is it that which has moulded our national life, manners, institutions, and laws? is it that which is recognized by the nation, in Sabbaths, oaths, chaplains, public fasts and thanksgivings recommended from time to time by our rulers? the answer is, emphatically, this is a Christian, and less emphatically, but still really, a Protestant nation. In every proper sense of the term we are a Christian, not an infidel or heathen, nation.

In like manner, while it is to be admitted that Christianity is not the law of the land, in the sense that any of its articles are explicitly a part of our national constitution, or of most of our State constitutions, or are established by statutory enactment, yet it is still the law of the land in the sense: 1. That the common law of Great Britain, which largely rules and permeates our judicial proceedings, when not set aside by formal statute, finds its underlying and controlling principles in Christianity. 2. That our statute laws generally, if not professedly, aim to carry out the justice, equity, and charity of the Bible. 3. That, although jealousy of anything like a State church, or interference with

freedom of conscience has excluded the formal recognition of Christianity from some of our State constitutions, it has not from many of them. 4. That it is universally acknowledged that no legislation ought to be adopted hostile or contradictory to Christianity. Finally, that it is constantly recognized as a sufficient argument for proposed legislation, that it is demanded by, or in accord with, Christianity. An example of this kind we find in the preamble of a resolution, lately offered in the national House of Representatives, in regard to Cuba, as follows :

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That, in compliance with the will of the people, the precedents of history, the best established principles of international law, the precepts of Christian rule and morality, etc., etc.

The famous Girard will case has often been cited in evidence, that the United States Supreme Court and other tribunals do not recognize Christianity as the law of the land. But Judge Strong, in the lectures before quoted, very soundly says :

Throughout the whole argument, as well as in the opinion of the court, it appears to have been assumed that had the will been truly obnoxious to the objection urged against it, had it intended the establishment of an irreligious or infidel college, the devise might not have been a valid charity. That, indeed, was not the decision, but the case leans in that direction. And in two cases, at least, in the highest courts of two of the States, it has been more than intimated that a gift in trust for the support and propagation of irreligion and infidelity cannot be supported. I do not perceive how it could be, as a charity, entitled to the protection of the law of charities.* (P. 99.)

* The following being one of the six articles of the fundamental law enacted for the government of the North Western Territory, which comprises our present North Western States, lets in a flood of light upon the relation which the founders of our government recognized as existing between its common schools and religion. It is, therefore, quite in point with reference to what precedes and what follows. We find it in the *Herald and Presbyterian* of January 26 :

RELIGION, MORALITY, AND KNOWLEDGE BEING NECESSARY TO GOOD GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS AND THE MEANS OF EDUCATION SHALL FOREVER BE ENCOURAGED.

This, in connection with the Land Ordinance of 1785, setting apart Section 16 for school purposes, introduced the principle of "State support" of common schools. Prior to that time education throughout Christendom had been in the hands of the family or the church. This obligation thus imposed upon the State to "encourage schools as a means of education," was a "*new departure*."

The same is true of that organic declaration that "religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary to good government."

Both were a virtual pledge to all that the commonwealths arising upon that territory under that ordinance should be based upon those principles, and a timely notice to that effect to all comers.

The true intent would seem to be, that "religion, morality, and knowledge" were the corner-stones

Proceeding to apply those principles to questions of the day in regard to religion in the public schools, it is not now an open question which needs to be discussed here, whether good rudimentary education should be so provided at public expense, that all the children of the country may receive it gratuitously. It is, however, an open and important question, which we can touch only incidentally, if at all, how high a grade of education should be thus furnished, at public expense, to all. But the sole question now before us is, whether or how far religious teaching or exercises should have place in such schools, and especially, whether, thus supported out of the public funds, they should be allowed to come under the control of any religious denomination. On this subject we have, radically, three parties, the Protestant, the Romish, the non-religious—not necessarily as to character of those composing it, among whom are some eminently wise and pious men, but as to the exclusion of all religious teaching and exercises from the schools. This third party is composed of the skeptical, or non-religious, element in society, and such Christian people as, while they would intrinsically prefer prayer and the reading of the Bible, yet deem it wise to forego this for the sake of securing the coöperation of the skeptical class in maintaining our public school system intact, and free from Romish or other sectarian control. But we may as well say, *in limine*, that it seems to us alike wrong, illusory, and impracticable. Wrong, because morality of some sort, good, bad, or indifferent, must permeate the education, or normal development of the activities, of a rational and accountable being. As we have seen, all sound morality is rooted and grounded in religion, and not only so, the religion of the Bible. It is, therefore, illusory. A non-Christian, or non-Biblical, morality is an infidel or atheistic morality. There

of the structure, and that "schools" were to be employed to give value and permanence to this prescribed foundation.

The connection of "religion" with the "schools" is too intimate in the organic law to permit the entire abandonment of either.

The State must support or "encourage schools," and schools are manifestly a *means* to promote a more important *end*. That *end* is "religion, morality, and knowledge"—the equivalent of "*good government*."

Now, the proposition to banish the Bible from the schools is a blow at this *end*, really discards the *end*, so far as "religion and morality" are concerned; while the *means*—the schools—are maintained.

It is idle to urge that there can be "religion and morality" without the Bible. That was not the intention of the original parties to the compact.

is no neutrality here. He that is not for, is against. But the great mass of Christian people will not be content to have their children educated in such schools. The scheme, therefore, would lose more of Christian, than it would gain of infidel or irreligious support. It would, in short, repel more than it would attract. It is, therefore, impracticable, and all the more so, as it would combine against it the Romish and a sufficiently large portion of Protestant people to defeat it, and to overthrow any common-school system founded upon it. This scheme, then, may be left out of consideration.

The question is, therefore, narrowed down to that between the Romish, or sectarian, and what may be called the non-sectarian system of public schools, which yet are controlled by religion in the same sense as the State itself is, or ought to be—*i. e.*, by that Christian morality, that reading of portions of Scripture, and offering of simple Scriptural prayers, to which none can object who do not object to the Word of God itself.

And first, we will briefly consider the claims of the Romish, or sectarian, system of public schools. To this there are decisive objections:

1. It is a union of church and State, and exposed to all the objections to such a union, in either of its forms, whether with one church or denomination only, or with all indiscriminately. In the former case, it taxes all other denominations for the exclusive benefit and prestige of one, besides giving it the immense advantage of educating in its own way most children not educated at private expense. In the latter, it establishes as many small denominational schools as there are minute sects, which desire and claim them, and thus greatly encourages and aggravates sectarianism. In either case, it increases the burdens of all classes by means of taxation for schools in which the *minima* of sectarian religion are taught.

2. Denominational schools for elementary instruction are usually greatly inferior to the genuine public schools, both because they must often be too small to be furnished with competent teachers and the stimulus of large classes, and because they are liable to be too much devoted to teaching sectarian religious tenets to the comparative neglect of broad, general, elementary instruction. Without further detail of reasons, we are quite safe in concluding that this system will never be

adopted by the people of this country. It is only a covert way, in fact, of installing Romanism as a sort of State religion. For it would inure almost exclusively to the advantage of this sect, and prove a long stride in the series of contemplated steps, tending to make it, in fact, the religion of the State. The animus of Romanism, with reference to the government and people of this country, from time to time, avows itself, when bold enough to speak freely, to be in full accord with the logical consequences of the doctrine of Papal infallibility. This is nothing less than to rise to political supremacy, and to stamp out whatever stands in the way of its iron rule. The seizure of the control of the public schools is the first leap attempted in this proposed ascent to despotic power. The following, among hundreds of equivalent avowals, speak for themselves, and are a sufficient answer to those who accuse the earnest adversaries of Romish policy of kindling a fanatical and needless religious, or politico-religious, war. We take them from the *Herald* and *Presbyter* of January 20th :

The *Shepherd of the Valley*, the organ of the Archbishop of St. Louis, of the Roman Catholic Church, once said :

"We acknowledge that the Roman Catholic Church is intolerant of control, but this intolerance is a logical and necessary sequence of her infallibility. She alone has the right to be intolerant, since she alone possesses truth. The church endures the heretics only in so far as she is compelled to do it; but she has a deadly hatred for them, and makes use of every artifice for their annihilation. As soon as the Catholics here have attained a sufficient majority, religious freedom in the United States will have an end.

"Heresy is a deadly sin which destroys the soul, and besides, an infectious disease, and because of this, all Christian princes have uprooted and cast out of their domains even the weakest fibres of heresy. If we neglect at the present moment the persecution of heretics, we repeat it boldly, it is for the sole reason that we are too weak to persecute."

The *Herald* also quotes the *Catholic Review*, as saying, in an article on "Romanism in America: "

It seems to be merely a question of time, and that not very remote, when its numbers will preponderate over all other religious faiths. In view of this fact, it says: We can afford to wait this consummation of the glorious will of God, though to wait is hard; and to endure assault while forbidden to strike back, especially when you know you are able to strike effectively, requires great forbearance. Catholics, we are told, don't want to engage in a fight, but if a fight is forced upon them, let their opponents beware. "At any moment," says the *Review*, "if the Catholics of the United States move

as a body, they can decide any election. We know that they cannot, nor do they desire to, form a distinct political party; but they can make any such party triumphant or insure its defeat."

3. The only alternative, either right or practicable, therefore is the maintenance of free common schools, regulated by those principles of Christian morality which are the law of our social and civil life, admitting that use of the Bible, as a reading-book, and of simple forms of prayer in worship, which should offend none but infidels and atheists. These we cannot afford to have regulate our education. Now, there is no real difficulty for the consciences of those who have no ulterior end to serve by means of raising such difficulty. Every real difficulty can be obviated in two ways: 1. Let such selections be made from the Protestant and Douay versions of the Bible, as are not in conflict with either, for reading, and the Lord's prayer be used for worship. Whose conscience can be hurt, and whose rights, feelings, or interests will be thus invaded? 2. But if any cannot endure this, let their consciences be relieved by not requiring the attendance of their children during the religious exercises.* Now, to show that this is practicable, we quote, first, from two Presbyterian organs, likely to represent the strongest Protestant demand on this subject. Says the *Presbyterian*, of January 8:

In the Presbyterian Ministers' Meeting at Chicago, Ill., the Rev. Mr. Forsyth read a paper on the subject of the Bible in the public schools, taking the ground that, with the two conditions observed, of optional attendance and choice of version there is no reason for removing the Bible. It seems to us that the acceptance of this proposition would open a way to the settlement of the whole difficulty, unless the objections are to the Book itself, in any form or version. Objectors of this kind had better be disregarded.

The *Evangelist*, of the same week, in the course of an extended and well-considered article, says:

There is really no great practical difficulty about having some religious services in our schools, without the least degree of "sectarianism"—in any reasonable or historic sense of that word. There are portions of the Scripture the same in all the versions: there is the Lord's Prayer; there are the Ten Commandments, etc.

So much for Protestant, as represented in Presbyterian, de-

* This is according to the Code of Instruction in New York State.—*Thompson's Church and State in America*, pp. 132-3. Who can be aggrieved by i

mands. Now let us attend to the conditions on which Father Hennessy, a Romish priest of Jersey City, offers to the Board of Education * there to turn over to it the Catholic schools under his charge, containing 600 children, he finding himself unable longer to conduct them without aid from the public funds. He offers to furnish instruction for these schools and bear their expenses at less than one-third of the ordinary cost of the public schools, on the following, among other conditions which have no religious bearing :

That no religious instruction shall be given in these schools except the reading of the Holy Bible in the morning and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer.

That the books now in use in the other schools may be used in these schools, at the expense of your honorable board, or, if the undersigned is permitted to retain the books already in these schools, he will agree to furnish them at his own expense.

That the undersigned, if appointed head of these schools, will serve without pay, subject in all cases to the authority of the superintendent of schools and your honorable board.

The undersigned, in making these propositions, is not aware that he is asking for anything that is contrary to the school laws as at present existing, or that is not within the legal competence of your honorable board.

He also offers to have his teachers subjected to the regular examination by the school board. The only matter that could not properly be conceded is, that he would retain the appointment of his teachers in his own hand. Of course, they must be Romanists, subject to his control. And this is the precise thing which the Romish priesthood always and everywhere demand, whatever else they may concede. But the point which we wish to emphasize is this: that he consents to have the religious exercises confined to "the reading of the Holy Bible in the morning, and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer." Really, need there be, unless the Romish priesthood factitiously raises it, any insuperable difficulty as to the religious exercises in schools satisfactory to both Catholics and Protestants? At all events, can any grievous burden be laid on the Catholic conscience in being taxed for the support of schools which furnish precisely the religious exercises for their children which one of their own respected priests has publicly marked out, without censure or reproach from his ecclesiastical superiors? How can such an edu-

cation be condemned as godless, and what grievance does it inflict on any Christian citizen? This will not, however, be accepted by the supreme Papal authorities. Cardinal McCloskey is reported to have said to a recent meeting of the New York Catholic Union: "Show your support of Catholic schools, stand firm to the great principle of Catholic education for Catholic youth, and God will bless you and give you a great reward hereafter." [Loud applause.]

The following is going the rounds of the press as we write :

DUBUQUE, IOWA, January 4.

Yesterday Father Ryan gave notice from his pulpit, in St. Patrick's Church, that he would withhold from all parishioners the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist, who persisted in sending their children to the public schools. He doubtless spoke from the authority of the Bishop, and the announcement has created considerable excitement.

It may also be suggested, that the difficulties of State education, arising from scruples of conscience in regard to religious teachings, are far more serious in respect to advanced than rudimentary education. Strictly considered, elementary secular education gives rather the forms and instruments, than the substance of knowledge; rather the means of attaining truth than the inculcation of any positive dogmas as truth. Learning to spell, read, write, to handle elementary arithmetic, grammar, is, *per se*, gaining more the means of acquiring knowledge, than any positive truths or principles. And so far as religion or religious dogmas are concerned, the same may be said of geography, astronomy, etc. But it is impossible to study history or literature to any extent without coming into contact with the most pronounced religious opinions, Christian and anti-christian, Protestant, Romish, Greek, Armenian, not excluding the polemics also of minuter sects. Hence, the necessity of colliding with the earnest religious convictions of multitudes of people in such advanced education, is a reason for pursuing it elsewhere than in common schools supported by universal taxation. And on other grounds, in our judgment, it is both unjust and inexpedient to make very advanced education free to all at the public expense. It is enough to give all children a free elementary education. This is the extent of President Grant's recommendation. To go further is to unfit and indispose vast numbers for those situations of intelligent

manual labor which the best interests of society require to be filled, and still further to crowd the already overcrowded callings regarded as genteel, in which men and women live by their wits, rather than their hands improved by the mind ; and failing of this in lawful occupations, sink down to those which are unlawful, alike destructive to themselves and society. We are aware that these words may startle some who have not carefully observed and pondered the matter, but we are persuaded that the more they observe and ponder, the more of truth and soberness will they find in them.

We have thus reached what must dispose of any project like that proposed by President Grant, to enforce the exclusion from the public schools of the country of all "*religious*, atheistic, or pagan tenets." Such a measure, in our judgment, if practicable in the nature of things, is wholly beyond the proper functions of the national government, and an unwarrantable invasion of the proper liberties and franchises of the States and the people. It not only requires that the schools be in the most absolute sense non-religious, but that such schools be provided at public expense on a sufficient scale to supply education gratuitously to all the children. But it is in the nature of things impossible. There is no middle ground between religion, or religious principles of some sort, and atheism. Neutrality here is out of the question. Not to acknowledge God is to disown or ignore him. It is to be "without God in the world," and this is atheism. There is no evading this consequence.

Of course, if such a system were attempted, it could only apply to the most "rudimentary education," such as the President recommends, and this in respect to the mere forms or instruments of knowledge, rather than knowledge itself. It is conceivable, for example, that a mere writing-school might be severed from all direct relations with religion or atheism. So likewise of spelling. But it is not conceivable that children, in their early and susceptible years, can safely be kept several hours each day under constant discipline and teaching in various departments, from which all recognition of the fundamental principles of morals, grounded on religion, can safely be excluded. As to the objection, that this supposes giving a preference to moral and Christian tenets over the opposite, and is inconsistent with the equality of all religious creeds and tenets

before the law, it is enough to refer to what has already been said in regard to the relation of the Bible and the moral law to legislation. We are not an atheistic or heathen, we are a Christian and Protestant nation. The reasons urged for banishing the Bible and religion from common schools, if good for that, are good for a great deal more: for the utter expulsion of every vestige of whatever implies a belief in Christianity, the Bible, God, any religious truth, nay, the obligations of common morality, from our civil and political institutions. This is the logical, and will prove the inevitable, actual consequence of such a position. Nor is it to the purpose to allege that the expulsion or retention of the Bible and divine worship from or in the schools is of small moment; that all the religious knowledge and impressions thus conveyed are insignificant. It is not so. The simple prestige or degradation of the Bible and Christianity involved in keeping or banishing it, constantly held up before the youthful, and, indeed, the popular mind, is of immense importance. The argument which we have before given with reference to morality and legislation is well put in the following extract, which, we think, voices the average Christian mind of the country. The first is from Dr. Arthur Mitchell:

It is said that the expulsion of the Bible from the schools is *insignificant*. Somebody, evidently, thinks its *presence* there is not insignificant, or the good old book would not be selected from all our literature for this conspicuous disgrace. If it means nothing and amounts to nothing to have it in, why in the world are we witnessing such persistent efforts to get it out? It will not hurt the Bible to be expelled, but its expulsion will hurt Chicago.

Its removal is insisted on by others because, it is said, freedom of conscience demands it. Some do not believe in the Bible, and ought not, therefore, to be taxed for schools where it is read.

Then, for the same reason, expel it from our army and navy, from Congress, from the courts, dismiss all our chaplains, banish the Bible from our prisons and from all public asylums for the poor, the deaf, and the blind. Those who suppose that religious liberty calls for this may be good men; but their ideas are somewhat muddled.

The next is from the article already quoted from the *N. Y. Evangelist*:

The reasons urged for excluding all recognition of religion from our schools would lead, by inevitable logic, to the abolition of all Sunday laws; of all chaplaincies; of any religious observances in the army and the navy, and at West Point, etc.; of all public days of thanksgiving; of all oaths in courts

of justice ; of every act or word which implies a recognition by the State of God, or religion, or a future life. The State must become atheistic.

The same reasons, resting, as they largely do, upon the supremacy of the individual conscience, likewise carry us into the sphere of morals as well as of religion. A Mormon may be "conscientious" about his plurality of wives ; a free lover about the laws of marriage ; a communist about the right to property. What are we going to do about their "consciences?" We must either alter all our laws to suit them, or we must vote down their consciences by our consciences.

Of like purport is the deliverance which we find ascribed to Prof. Seelye, who is very high Congregational authority :

There are two dangers that beset us in this question of religion in the schools : one is letting it alone, and allowing education to slip into the hands of the Catholic priesthood ; the other is taking away the Bible from the schools, and making them altogether secular. The first means delivering posterity, body and soul, into the hands of the Romish Church ; the second means destruction to our system of education. He would avoid both dangers ; and while he would yield neither to the Romish nor the secular theory of education, he would maintain, as stoutly as the Romanist, the need of religion in schools, and resist as positively as the secularist the domination of a church or a hierarchy.

But nowhere have we seen the true doctrine on this whole subject of the relation of religion to the government and its public schools better stated, than in the following extract from the late annual message of Governor Bedle of New Jersey :

Concerning the school question the Governor says : "Free schools are safeguards of the State and nation, and should be kept completely divorced from sectarian control or influence. It is a cardinal principle in our political economy, and fundamental in our system of government, that church and State must be kept perfectly separate, but mistaken notions arise, oftentimes, in applying the principle. We should never lose sight of the fact, that this is a land of Christian or Bible character and civilization, and that its teachings are the foundation of our virtue and social elevation. These, it is true, may and do assume different shapes in men's minds in considering their relations to God, thereby inducing such religious sects and associations for worship as may be deemed necessary or better for that purpose, according to belief, but the great undisputed, underlying doctrines of duty to God and man and individual virtue which make good citizens, are in the Bible, and to exclude it from being read in schools is a retrogression toward heathenism. The simple reading of the Bible in schools is not the teaching of sectarian or peculiar religious belief simply because it is used to establish religious creeds and forms. The schools should never be shut against the Bible. Our law is perfectly just. Its words are, "that it shall not be lawful for any teacher, trustee, or trustees, to introduce into, or have performed in, any school receiving its pro-

portion of the public money, any religious service, ceremony, or forms whatsoever, except reading the Bible and repeating the Lord's Prayer." This gives the Bible a fair chance in its influence upon civil character and duty to the Creator, while an exclusion of it is a terrible stride in making the State Godless. Also, for the good of society and citizenship, the State, in selecting the objects of taxation, can well afford to, and should, leave untouched by the Assessor, all edifices for religious worship, and the land upon which they stand, actually necessary for their convenient use, and so exclusively used."

While, however, we regret to be obliged to differ radically from the President's proposal, utterly to de-christianize, nay, to de-religionize, the schools, and especially the proposal to effect this result by a compulsory clause in our national constitution, we most cordially assent to his other proposition, to deny the privilege of voting to all who cannot read and write after the year 1890. Such a provision would every way work good, and not evil; it would at once discourage illiteracy, and elevate the qualifications of voters—a great desideratum.

As we survey the kind of population, civilization, and religion which overspreads our Rocky Mountain Territories and States, Mormonism and polygamy here, a threatened majority of "heathen Chinese" there, and in the regions acquired from Mexico, the degraded forms of Romanism, which have ruined republican institutions in Central and South America, saying nothing of barbarous Indian tribes, we confess it is a grave question, whether the safety of the nation does not require some constitutional or legislative provisions which shall guard against giving Mormonism, heathenism, barbarism, or the lowest style of Romanism, the control of the education, civilization, the social and political life of those vast regions, so soon to teem with peoples that are to enter in as constituent and formative elements of our national life. We certainly, at first, looked askance at the sweeping amendments proposed to secure unsectarian elementary education to all the children of the country, and we cannot sanction the proposition to make it wholly non-religious, for reasons already given; but it may turn out that the nation must take action to prevent—what have hitherto been only unassimilated warts and wens, which disfigure without destroying—the body-politic from developing into malignant cancers that shall eat out its vitals. So it has been necessary to exorcise slavery, which was rending and de-

stroying us. To what other alien elements our national salvation will require the application of some heroic remedies remains to be seen, and will soon task the minds of earnest Christians and patriots.

Art. II.—BENEFICIARY EDUCATION: HISTORICAL SKETCH.

By Rev. A. D. BARBER, Clarendon, Vt.

THE Education Boards and Societies of the church have of late been most unjustly and injuriously assailed. It has been asserted, with much confidence, as of a thing proved, that they tend to make, and do make, of the young men they aid, a set of mendicant weaklings and craven dependents. These aspersions have been embodied and earnestly presented in popular journals and magazines, and even by eminent ministers in the Church of Christ. Now, all this implies ignorance of the divine sanctions these societies have from the first received, and of the venerable history they have had; also, want of sympathy with the excellent character of the young men assailed. Educational societies, charitable and beneficiary, are not a thing of yesterday, so that their principles and practice are unobserved, and their influence unknown; nor have these young men lived in a corner. Both have been set on high. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.

God, who, at sundry times and in divers manners, spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Prophets, and unto us, in these last days, by his Son, has not left the knowledge and practice of the revelation he has so graciously made to chance or any uncertainty. He has embodied in institutions, and put in permanent forms, means to preserve and perpetuate this revelation. In the patriarchal dispensation, the provision for this purpose was simplest and purest—the father being the

ordained teacher and priest. Following this in the Mosaic, a whole tribe—that of Levi—was set apart to be the priests and ministers, and largely the teachers, counselors, judges, and rulers of God's people.

Jehovah specifically defined the duties of the Levites, and as specifically made provision for their instruction, training, and support. The tribe of Levi received no inheritance at the distribution of Canaan among the several tribes. They were maintained, with their families, upon certain fees, dues, and perquisites, all appointed for them, and arising from the public service which they performed. "As well to the great as to the small"—"their little ones, their wives, their sons, and their daughters"—are specified in the provision made for the Levites. Each had "his daily portion" appointed. An officer was assigned to see that this portion was given to each and all. The sons of the priests, who attended with them, "from three years old and upward," to learn the work of the sanctuary before the time of their officiating, had provision made for them. (See 2 Chron. xxxi: 14-19.) Thus, it appears that the maintenance of the priests included the maintenance and instruction of their sons, and the training of them to take the places of their fathers, when those fathers could no longer serve.

Besides the abundant testimony of Scripture on this point, we have the additional testimony, in the way of comment, of both Josephus and Philo. The latter vindicates the propriety of such a provision. "It is exceedingly becoming," he says, "that the man who is consecrated to the service of the Father of the world, should also bring his son to the service of Him who has begotten him."

For the better teaching and training of the priests and ministers of religion in Israel of old, institutions and schools were established. As these schools are first mentioned in the time of Samuel; it is natural to suppose that he was their author. "There were institutions for training prophets," says Hengstenberg; "the senior members instructed a number of pupils, and directed them." These schools had been first established by Samuel (1 Sam. x: 8: xix; 20); and at later times there were such institutions in different places, as Bethel and Gilgal (2 Kings ii: 3; iv: 38; vi: 1)." Samuel himself had been

brought up under the tutelage and training of Eli. "The pupils of the prophets," continues Hengstenberg, "lived in fellowship united, and were called 'Sons of the Prophets'; whilst the senior, or experienced, prophets were considered as their spiritual parents, and were styled Fathers (comp. 2 Kings ii: 12; vi: 21). Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, are mentioned as principals of such institutions. From them the Lord generally chose His instruments. Amos relates of himself (vii: 14, 15), as a thing uncommon, that he had been trained in no school of prophets, but was "a herdsman when the Lord took him to prophesy unto the people of Israel." "The spiritual fathers traveled about to visit the training schools; the pupils had their common board and dwelling; and those who married and left ceased not, on that account, to be connected with their colleges, but remained members of them. The widow of such a pupil of the schools of prophets, who is mentioned in 2 Kings iv: 1, *seq.*, considered Elisha as the person bound to care for her. The offerings which, by the Mosaic law, were to be given to the Levites, were, by the pious of the Kingdom of Israel, brought to the schools of the prophets (2 Kings iv: 42)." — *Hengstenberg in Kittos' Cyclopaedia of Bib. Lit.*, vol. ii., p. 565.

The learned Dr. Lightfoot also gives us the conclusions of his studies on this subject:

"It has been the way of God," he says, "to instruct his people by a studious and learned ministry, ever since he gave a written word to instruct them in. Who were the standing ministry of Israel all the time from the giving of the law till the captivity in Babylon? Not prophets and inspired men, for they were but occasional teachers, but the priests and Levites who became learned in the law by study (Deut. xxxiii: 10; Matt. ii: 7). And for this end they were dispersed into forty-eight cities, as so many universities, where they studied the law together, and from thence were sent out into the several synagogues to teach the people. They had also contributions made for the support of these students while they studied in the universities, as well as afterward, when they preached in the synagogues. There were among the Jews authorized individual teachers of great eminence, who had their Midrashoth, or divinity schools, in which they expounded the law to their scholars or disciples. Of these divinity schools there is frequent mention made among the Jewish writers, more especially of the schools of Hillel and Shammai. Such a divinity professor was Gamaliel, at whose feet the great apostle to the Gentiles received his education." (*Lightfoot's Works*, vol. i., pp. 557-574.)

To leave the old and come down to the new and more per-

fect dispensation—"the appearing of the Great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." This was for two ends: 1st. To organize and train a competent body of witnesses to the truth of his teaching and the fact of his resurrection. 2d. To make peace by the blood of his cross, and so reconcile the world unto God.

As to the first, our Lord himself declares: "The Father which sent me gave me commandment what I should say and what I should speak." "I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me, and they have received them, and have known surely that I came from thee, and they have believed that thou didst send me." (John xii: 49; xvii: 8.)

According to this divine plan, then, our Lord appeared as the anointed of the Father—the divine teacher to the lost race—yet not in person to every man of the race. The counsels of the Godhead provided that he should choose and ordain certain ones to be witnesses, to the instruction and training of whom his life and labors should be mainly directed, and whom, leaving, he should commission to go and "teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The Evangelic Church, led by those that received their commission directly from the lips of the ascending Saviour, had endeavored to follow closely and do all things after the pattern shewed in the holy Mount. And this it has in the main done. The same system in substance was adopted and continued by the Church of the New Dispensation, that had received such divine sanctions under the Old. At a very early age we find a seminary of very high repute established at Alexandria, in which candidates for the holy ministry were trained up under the ablest instructors, both in divine and human learning—a seminary in which Pantænus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and others, taught with high reputation. Eusebius and Jerome both declare, that this seminary had existed as a nursery of the church, and had enjoyed a succession of able teachers from the time of Mark, the Evangelist. (See *Euseb.*, Lib. v., c. 10, 11; and iv., c. 6, Bohn's ed., London, 1858.)

There were seminaries of a like kind very early established at Rome, Cæsarea, Antioch, and other places, and they were considered essential to the honor and prosperity of the church. (See *Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, Lib. iii., c. 10.)

the eminence of an academy, qualified to teach the requisite philosophy and science. In the four cities named, the Christian schools were real colleges, not chartered and fostered, but crushed and persecuted, by the civil powers. Thus the church of God, during the first three hundred years of the Christian era, wrote the history of her literature and the charter of her colleges in her own blood. Nor was it until after the light of her science and the blood of her martyrs had enlightened the baleful fires of Pagan persecution, and the tottering throne of Cæsars had felt its need of support from a purer religion, that the Christian schools of Alexandria and Rome, of Constantinople and Berytus, of Cæsarea and Antioch, of Ephesus and Smyrna, were patronized by the government. The schools, academies, and colleges, be it noted, which the Pagan emperors persecuted and the Christian emperors patronized, existed long before the battle of Rubra Saxa and the Edict of Constantine, A.D. 325, which declared Christianity the religion of the empire. It was not the civil government that created the schools. It was the church that, in the face of persecution, reared aloft those beacon lights to guide the nations through the darkness of time. And so hath it been ever since."

Traces of a plan like the primitive and divine one, for preserving and propagating the knowledge and service of God, are found widely scattered among the nations and tribes of the earth. Some hold, with a good deal of evidence in its favor, that these are the remains of the primitive revelation, made under the Patriarchial Dispensation, continued, modified, and adapted to the times and people under the Mosaic and afterward. If this is not so, it must be referred to that instinct and reason that God has placed in the nature of every living species—that which causes them to bring forth abundantly after their kind, and choose the best means of nourishment and growth. At any rate, this provision, that we now call eleemosynary, or charitable, for the support of the ministers of religion, is found generally among the various systems of natural religion, or heathenism, and false religion, with which the world has abounded. The priests of heathenism and idolatry organize schools, such as they are, and make the support of them meritorious on the part of their followers. Into these schools they receive gratuitously, and train the children they can obtain for

the propagation of their religion. These pupils they collect from the families of both the rich and the poor, some from orphaned houses, some literally from the "highways and hedges." To the support of these the worshipers at the temples gladly and liberally contribute. In most eastern countries the building and endowing of schools and seminaries, and the gratuitous instruction of the young, are regarded as acts eminently honorable, and to be recompensed in a future state. The missionary, Ward, in his well-known *History of the Hindoos*, says, "No Hindoo teacher receives wages from his pupils. It is considered as an act of very great merit to bestow learning. He therefore endeavors to collect a subsistence at festivals, and by annual or more frequent tours among the rich, who readily support an individual thus devoting his time to the instruction of others."

"Romanism, too," to use the words of the Secretary of the Presbyterian Board, "ever employs a wise and admirable sagacity in selecting devoted and capable young persons, in discovering their peculiarities and aptitudes, in training and employing them through her various orders in the most effective way, and in interesting her people to supply them with the means of comfortable maintenance and of ecclesiastical and charitable activity. Her theological students are decently dressed, well fed, and abundantly provided for, as if they were the cadets to whose fidelity, affection, and discipline she must trust in the stern conflicts of their generation."

Charlemagne, the Augustus of France, eleven centuries ago, stood pre-eminent among earthly monarchs as the patron of learning and the priesthood. He invited the most eminent men from other countries to plant in the French cities schools of literature and theology. The Emperor enriched these schools with the spoils of war, and with the proceeds of the tillers, which he enforced by law. He loved the Word of God, especially the Psalms and Gospels, and required a copy of the latter, written in letters of gold, to be placed in his hand before his burial. He induced many of the most capable young men to receive a suitable education, and then sent them to make known Christian truth among the pagan nations of the West which he had subdued.

The priesthood of the Roman Church, during the middle

ages, taught three kinds of free and charity schools, the parochial, the cloistral, and the cathedral schools, the latter confined to the training of priests under the immediate supervision of the bishop. Several of the religious orders devoted themselves chiefly to teaching the young.

Alfred, claimed by many historians as the wisest and greatest prince that ever ruled England, less than a century later did in England what Charlemagne had done in France and the Empire of the West. But to make a more general statement of facts, twice, as history shows, has the Roman Church used this engine of eleemosynary education to batter down the rising walls of pure Christianity.

Shortly after the establishment of Christianity by Constantine in the Roman empire, Julian, the apostate, ascended the throne. Among the measures of impiety he devised to arrest the progress of the Gospel, this was prominent: he prohibited Christian support and Christian teaching in the public schools. Gibbon thus describes the dark policy of this arch-apostate: "As soon as the resignation of the more obstinate teachers had established the unrivaled dominion of the pagan sophists, Julian invited the rising generation to resort with freedom to the public schools, in a just confidence that their tender minds would receive the impressions of literature and idolatry. . . . Julian had reason to expect that, in the space of a few years, the church would relapse into its primeval simplicity, and that the theologians who possessed an adequate share of the learning and eloquence of the age, would be succeeded by a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics, incapable of defending the truth of their own principles, or of exposing the various policies of polytheism."

Nearly twelve centuries later, when Christianity began again in the Reformation to show its ancient glories (and went on the wings of the wind from nation to nation, conquering and to conquer), the same game was sought to be played once more. Not now by Julian, but by those filled with the spirit of Julian—the Jesuits.

Ranke, in his *History of the Popes*, thus describes their work:

The Jesuits labored at the improvement of the *universities*, and in a short time they had among them teachers who might claim to be ranked as the restorers of classical learning. They devoted an equal assiduity to the direc-

tion of the *Latin schools*. They chose persons, who, when they had once undertaken this subordinate branch of teaching, were willing to *devote themselves to it*. *Schools for the poor*, and modes of instruction suited to children, and also catechising, followed, which satisfied the mental wants of the learners by well-connected questions and concise answers. The whole course of instruction was given entirely in that enthusiastic, devout spirit, which had characterized the Jesuits from their earliest institution. The sentiments, of which these acts were demonstrations, thus carefully instilled in schools, were disseminated through the whole population by means of preaching and the confessional.

Such were the steps by which Catholicism, continues Ranke, after its conquest might have been deemed accomplished, arose in renovated strength. The greatest changes took place without noise, without attracting the serious observation of contemporaries, *without finding mention in the works of historians*, as if such were the inevitable course of events.

This power of education, so fatally wielded by Julian against the Christians of the fourth century, and by the Jesuits against the Reformation in Germany, is now no less adroitly used to sustain the Roman Church in its usurpation of the rights of God and man.

Nor have all the wisdom and foresight and following of a divine pattern on this subject, been left to the early Christian Church, or realized by heathen and the corrupted Church of Rome. The Reformed Church, worthy of the name, because she has returned to the primitive pattern, led by her heroic leaders, and instructed by teachers following in the footsteps of the apostles and early Christians, has shown no less zeal and knowledge in the directions she has taken, and the provisions she has sought to make for evangelization and perfection. "It is a grave and serious thing, affecting the interests of the kingdom of Christ, and of all the world," says Luther, "that we apply ourselves to the work of instructing the young. Schools and ministers are better than councils. To make the religious houses really useful, they should be converted into schools. Their most proper use is for the profit and care of *poor students*. A poor student may claim to have these spiritual things to maintain his studying." And in these sentiments of Luther, himself a charity student, and the gift to the world of these charity provisions, the Reformers generally coincided. They prayed and planned and labored to establish and endow numerous universities, with academies and other schools and training

institutions planted around them. Nobles, rulers, and rich men came to their support. Thus Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, exempted the students at the University of Marburg from all civil taxation and charges, and endowed fifty bursaries with provisions for board and lodging. Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, devoted the principal building, that at Königsberg, to be a dwelling for poor students. The enormous accumulations of monkish property, through many previous centuries, were everywhere devoted to the new and vast necessities of the kingdom of Christ, and the charities of believers were invoked to provide lodging-houses, bursaries, stipends, free or cheap boarding, and other benefits, for the young men who were gathered, by many hundreds, to these institutions. Our English word, "college," is a memorial of these charitable houses, at once dormitories and eating-houses, in which the students, scattered about in circumstances of temptation, and, perhaps, of want and neglect, were collected and cared for, bodily and spiritually. The gifts and bequests of pious men and women were gladly and liberally bestowed upon these objects. It is upon such historical facts as these, which have given name to our high institutions of learning, that our best legal authorities, as Story, Kent, and Marshall, have based their decisions, that "A college is an eleemosynary or charitable institution, for the promotion of learning and piety."

Among the Reformed Churches there is no name greater than that of John Calvin. He was especially gifted by the Spirit of God with a clear, simple, yet profound insight and comprehension of the doctrine of God, and the principles on which the New Testament church rests and must be built up. He was the wise and ardent friend of the education of the young in every form. He was, as Bancroft says, "the father of popular education," and to him we owe the system of free schools. Calvin made it his first care to raise up a thoroughly instructed and trained ministry. To the first National Synod of the French Reformed Church, held in Paris in May, 1559, and the representative of "a church whose history is so singularly pure, beautiful, and sad," this man of clear insight and profound knowledge gave a Confession of Faith, Catechism, and Directory of Worship, and a complete system of Church government. Prominent among its sections and provisions is the one relating

to the education of young men for the ministry, of which these are the words: "In order that the churches may be always furnished with a sufficient number of pastors, and other persons fit to govern them, and preach the Word of God unto them, they shall be advised to choose those scholars who are already well advanced in good learning, and are of the most promising hopeful parts; and to maintain such in the universities, that they may be fitted and prepared for the work of the ministry; kings, princes, and the nobility shall be petitioned and exhorted particularly to mind this important affair, and to lay by some part of their revenues toward their maintenance, and the richer churches shall do the like. Classes and the synods in the provinces shall, as they see meet, notify and solicit this affair, and take the best courses, that matters of so great necessity may be successful. If single churches have not the means, their neighbors shall join them, so that one poor scholar, at the least, may be maintained in every classis. And in order that this design shall not fail, every fifth penny of all our charities shall be set apart, when it may conveniently be done, to be employed in this service."

Nor were the French churches and synods negligent of these careful specifications and doctrines of their great leader. The Huguenots, especially, showed an intelligent and active zeal in carrying out the spirit of Calvin's plans and instructions. They projected the planting and endowment of five universities, at Montauban, Montpellier, Nismes, Saumur, and Sedan. Nor was this a spasmodic effort, for the minutes of several of the later French synods, says my authority on this point, contain the reiteration of the request, that the churches and classes shall give earnest heed to this duty, and shall "support poor students and candidates for the ministry, by setting apart *one-fifth* of all moneys raised for benevolent uses." Calvin himself founded an academy at Geneva, which continues and flourishes to this day.

Nor have the spirit and wisdom of Calvin yet ceased from the churches and great and good men of France. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, the historian of the Reformation, Gausson, and others, organized a theological school at Geneva, with the aid of friends in this country, and the students of which are granted six hundred francs a year.

If we turn from France and the Continent to the British Isles, the same and even more marked facts confront us. There are many reasons for believing that the British Isles obtained their faith and practice from early oriental sources, and for this reason stand in nearer connection with the Apostles and Christ himself. Her schools early became numerous and famous for training and sending forth the ministers of Christ. Students in these schools and seminaries, if they were needy, were fed and clothed, and furnished whatever was needful for their comfort and efficiency, by the pious contributions of their brethren in the Lord. We cannot particularize these institutions in Wales, North Britain, and Ireland, and the adjacent islands, as in Bangor and Iona, where was the great schools of theological learning and training of these early ages. Historians generally agree, that from these light went forth into the surrounding darkness—the light that, in later ages, brightened into the Reformation.

John Knox, the great Reformer of Scotland, returning to Scotland, in 1559, from Geneva, where he had been pastor of the English Presbyterian Church, and most intimate with Calvin, hastened to plant in his own country the seeds that had already gladdened the revived church of Geneva. He at once drew up a plan of Christian education and evangelization like that which he had seen in operation under Calvin, in the Geneva Republic. In *The First-Book of Discipline*, prepared by Knox, after he had shown the necessity there is for schools, he maintains that it is expedient “that provision be made for those scholars that are poor and not able to sustain themselves, nor by their friends to be sustained, at letters, and in special, for those that come from landward” (the country). “We think it necessary,” he says, “that there be three universities in this whole realm: the first in St. Andrews, the second in Glasgow, the third in Aberdeen.” “We think it be expedient that the universities be doted with temporal lands, with rents and revenues of the bishop’s temporality—*i. e.*, those of the Roman clergy—and of the kirk’s collegiate, so far as their ordinary charges shall require.” Having stated what he thought would be sufficient stipends for the members of the faculties and other officers of the universities, Knox adds, there should

be granted "to the board of every bursar, without the class of theology, twenty pounds; and to every bursar in the classes of theology, twenty-four pounds."

These funds and foundations were for the benefit of poor students, as well as the support of professors and faculties. Begun thus by Knox, they have been increased by the gifts of the godly, and by grants of Parliament, till now there are great sums of money for the sustentation of professors and scholars. (See Dr. Speer, in the *Manual of the Board of Education*, for the present condition of the funds, p. 17.)

The principles and precedents revived by Knox, and introduced into Scotland, were maintained afterward in various ways by the General Assembly of Scotland. In 1641 the Assembly recommended that "every Presbytery, consisting of twelve ministers, should maintain one bursary, and where the number is fewer than twelve, they shall be joined to another Presbytery." Later, or in 1645, the General Assembly specified the minimum of aid that candidates for the ministry should receive from the funds of the church, decreeing "that every bursar should have paid to him, at least, one hundred pounds Scots yearly."

Systems of religious education and evangelization like these, early projected and carried forward through the centuries, have made Scotland the head, and not the tail, of the nations of Europe and the world.

"From scenes like these, Old Scotia's grandeur springs,
That make her loved at home, revered abroad."

The learning, wisdom, and devotion to Christ and his redeemed of all the centuries that preceded it, culminated in the Westminster Assembly—that venerable body that held its sessions in London in the latter part of the seventeenth century, for the perpetuation and diffusion of the great and precious doctrines of the Gospel of God's grace. By general consent, this was the greatest Protestant religious convocation yet held, nor has it yet been surpassed, if equaled. It is the testimony of the historian of this Assembly, Hetherington, that there lay in the mind of the Moderator of this Assembly, Alexander Henderson, "the truly magnificent and truly Christian idea of a Protestant Union throughout Christendom, not merely for the purpose of counterbalancing Popery, but in order to

purify, strengthen, and unite all Christian churches, so that, with combined energy and zeal, they might go forth in glad compliance with the Redeemer's command, teaching all nations, and preaching the everlasting Gospel to every creature under heaven." But how did these great men seek to realize their grand idea? Not only by the Confession of Faith they put forth in such power, but by the measures they adopted for the propagation of this faith, and the increase of an able evangelical ministry. Under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, in 1655, some of the principal men of this Assembly, with others like minded, who had not been members, formed a general society "*for the maintainning of students of choice ability at the university, and, principally, in order to the ministry.*"

The immediate object of this society was to provide for "the ordinary necessities of the church;" also, "to relieve the sad condition of dark corners, both in England and Wales, and several parts of England."

The Constitution provides that the society shall be managed by :

"SIXTY TRUSTEES, whereof thirty-six are to be gentlemen or citizens of eminence, and twenty-four to be ministers in or within five miles of the city of London, of which any seven shall make a quorum in ordinary cases, whereof three are to be ministers.

"The scholars must be of eminent parts, of an ingenuous disposition, and such as are poor, or have not a sufficient maintenance any other ways; and it required that a special regard be had to Godliness."

This society was to be supported by subscriptions, solicited for eight years, in order to carry the student through five years of preparatory and classical studies, and three years of divinity, at one of the universities. The society contemplated aid, also, to "such foreigners, as being poor, are most eminent for parts, learning, and piety, that thus they may be more able to preach practically and powerfully to their people, and further the work of conversion and edification in foreign parts."

Among the names of the patrons and trustees of this society we find those of Edmund Calamy, Richard Baxter, William Bates, Matthew Poole, Thomas Manton, John Stillingfleet, and Ralph Cudworth. "This tract" says the *American Quarterly Register*, "is a most venerable and interesting document. The reader will discover that education societies are not of so recent ori-

gin as some have imagined, and that they are far from being peculiar to this country, or this age. He will find in this tract an authentic copy of an educational society formed in England almost two hundred years ago. Among its patrons and trustees he will recognize the names above given, forming, with others of kindred spirit, the purest and brightest constellation which arose in the church during the seventeenth century. The model of this education society is the more worthy of notice, because it contains the outline of a system thoroughly matured, and adapted to efficient permanent action. The addresses by Poole and Baxter, connected with it, are worthy of their authors, and are fit to be circulated and read till the end of time."

Besides the authority that this array of names gives to the Education Society of the Westminster Assembly, we have the "Testimonial of some Oxford Doctors," respecting the same. "We heartily commend it," say these Oxford doctors, "unto all the lovers of learning and universities, as that which, by God's blessing, is likely to prove of *singular* use for the *quicken- ing of diligence* and *provoking of emulation*, and the *growth of knowledge* and *piety*."

At the time the history of this society was given, forty-four young men were receiving its aid in the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge. These young men were of strong character and bright promise; they were picked men from the two universities, "such as" according to the testimony of the doctors, "give the best satisfaction for parts and learning, and had the best import for piety." "There can be no doubt," is the summing up of the *American Quarterly Register*, "that many men, whose names now shine with distinguished lustre in English history, were fitted for usefulness by the fostering hand of this ancient education society."

The tract containing a copy of the Constitution and Rules of this Society, with the Addresses of Baxter and Poole, is found in the library of the Historical Society of Boston. It is also reprinted in the *American Quarterly Register*, vol. iii, pp. 145-52.

If we pass from the Reformed Church of the Continent and the sturdy Presbyterianism of Scotland to America, we find the same principles recognized and vigorously working from

the earliest times of our history. The educational system of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was not a mere imitation of that of Scotland, with which our churches stand in nearest connection, but it grew out of the obligation they felt to use all scriptural means to multiply efficient ministers of the Gospel.

Says the Report of the Board for 1850 :

"As far back as the days of Makemie, when our ministers numbered less than the apostles, our church acted upon the two great principles which now govern the Board of Education, viz.: that the increase of the ministry is connected with the use of means, and that both piety and learning are essential qualifications for the office. In order to obtain more ministers, the Presbyterian Fathers assisted pious and indigent young men in their preparatory studies, and encouraged others of suitable character and promise to enter upon a course of education, with the hope that God would call them into the ministry. The academies of the Tennents, Allisons, Blairs, Finleys, and Smiths were the preparatory seminaries of the churches, and schools of learning and religion, established by a hard-working generation, to the glory of God, whose providence blesses such men, and did bless these, in the training of many faithful witnesses of His truth. The principle of aiding indigent students in their course of studies dates back to the origin of Presbyterianism in this country, and was contemporaneous with the policy of sending missionaries to the destitute settlements. At that time, if ever, the church would have been justified in lowering the standard of literary requirements, but even in the day of the greatest straits for men and means, it was determined to send forth only those who were thoroughly furnished for their work."

New England, earlier settled, and her churches organized, had taken the lead in these efforts to raise up a competent ministry. Scarcely had the early settlers of New England reached this Western world, before they turned their thoughts to the establishment of a college for the education of the ministry.

"The primitive Christians," says Cotton Mather, "were not more prudently careful to settle schools for the education of persons to succeed the more immediately inspired ministry of the Apostles, and such as had been ordained by the Apostles, than the Christians in the early times of New England were to found a *College*, wherein a succession of learned and able ministers might be educated. And, indeed, they foresaw, that without such a provision for a sufficient ministry, the churches of New England must have soon come to nothing.

"The ends for which our fathers did chiefly erect a college in New England," writes Increase Mather, "were, that so scholars might there be

educated for the service of Christ and His churches, in the work of the ministry, and that they might be seasoned in their tender years with such *principles* as brought their blessed progenitors into this wilderness. There is no one thing of greater concernment to these in present and after times, than the prosperity of that society. They *cannot subsist without a college*. There are at this day not above two or three churches but what are supplied from thence." (*Magnalia*, book v.)

But upon the most interesting and instructive New England chapter of this subject our limits forbid us to enter.

The fathers of the Presbyterian Church in this country did, indeed, as an earlier report of the Presbyterian Board—that of 1848—well says,

"Labor under great disadvantages, compared with the New England Puritans, in regard to their measures of education. In the first place, there was a great want of homogeneousness in the population, where their congregations were located. Their churches were for many years few and feeble, chiefly country churches, and located in the different States of New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. The laws of the States, moreover, showed no favor to Presbyterians. Yet, in the year 1739,* when the number of ministers was about fifty, the Synod of the Presbyterian Church took measures for a Synodical Academy. In 1743, the school was definitely established at New London, Pa., under the following regulations:

1.—"That there be a school kept open, where all persons who please will send their children, and have them instructed, *gratis*, in the languages, philosophy, and divinity.

2.—"In order to carry out this design, it is agreed that every congregation under our care, be applied to for yearly contributions, more or less, as they may afford, and as God may incline them to contribute,† etc." (See *Records Synod Penn.*, pp. 174–185; also, *Hodge's Constitutional Hist. Pres. Church*, vol. 2; *Gillett's Hist. of Pres. Church*, rev. ed., i, 149, 159, 442.)

Previous to the establishment of this academy, the Log College of Tennent had been in operation on the same general principles. A number of other private schools were also in operation, which sustained a certain relation to the Synod, and which must have been conducted in a similar manner.

When the Presbyterian Church had been unhappily divided into two Synods, the Synod of New York was no less zealous for the promotion of learning and religion than was the whole church before the division. In 1751 the Synod of New

* The first Presbytery in the U. S. A. was formed in 1705, and consisted of only seven ministers.

† This school was afterward transferred to Newark, Delaware and became the nucleus of a college at that place.

York recommended "that an annual collection be taken up in all its churches, for the support of young students whose circumstances render them incapable to maintain themselves at learning, and for other charitable purposes."

Nor was there any falling away from the precedents and principles, but a perfecting of the measures relating thereto, when the divisions of the churches were healed, and they had become united again in the Synod of Philadelphia and New York. In 1771 this body approved and recommended a plan for the assistance of candidates for the ministry, submitted by the Presbytery of New Castle, providing that every vacant congregation, on receiving supply, should pay £2, and every minister £1, and voluntary subscriptions from others should be solicited. It also made provision that the beneficiary candidate should be examined and his studies directed by some one appointed by the Presbytery; also, each beneficiary should labor one year, from the time of his license, within the bounds of the Presbytery that had aided him; and in case he did not enter the ministry, he should give bonds to refund, in five years, the money he had received. The Presbyteries of New York, New Brunswick, and 2d Philadelphia fully complied, as appears from their minutes, with these requisitions. Several others did so in part. (See *Hodge's Const. Hist.*, and *Gillett's Hist. of Pres. Church*, rev. ed.)

Such was the status of the educational work of the Presbyterian Church at the formation of the General Assembly in 1788. The Revolution, a struggle for life and liberty in the church as well as state, nearly suspended the execution and perfection of all measures for growth and enlargement in the church, while it continued. But the crisis having past, and order being restored, the Holy Spirit came down in power again at the close of the last and the beginning of this century. "The Great Revival" of 1800 aroused the church to the wide spiritual desolation of the country, and led to earnest and organized efforts on a larger scale to supply them. The General Assembly of 1806 took up the subject, and sent down an overture to the Presbyteries, "requiring them to instruct their Commissioners to the Assembly respecting the education of pious youths for the gospel ministry."

When the report was made in the Assembly upon the action

taken by the Presbyteries on this overture, "it appeared that the overture had been seriously considered and highly approved by most of them ; that some of the Presbyteries had long been in the habit of using the measures contemplated in the overture, for bringing forward youth of piety and talents as candidates for the gospel ministry, and that others had adopted and organized such measures within the last year, and in consequence of the overture under consideration." Accordingly, the Assembly did "*most earnestly recommend* to every Presbytery under their care, to use their utmost endeavors to increase, by all suitable means in their power, the number of promising candidates for the holy ministry ; to press it upon the parents of pious youth, to educate them for the church ; and on the youth themselves, to devote their talents and their lives to this sacred calling ; to make vigorous exertions to raise funds to assist all the youth who may need assistance ; to be careful that the youth whom they take on their funds, give such evidence, as the nature of the case admits, that they possess both *talents and piety* ; to respect the education of these youth during the course both of their academical and theological studies, choosing for them such schools, seminaries, and teachers as each Presbytery may judge most proper and advantageous, so as eventually to bring them into the ministry, well furnished for their work ; and the Assembly do hereby order, that every Presbytery under their care, make annually a report to the Assembly, stating particularly what they have done in this concern, or why (if the case so shall be) they have done nothing in it ; and the Assembly will, when these reports are received, consider each distinctly, and decide by vote whether the Presbyteries severally shall be considered as having discharged or neglected their duty in this important business." (*Digest of 1820*, pp. 221-4.)

In 1813, it was ordered in the General Assembly, "that all the Presbyteries be careful to transmit for the future, *written* and authenticated reports on this subject to the Assembly, and that, when circumstances will permit, they *annually raise funds* for this important purpose, as well as diligently seek for suitable characters for their appropriation." (*Id.*, p. 225.)

Additional regulations were adopted by the Assembly of 1817, "that those Presbyteries who have funds for the education of poor and pious youth for the gospel ministry, or who are able

to raise funds for this purpose, but can find no suitable young men within their own bounds, take measures to obtain them from the bounds of other Presbyteries, and educate them for the work of the ministry, or that they annually transmit money for this object to the General Assembly, that the Assembly may appropriate it to the object for which it was raised, or that they transmit it to one of the Theological Seminaries within our bounds, to be applied by the professors to the education of indigent young men in said seminaries;* and that the stated clerk of the General Assembly be the organ of communication between such Presbyteries as may have money to be applied to the above purpose, and those Presbyteries who have under their care young men who shall need their liberality." (*Id.*, pp. 225-6.)

Inspired and led forward from the first, the way ever becoming clearer and brighter—sustained also by the whole history of the Church of God in past ages, the Presbyterian Church, through her General Assembly, in 1819, embodied both the spirit and acts of her declarations and deliverances, and expanded them into the *Constitution of the Board of Education*, thus creating a body within herself that should have the care of this whole subject, and see to it that both the duty and the privilege of helping Christ and his church, by raising up faithful and efficient teachers and ministers, be brought to bear upon every Presbytery and every church, and every member in the church.

The language of the Assembly ordering and establishing this Board is worthy of consideration, and is as follows:

Whereas, the General Assembly forms the bond of union of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and affords the acknowledged means of combining the *intelligence* and *concentrating* the efforts of that denomination;

"*Whereas*, the present state of our country most loudly calls for increasing energy and zeal in training young men for the ministry of the Gospel, and

* The Assembly had before this taken action in regard to the seminary. That of 1810, having under consideration the subject of the Theological Seminary (Princeton), report, as a part of the plan of this Seminary, "that exertions be made to provide such an amount of funds for this Seminary as will enable its conductors to afford gratuitous instruction, and, where it is necessary, gratuitous support, to all such students as may not themselves possess adequate means." (*Life of Archibald Alexander*, p. 306.)

it has become necessary to originate new and more efficient measures for carrying on this great and important work; to systematize and unite the efforts that are now making within our bounds;

"And *whereas*, it is desirable that a fund be established, under the direction of the General Assembly, which, among other objects, might afford assistance to these Presbyteries and parts of the church that may require the same;

"*Therefore, Resolved*: 1st.—That the General Assembly establish a general Board of Education;

"2d.—That it be recommended that boards of education be formed within our bounds, auxiliary to the Board of the General Assembly, as extensively as possible;

"3d.—That it be recommended to the several Presbyteries to form themselves into education societies, auxiliary to the Board, and to adopt the most vigorous efforts to accomplish this important object;

"4th.—That it be the object of this Education Board, and its auxiliaries, to assist the young men, under their patronage and direction, to obtain *all parts* of an education necessary to their introduction into the pulpit, including both their classical and theological course." (*Id.*, pp. 226-7.)

Thus there was consummated an organization toward which the Holy Spirit, at work in the church from the first, had been prompting, and the Providence of God preparing the way—a body, the only life and efficiency of which is this same Spirit that worketh all in all.

And here we might leave the subject. But we desire to do more. We desire to make impressive not only the fact, that both the aim and methods of the Educational Board are authorized by the Word of God and the practice of the church in all ages, but that such an agency is *necessary* to sustain the church and carry forward to completion and perfection the work that the Great Head of the church has given her to do—of perfecting her own body and disciplining the nations to her Lord.

And this we might argue from the history already given. From this it clearly appears, that these provisions for raising up an efficient ministry have been a chief object of the divine care and direction under both the Mosaic and Christian economy; that they have always received the heartiest support from the great leaders and teachers, and from the brightest ornaments in the church. "Ever since there has been a *Christian* ministry on earth," are the well-chosen words of Dr. J. W. Alexander, in his thoughtful article on 'The Increase of the

Number of Gospel Ministers,' 1851, "pious instructors, professional teachers, loving the cause of the Redeemer, have been forward to give a helping hand to indigent boys of piety and promise. They have done this by lowering their little fees, or by remitting them altogether; in many cases they have furnished them with books, and sometimes they have undertaken their entire support. When this has been beyond their slender means, they have made interest with benevolent persons of wealth to do this for them. Instructors could be named who, through a large part of their lives, have never been without some young men dependent on their bounty, and it is delightful to consider how large a number of successful ministers have been lifted over obstacles in their way to the sacred office, which otherwise would have been insurmountable. Important as this point is, there is really no one which it seems more superfluous to urge." "I consider," says Dr. Ashbel Green, at the laying of the corner-stone of Princeton Seminary—than whom few, if any, have more encouraged a course of liberal study—"the agency I have had in providing ministers of the gospel for the church, and in securing the means for their adequate instruction, and for an attention to their personal piety, as the most important service that I have rendered to the Church of Christ."

To say nothing of what is involved in supposing that these fathers of the church, and brethren of largest knowledge and clearest judgment and purest heart, have always been mistaken in this thing, it is surely the height of presumption to urge objections, when God himself has so plainly given directions.

But to look at the subject more in its human aspect. Our education boards and societies are *necessary* to keep up the supply of efficient ministers and teachers of the Word of God. We might rest this also on the basis of the past, for what has been, and is now, shall be.

If any ask, as some do, why not rely on the admitted principle of political economy—of demand and supply? We answer that in respect to the religious interest of men, this rule holds not. Here, often, if not generally, the want exists, and is greatest where it is least felt, and no demand made for supply. This is the case in the most depraved districts, of city and country throughout our land, and everywhere in heathen lands.

Men are wasting away and dying by the most fatal diseases, but they know not the remedy, or knowing, hate it, and will not apply for it. To these we must go with the help, and create a demand for it. We must tell men they are starving and dying, and make them feel it. We must carry to them the bread and water of life, and bid them taste to see how good it is. To wait till they call is to lose both them and ourselves. No demand with promise of paying the expense necessary to meet it comes from those that most need the supply.

Nor does the prospect of social distinction, ecclesiastical rank and preferment, or literary eminence, meet the case. Social parity is the basis of our republican institutions, and ministerial parity the doctrine of seven-eighths of the people of the land. "We have here no sinecures, no chapels of ease, no dainty pluralities, no cathedral stalls, no alluring college fellowships, to attract young men of wealth or worldly ambition," or pay the bills of poor young men of faith and holy ambition. There is little leisure for literary studies, or pleasant literary companionships, and the profits arising therefrom. "Every thing must bear upon one subject—the preaching of the Gospel. Every book that is read, almost, has something to do with the construction or illustration of a sermon."

Nor can direct pecuniary prospects any more be relied upon to furnish the supply. The prospect of salary is not very flattering. It is well known that the average salary of the clergy in this country is very small—probably falling below six hundred dollars. Besides, it is generally held, that the minister who is governed by a pecuniary motive is unworthy of his office, and ought to vacate it. "My kingdom," says our Lord, "is not of this world." The ministry of reconciliation is radically different from all other callings, in its renunciation, from the start, of earthly objects. It cannot come into competition with any worldly interest. It seeks not money, but men; not yours, but you.

Encouragement and aid are equally necessary, if the relations of dependence and support between fathers and sons, or families, be considered. If the fathers and mothers can be found in sufficient numbers to consecrate their sons to the self-denying work of the ministry, and the sons be found willing and glad to be offered, then the question of preparation is not solved;

nor can it be without the aid that the church, through her boards and other channels, offers. A large proportion of the families in the most prosperous parts of our country—probably half or two-thirds of those that would give their sons to the church—are not able to give them the liberal education that both the age and the office demand. With careful habits these families live comfortably from year to year, and occasionally give a son or a daughter an extra term of study in some near academy or high school. But to dispense with the assistance of the son altogether, just, too, when his services begin to be most valuable, and in addition expend one or two thousand dollars for him, this is quite out of the question. Occasionally, indeed, a young man may be found with nerve enough to force his way over every obstacle, and become, as is said, “the architect of his own fortune.” But he is, as all agree, the exception, and not the rule, so that his success cannot be taken as the precedent for the many. Besides, success achieved in this way is, in many cases, at the expense of the longest and most useful life. This harp of a thousand strings has been handled too roughly, its cords too intently stretched, to give forth their fine tones long. They snap at no distant day.

If there be any rule of political economy or principle of voluntary support that can be relied upon, why have not these furnished a sufficient supply ere this? Why did they not in the early history of the Presbyterian Church in this country—from 1740 to 1780? Why were not the ranks of the ministry full in 1816, when the scarcity was so deplorable that there was one general and anxious inquiry, what shall be done? Time enough surely had elapsed to test measures and try experiments. Nor had revivals of religion been wanting to quicken measures. They had been powerful and extensive in the middle and near the close of the last century, and the beginning of this. Yet, the ranks of the ministry were lamentably and increasingly thin, showing clearly that some agency was needed. And this need it was, clear and permanent, that gave rise to our Board, and that of the American Education Society, which preceded a little the Presbyterian Board. The want was now generally felt, and the church, as one man, was moved, as by a divine impulse, to institute the same measures to supply it; for this was not only the time of forming the

American Education Society and the Presbyterian Board, but similar societies in nearly every branch of church, and auxiliary societies in many of the States, and even counties, of the Union.*

The past had clearly shown that the demand for more ministers would not be met in the ordinary way, and that some new agency was necessary. The number of well qualified ministers had been decreasing in proportion to the population from near the first settlement of New England by the Pilgrims to the present time. When the American Education Society was formed in 1816, there was in the whole country only about 1,500 liberally educated ministers—one to every 6,000 souls. And this ratio was rapidly lessening.†

The forming of so many educational societies and boards in churches, states, counties, and cities, arrested a little this rapidly occurring deficiency. Yet so slow were all these agencies in supplying the deficiency, that so late as 1840, when these societies had existed nearly a quarter of a century, and sent into the field several hundred laborers, and when there was a kind of crisis in their history—a crisis improved to present anew and more widely the principles on which these societies rested, with clearer proofs of both their necessity and utility, and a marked and successful effort made to enlarge and

* The Education Society of the Baptist Churches in England had been established by their General Assembly in 1749.

† "According to Report of General Assembly in 1829, there were connected with the Assembly 1,598 preachers of the gospel and 2,070 churches, making 472 more churches than ministers.

"In the six Western Synods were 685 congregations organized, and only 337 ministers. In the single State of Ohio more than 100 Presbyterian congregations were destitute—100 more congregations might be formed if a competent ministry could be found.

"In a distance of 120 miles up the River Mississippi from New Orleans, and in the most populous part of Louisiana, not a sermon was ever preached on the Sabbath in the English language.

"Between 200 and 300 destitute Congregational churches are in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.

"The German Reformed Church has 400 congregations and but 90 ministers, and only 10 students in the Seminary.

"The *Philadelphia Baptist Tract Magazine*, of January, 1829, reports 4,056 churches, and only 2,832 ministers, leaving 1,224 churches destitute." (*Am. Quart. Reg.*, Aug., 1829, p. 38.)

perfect them—at this period there was, as the Directors of the Connecticut Branch of the Am. Educ. Soc., in their carefully prepared Report, say, “even in some of the New England States, a famine of the bread of life truly distressing.” In the State of New Hampshire, they declare, “a large portion of the churches are destitute of the stated preaching of the Word; and in Maine, if we are correctly informed, many churches remain unsupplied.” In the Western States the picture was a sadder one :

“In the State of Michigan, we are assured on good authority (Dr. M. Badger), there are about 50 Presbyterian Churches destitute of a pastor, a majority of which are able and willing to support the ministry without foreign aid. Some of these are of first importance in the State, and would give salaries to such men as they would call to settle, from \$500 to \$1,000. Besides, there are many posts of great importance which ought to be immediately occupied.

“In Indiana are 40 organized churches, with no one to break to them the bread of life, and 20 entire counties, already containing a considerable number of inhabitants, where there is no preaching of the Presbyterian or Congregational order.

“In the State of Illinois are also about 40 destitute churches, and half as many more places of great promise, where the institutions of the gospel ought to be planted with the least possible delay.

“In Missouri there are 50 counties, already somewhat extensively inhabited, where there is no Presbyterian or Congregational minister stationed. There is a range of territory in the southwestern section of the State, 200 miles long by 150 broad, more than three times as large as the whole State of Massachusetts, and already containing a population of 40,000 souls, where there is but one Presbyterian and Congregational minister. In a letter just received at Andover, it is said 40 ministers could find employment there at once, and some of these destitute churches would furnish a competent support without aid from any missionary society.” (*Rev. Calvin Durfee's Sermon at the Annual Meeting of the Norfolk Auxiliary Society, 1839.*)

To sum up these scattered statistical statements, 4,000 of the evangelical churches of our country were then destitute of the ministry, and 6,000,000 of the 16,000,000 of our population were living without this divinely established means of grace. We wonder not that such men as Dr. Griffin cried out: “There is nothing on earth wanted so much, but the Spirit of God, as an *increase of the well-educated* evangelical ministry.” Nor was it then extravagant for the American Home Missionary Society to say, “were there now ready, for the Western States alone, 500 ministers additional, of the right spirit and qualifications, ample fields for their occupancy might be found for them

all within twelve months, without trenching on the ground occupied by other denominations. And for want of that number at least, we see no alternative but that hundreds of places must continue without the Gospel for years, until a whole generation shall have grown up to sin and infidelity." So Dr. Beecher: "never was there a time when there was more disposition to receive well-educated and pious ministers. If there was now an addition of 10,000, they could all be settled. But how shall the supply be obtained? It must be mainly through the instrumentality of education societies." (*Dr. B.'s Address in New York City*, 1838.)

The reason for so great destitution in the most Christian parts of our most Christian land, was not in the want of means to sustain a sufficiency, but in the fact, that the men with requisite qualifications were not to be found. "If ministers could be found to occupy these desolations," say the Directors of the Conn. Branch, "they would not be suffered thus to lie waste. There is at times, we know, a deficiency of other means to sustain our missionary operations; but, after all, the great deficiency, and that which is really the occasion of every other, is the want of qualified and devoted missionaries to stand up in the midst of the churches and say, 'here we are, send us.'" (*Report of Directors*, 1840.)

Although the great want of qualified laborers was not by any means supplied in the first twenty-five years of our Education Societies, yet so great a change was effected in turning the attention of the church and of young men in colleges to this work that the Conn. Soc. in 1840, say: "Previous to the institution of Education Societies in this country, the proportion of educated talent which was brought into the ministry was found to be rapidly diminishing, until it was found to be not more one-sixth of the whole. At present, however, through the blessing of God upon their labors, nearly one-half of the students now in course of instruction in the colleges of New England, are pious, and the greater part of them are destined to the work of the ministry." (*Id.*)

Nor can we stop here. The young men being brought forward in sufficient numbers, the aid of these Education Boards and Societies is equally necessary to fit them, and make them most efficient in the work they have undertaken. And here I

cannot do better than to quote the words and experience of that clear-sighted man, and most genial teacher of young men, Dr. B. B. Edwards: "This aid," he says, "enables the student to proceed in his calling without distracting anxieties. Nothing is more harrassing to a scholar than perpetual pecuniary embarrassment, and the dread of incurring liabilities which he has no prospect of meeting. The mind must be free in order to act well. Depressing anxiety from any source cripples the will, palsies the resolution, and leaves the poor subject, in the midst of his unaccomplished studies, the prey of melancholy, if not of misanthropy. There are, indeed, some hardy spirits, who can climb over these formidable steeps by the aid of a powerful body and an indomitable will. But their education will be marred and imperfect. It was a wise man who said, that those separated themselves, who would seek and intermeddle with all wisdom. Leisure, retirement, and a tranquil state of the emotions, opportunities of acquiring habits of patient thinking, are absolutely necessary for one who is to be the public teacher of his fellow men. He will have experience enough of the strong ocean he is to buffet. He will not need to be in the ministry more than six months, to learn by heart several chapters in the book of human experience. How inestimable, then, will be those mental and moral habits, which will enable him to pursue his way with quiet decision, but which cannot be acquired ordinarily, if the griping hand of poverty has been upon him in his preparatory course. And if he is properly educated, he will not be a novice in the science of human nature. He has studied those books which have given him an insight into the subject, especially the book of his own heart, and as face answereth to face, so doth the heart of man to man."

Art. III.—LIPSIUS ON THE ROMAN PETER-LEGEND.*

By SAMUEL M. JACKSON, A.B., New York.

THE question of Peter's sojourn in Rome forms one of the chief points of contention between Romanists and Protestants. The former assert, not only that Peter was in Rome, but that he was the first Roman bishop; and, moreover, suffered martyrdom there under Nero. The latter have hitherto very generally denied the fact, with its consequences.

The usual repugnance on the part of Protestants to accept any of the distinctive Romish beliefs, may have first led, at least in part, to this denial. It was considered that it would be yielding too much to the Papal assumptions to grant that Peter ever was in Rome. Hence, the earliest Protestant Church historians, such as Velenus (1520), Flacius (1554), and Salmasius (1645) "spared no pains to remove from its place the cornerstone upon which rests the proud structure of the Church of Rome."

But modern scholars, feeling much surer of their ground, deny the necessary connection between the presence of Peter in Rome and the Roman Primacy. Many, indeed, it would seem the majority, yield the point. And, surely, if mere array of passages, in which this sojourn is spoken of, could carry the day, the question might be considered settled.

Popular interest in the matter has been lately renewed by the famous debate in Rome, in February, 1872. In the same year there appeared a German work, by Prof. Lipsius, now of Jena, with the title, "*A Critical Examination of the Sources of the Roman Peter-Legend*" (Kiel, 1872). The book was written in the fall of 1871, and hence was not called forth by the debate. As was to have been expected from a man of Dr. Lipsius' deep learning and critical acumen, it is a thorough and masterly treatise.

* *Die Quellen der römischen Petrus-Sage kritisch untersucht*, von R. A. Lipsius; Kiel: 1872. Also, an Introduction to the same, in MS., by Dr. Lipsius, intended to accompany an English translation of his work.

It is the object of this article to give the views of Dr. Lipsius upon this question, as contained, not only in the work mentioned, but also in a special Introduction to it, prepared quite recently by him for a projected translation on the part of the present writer.

In this Introduction Dr. Lipsius thus criticises the debate, of which we have just spoken :

"It affords the amplest proof of the incompetency of church partisanship to comprehend all the merits of the question, and answer it upon purely historic grounds. The principal argument upon which the evangelical preachers relied, is the silence of the Pauline Epistles, and of the Acts of the Apostles, concerning this pretended fact. Skillfully used, this silence is really one of the chief weapons against the Roman tradition. But in their hands it received a most unhappy turn ; for the reception of a fact not expressly stated in the New Testament, was attacked as a denial of the inspiration and divine authority of the Bible ! Of course, against such a line of argument the Roman Catholic priest, Guidi, played a winning game. And, generally speaking, the truth is, that the representatives of the Roman Church, and particularly Canon Fabiani, were superior to their adversaries in point of learning. Neither side, however, handled the subject scientifically."

Dr. Lipsius then proceeds to an examination of the passages, both in the New Testament and the Fathers, which have been quoted by the advocates of this belief.

In the Gospels there is a vague prophecy made by Christ, that Peter would die a violent death. But no place is assigned for the martyrdom, and if the parallel between the Master and the disciple be pushed, it would seem natural to suppose that Jerusalem would be the scene. The remark, in John, xiii : 36, "Thou shalt follow me afterward," refers, probably, rather to his following Christ into his heavenly kingdom, than to any following in the mode of his death. In John, xxi : 18, 19, however, the reference to Peter's crucifixion is undoubted. But there is no mention of Rome as the place.

In the Acts of the Apostles the history of Peter's life is carried no further than the Jerusalem conference. For the incident in Antioch, we are indebted to Paul (Gal. ii : 1-10). There is no reference to Peter as having been in Rome.

In the Pauline Epistles there is also no such reference. Thus the possibility of his presence there during Paul's time of writing is excluded. The incontestibility of this *testimonium et silentio*, has led some extreme critics to suppose that Peter's

name was intentionally omitted. But such a supposition is unworthy of the lofty character of the great apostle. If Peter came to Rome, most assuredly Paul would have met him, and labored with him to advance in the capital of the world the cause of their common Lord.

Our account of Paul's life closes with his two years' imprisonment in Rome. If now it ended with his martyrdom under Nero (A.D. 64), there is evidently no space for Peter. "One must, therefore, have recourse to the entirely incredible legend of a second imprisonment, and then, in contradiction to all church tradition, bring the Neronian persecution down to a later date." It should be remarked, however, that Dr. Lipsius believes that the Pastoral Epistles are spurious.

The only way of satisfactorily accounting for the abrupt close of the Acts, is to suppose that the end of the second year of Paul's confinement coincided with the Neronian persecution.

The events, after the burning of Rome in July, A. D. 64, crowd upon one another so rapidly, that there is scarcely time during the persecution for the supposition, made by some, that Peter was called to Rome by the Jewish-Christians, and that his arrival was so exactly timed, that he became one of its victims. And besides, what conceivable purpose could his call to Rome have served?

In the Acts, then, there is no mention of Peter's sojourn in Rome. But why has the author of the Acts not mentioned this interesting fact, especially since he describes so minutely Peter's part in the foundation of Christianity? Why has he not given the fitting close to his work by detailing the incidents of the meeting in Rome between Peter and Paul? And even supposing that Peter came thither after Paul's death, is it credible that Luke would have failed to give the place of Peter's final labors? It is no argument against this conjecture to say, that Luke left Peter's history and busied himself with Paul alone; for there is not in the narrative a very great regard for exact order.

The only New Testament passage yet unexamined is 1. Peter, v: 13—"The church that is at *Babylon*." It seems strange that this name should ever have excited any controversy, and yet, it has been a point earnestly and repeatedly

discussed. Many learned men have decided, that by Babylon Peter means Rome; that, consequently, he must have been in Rome when he wrote his epistle. Thus this text has been cited by the advocates of the theory, as proving that, at least, a part of Peter's life was spent in the Eternal City. The ground upon which this singular decision rests is, that Babylon is the ordinary designation for Rome in the Revelation. Now, orthodox critics assign the latter book to the years A.D. 95-97; and 1 Peter to A.D. 63-68, therefore, some thirty years earlier. There are weighty objections to taking the name allegorically. It occurs in the midst of simple and matter-of-fact sayings. As Alford says: "The apostle, in ch. i: 1, had seen fit to localize the Christians whom he was addressing, and he now sends greetings from their sister, an elect Christian woman in Babylon. There might obviously be a reason why he should thus designate her, but no reason whatever why he should go out of his way to make an enigma for all future readers, if he meant the Church at Rome by these words." It will be seen by this passage that Alford holds that ἡ συνεκλεκτή refers to some female, probably Peter's wife. But even if we understand it differently, the argument is forcible.

But there is no difficulty at all in the way of our taking the name literally. Babylon, at that time, yet stood, and was the centre of a large Jewish population. It was, therefore, an appropriate field for the Apostle to the Circumcision. There was no reason for applying the epithet, Babylon, to Rome until the Neronian persecution. Because, then, for the first time, did Rome occupy toward the New Testament Church the position which Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar had taken toward the Old. If then, by Babylon, in this passage, Rome is meant, the reference must have been customary, otherwise, the reader could not have guessed the mystical meaning of the word. But as this mystical meaning was popularized or created by its use in the Revelation, it follows, either that the epistle is post-apostolic, or by that Babylon, simply Babylon is meant. Accepting this latter inference, we say that if Peter wrote this letter from Babylon as soon as the news of the Neronian persecution in Asia Minor reached him, as some have supposed, although there is no evidence that that persecution ever extended to the provinces, then it is simply impossible that he

could have been a victim of the Neronian persecution in Rome. "It is some corroboration of this view, to find that the enumerated countries in 1 Peter i: 1, are given in the order rather of a person living in Assyrian Babylon. Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the sixth century, quotes the conclusion of this epistle, as a proof of the early progress of the Christian religion without the bounds of the Roman empire; by which, therefore, we perceive, that by Babylon he did not understand Rome." (Alford.)

But Dr. Lipsius considers the argument of those who hold the epistle to be post-apostolic, as he says, is, "indeed, in every respect, the most probable supposition." Then, he grants, the mystical meaning of Babylon is *possible*, not necessary. That the Apocalypse renders a literal acceptance "impossible" is a *petitio principii*. It must, first of all, be shown, that in Babylon and its neighborhood there were no Christians at the time of the composition of the Epistle. But this can not be made probable, since we know there was a large Jewish population in those parts, as is proven by the great insurrection in the last years of Trajan's reign.

The apocryphal "Acts of the Apostles" of Jewish-Christian origin, removes the namesake of Simon Peter, Simon the Canaanite, to Babylon. According to the native legend, this Simon preached the Gospel there in the year A.D. 42. There is here no confusion of the two Simons supposed, but rather a later transference of the Babylonian activity of Simon Peter, to Simon the Canaanite, because of the pressure for time caused by the Roman Peter-legend.

But if by Babylon Rome be really meant, then no more follows than that, at the time of the persecutions in Asia-Minor, of which Pliny speaks—that is, about A. D. 112—there was a belief in the Roman residence of Peter. But since at that time the Jewish-Christian "Acts" of Peter was already in circulation, the belief is accounted for by the wide diffusion of the legend.

So much then for the New Testament passages bearing on this question. Not one of them is decisive. Not one of them breaks the silence of Scripture upon the pretended fact.

But that which inspiration did not record, is told us by the uninspired fathers, About Peter they have collected a mass

of tradition. Instead of leaving him to fade out of view, as was fitting for one who clung to Jewish ideas, and could not adapt himself so readily, as the far greater Apostle did, to the logical results of the teachings of Christ, they bring him prominently before us as the hero of many a battle-field, and carry him to Rome, as a trained warrior, to receive, in the city of the Cæsars, the deathless crown of martyrdom.

There is nothing wonderful in this. It is in perfect keeping with the story-telling spirit of the age. The men who could not refrain from obscuring the spiritual grandeur of the Master by the murky mist of fable, surely would cover the disciple with a much less unsightly tissue of the same. The only wonder is, that more scholars have not closed their ears to these idle tales, or have not perceived the animus which prompted them.

The first witness to be examined is the Roman Clement. He has been styled "the only direct witness." The passage to be considered is the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians, which reads thus: "But not to dwell upon ancient examples, let us come to the most recent spiritual heroes. Let us take the noble examples furnished in our own generation. Through envy and jealousy, the greatest and most righteous pillars [of the church] have been persecuted and put to death. Let us set before our eyes the illustrious apostles. Peter, through unrighteous envy, endured not one or two, but numerous labors; and when he had at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due to him. Owing to envy, Paul also obtained the crown of patient endurance, after being seven times thrown into captivity, compelled to flee, and stoned. After preaching both in the east and west, he gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and come to the extreme limits of the west, and suffered martyrdom under the prefects. Thus was he removed from the world, and went into the holy place, having proved himself a striking example of patience." (*Ant-Nicene Library: Apostolic Fathers.*)

The phrase, "the extreme limits of the west," has been variously interpreted. Some say it shows that Paul carried his message as far as Britain! Most critics apply it to Spain or Rome. Dr. Lipsius says: "it is now almost universally acknowl-

edged that it refers to Rome." Thus, then, we have the testimony of Clement to Paul's martyrdom there. The reason why the place is not mentioned is, that Clement wrote from Rome to Corinthian Christians, who were, therefore, acquainted with the facts of current church history, and did not need everything to be stated in detail.

We do not, however, accept the inference, that Peter also was martyred in Rome, from this supposed acquaintanceship on the part of contemporary Christians. Clement does not omit the name "because the place (Rome) of Peter's martyrdom was, of course, well known to his readers," as has been said. Rather the omission is due to ignorance.

It has often been remarked, that what is said of Peter is much less definite than what is said of Paul. But how is this possible if the writer knew of one as exactly as of the other? The elevation of Peter above the other disciples, the constant mention of his name before Paul's, prove that this difference was not planned. And yet, while Peter's sufferings are mentioned in a very general way, of Paul we are told, that he was seven times imprisoned (a statement implying either greater knowledge on the part of Clement than we have, for we know of only *two*, or else that he is unreliable); again, that Paul was compelled to flee, was stoned, preached both in the east and unto the extreme limits of the west, and finally suffered martyrdom under the prefects. But how is the difference in the fulness of information possible? Because the Corinthians knew Peter better than Paul, and therefore need have no particulars given them about him? Hardly. Is not the explanation sufficient, that Clement, living in Rome, was acquainted with many who had been converted under Paul's ministry, yes, had known him personally, if the epistle be assigned to A.D. 97? Look again at the expressions. We learn the place and occasion of Paul's martyrdom—indeed, the very court which condemned him. It is not so with Peter. We learn nothing definitely. And yet, the design is to draw a parallel between them. If Paul and Peter were the victims of the same persecution, why is not the fact stated?

Some have urged, that since Peter and Paul are both spoken of as martyrs, and in the next chapter the Neronian persecution is alluded to, that, therefore, they were victims of this per

secution. Nothing, however, can be made out of this connection in Clement, because he repeatedly conjoins facts, actually separated in space and time. Thus, in c. 55, after instancing cases of self sacrifice among the Gentiles, he passes immediately over to similar ones among the believers, or, as has been supposed, in the Roman church. And then follow the examples of Judith and Esther! "With even greater right than it has been sought to connect Peter with the Neronian persecution, because he is linked with Paul, might one conclude here that Judith and Esther were Roman Christians."

Hitherto we have taken the word "martyrdom" as applying equally to Peter and Paul, and since he speaks of martyrs in the context, it is more natural to apply the word to Peter. But, although this is Dr. Lipsius' present opinion, he confesses to a difficulty in the way of its acceptance. Only of Paul is it stated that his *μαρτυρία* ended in death. Peter is spoken of as suffering *πόντοι*, and since this is all that the Old Testament examples are said to have suffered, it is not necessary to interpret the word as implying actual martyrdom. "The characteristic of this passage is, that it leaves the fate of Peter in unilluminated darkness. One knows not whether he should be described as a martyr in the strict sense or not. I no longer assert that the latter opinion is the only possible one. I grant rather all that can be said pertinently for the former. Nevertheless, the matter is not to be decided in one way more certainly than in another."

But if Clement, strictly speaking, knew nothing about the closing events of Peter's life, then he is a strong witness *against* the Roman residence of Peter, and his evidence joins that of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Minor Epistles of Paul, to form an entire chain of *counter* testimony. To put, in a few words, the result of our examination: "At the close of the first, and up to the beginning of the second century, there was in Pauline circles, inside and outside of Rome, no knowledge of Peter's labors in that city, no knowledge of his martyrdom there under Nero."

But, besides this passage in Clement, there are a few words in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, which are often quoted as proof that Peter was in Rome. They are found in

the fourth chapter: "I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments unto you."

Here again Peter and Paul are linked together, and represented as bearing equal relations to the church at Rome. They are spoken of as giving "commandments." We can say, therefore, that "at the time of the composition of the Ignatian Epistles, the close connection of both apostles with the Roman church passed for a settled fact." It is also worthy of note, that the words quoted are found in the Syriac version as well as in the longer and shorter forms of the Greek. Johannes Delitzsch, however, confesses, that "the peculiar connection of the two apostles in this, and in none other, of the Ignatian Epistles, is not, certainly, attributable to the author's perception of any peculiarly personal relation which they bore to the Roman church." And it may be added, that the words, as they stand, really do not *prove* that Peter was in Rome. Ignatius is said, in the account of his martyrdom (c. iv.), to have written these epistles during his journey to Rome. Hence, strictly speaking, Peter and Paul might have issued commandments unto the church in Rome by letter, never having visited the city. There is, therefore, no proof from the passage that Peter was in Rome. Another confirmation of this view is, that in his Epistle to the Ephesians (c. iii.) he says: "I do not issue orders to you as if I were some great person." The form of expression is similar to that quoted above, and yet it appears, from the epistle itself, that he had no personal acquaintance with the Ephesians.

In the Ignatian Epistles we find several references to Paul, but they are almost all only in the longer Greek form. No reference to Peter is made which has any bearing upon our present discussion, except in c. x, Epistle to the Magnesians, where, in the longer form, the name of Christian is stated to have been first given in Antioch, when Paul and Peter were laying the foundations of the church. We notice that here Paul is put first, and also the way in which the phrase "laying the foundations of the church" is used—"laying the foundations," apparently meaning, giving apostolic guidance and instruction. This is not said to have been the case in Rome.

We have hitherto treated all forms of the Epistles as genuine. In this case they were probably written about A. D. 115.

or about fifty years after the martyrdom of Peter. Time enough had therefore elapsed for wild stories to have arisen. But there are weighty objections to receiving the epistles as genuine, in any form. Dr. Lipsius, himself, who formerly held to them in their Syriac form, now says:* "The genuineness of the Syriac recension is as little credible as that of the shorter Greek; on the contrary, this whole literature is hardly older than A. D. 170 or 180. But by that time, the Petro-pauline legend was undoubtedly well known." If this epistle to the Romans is a forgery, then it loses its historic character and argumentative force. Hence, this pretended witness to the theory turns out, upon examination, to have no independent testimony to offer us—at best, merely a repetition of the old story, which places Peter in Rome.

We have already said that Peter was the hero of an extended legend. The remainder of this article will be devoted to the study of this legend, showing where it originated, how it was gradually extended, what was its final form, and lastly, its influence upon the testimony of the fathers, subsequent to Ignatius.

It has been said that a lie, to be successful, must have a coloring of fact. And so this long and improbable legend has a historical foundation. It rests upon the account given in the eighth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. In a city of Samaria, perhaps Sychar, Philip preached the Gospel and wrought miracles. But there was living in the place a notorious sorcerer, Simon by name, who had pretended to work by supernatural power, and whose success caused him to be pronounced "the power of God, which is called great." This man, seeing that the miracles of Philip were more wonderful than his own jugglery, and finding that he was losing control over the people who were listening to Philip's preaching and accepting the message he brought, went to Philip, professed his belief in the Messiah, was baptised, and gave up his magical arts. But the hollowness of his fancied conversion and the real design of his profession soon became painfully evident, when Peter and John arrived in the city. For when Simon perceived the

* For Dr. Lipsius' former and opposite opinion, see *McClintock and Strong's Cyclopedia*, vol. iv: Article *Ignatius*.

still more marvelous effect of the laying on of the apostles' hands, something out of the course of his experience, a trick, as he believed it, whose manner of performance he could not guess, he offered the apostles money, saying, "Give me also this power." By this request he plainly showed that his baptism and fellowship with Philip were conciliations to a yet greater conjurer, in order that he might learn, by close observation, the secret of his power. The indignant rebuke which Peter gave him was received in a spirit of mock humility, but we do not learn from the New Testament that the requested prayer was ever made, or, if made, was answered. After this brief mention, Simon is not again referred to in the sacred narrative.

But, as in the case of Peter, the romancers of early Christianity take him up, and supposing, quite naturally, that Simon, thus unmasked, entertained a deadly hatred of Peter and of his system of doctrine, represent him as going with his assistant, Helena, who is his "divine intelligence," from city to city, subverting the truth. Indeed, he becomes, in the legends, a most formidable opponent to Christianity, having everywhere great success. He is the hero of many a tale. As the time between apostolic days and the writers increases, the stories grow wilder. Simon Magus, as he is called, becomes the pseudo-messiah, the founder of Gnosticism. Peter follows on his track, meets him in public debate, controverts all his arguments, disabuses the minds of the people Simon has deceived, and preaches the claims of the true Messiah. Driven thus from the provinces, Simon goes to Rome. For a time his demoniacal arts stand him in good stead. He becomes the favorite of the emperor, an idol of popular regard. Indeed, to such a height of glory had he attained, that a statue, with the inscription, "Simoni Deo Sancto," was raised to his honor in the city of Rome. Peter, feeling called upon to present himself as the representative of the other side wherever Simon goes, follows him to Rome, and openly challenges him in the presence of Nero, whose friendship he had won; so that Simon is compelled to give a public exhibition of his power. The form in which it was to be tried was, that Simon was to be borne up to heaven. Upon the appointed day an immense throng assemble, and from a high platform, Simon, true to his

promise, mounts into the air, borne by demons. Peter, and Paul, who says a few words at the trial before Nero, are both present. The latter, beholding the apparent success of Simon, falls on his knees, while Peter commands the demons to let Simon drop. This they do. According to some reports, by the fall he breaks his thigh and ankle bones, and, overcome by vexation, commits suicide. Such, in outline, is the story. The details, however, vary. The arrival of Simon in Rome is differently related. Justin Martyr states he came there in the reign of Claudius, but did not then meet Peter. The debate, or trial, before Nero, being mentioned by others, has led to the supposition that Simon *twice* visited Rome. Again, his mode of death is not described always in the same language. Some say he was buried alive, as a test of his ability to raise himself up after three days, as the real Messiah had done. But he gave the best evidence of his mortality by being found dead.

A discrepancy arises from the conflicting narratives of Peter's arrival. In the older accounts he comes to Rome from Cæsarea, in order to combat and conquer Simon, then misleading the Romans. Paul, on his arrival, finds Peter, and joins him in his efforts, though, with a strange perversion of the probable facts, the Apostle to the Gentiles, instead of taking the lead, as he might be expected to have done, yields the first place to Peter, and plays in the legend a very secondary, indeed, entirely superfluous, rôle. In the later account, Peter and Paul go in company to Rome, labor there as brethren, and finally suffer martyrdom at the same time under Nero.

Dr. Lipsius devotes the volume of which we have already spoken (*Die Quellen der römischen Petrus-sage*) to the discussion of the sources of this legend. As we have two differing accounts, agreeing, however, in this, that Peter was in Rome, the question arises: have we here two independent legends, or is one derived from the other? If Peter were in Rome, then the two legends may be independent. If he were never there, then one was derived from the other. To prove the latter statement is Dr. Lipsius' effort. The importance of this attempt is at once evident. If the later account were derived from the earlier, then it is easy to show that it rests upon an unhistorical basis, and thus every vestige of firm support is taken away—the tradition falls to the ground of its own weight

Dr. Lipsius, in his manuscript "Introduction," goes over, in part, the same ground he had trodden in the book. Before proceeding to state his argument somewhat in detail, it seems better to give a brief outline of his book. He begins by stating the different forms in which the Peter-legend is found—the older is that in which Peter is represented as following Simon Magus unto Rome, in order there to complete his ruin. The later brings Peter and Paul in brotherly coöperation before us, and represents them as together entering the Eternal City, laboring there together for a time, and then upon the same day suffering martyrdom. In both accounts there is this common fact, that Simon Magus is only the mask under which Paul is concealed. Thus the opposition is not that of Simon Peter over against Simon Magus, but Petrine Christianity opposing Pauline. But by the end of the second century the fathers had entirely lost sight of the originally anti-Pauline character of the legend, and hence were able to unite the two opposing forms. When we come to examine the sources of the Roman Peter-legend, we find they fall under three heads, according as they came from the three developments of early Christianity. Thus we have the Ebionitic source in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions; the Gnostic, in the Passion of Peter and Paul, attributed to Linus; the Catholic, the unifying element, in the Acts of Peter and Paul. On submitting the Clementine writings to a thorough analysis, Lipsius discovered that they both rested upon a common basis. He regards the Recognitions as a later continuation and, in part, revision of the Homilies. This older writing was in existence long before the middle of the second century. It contained speeches of Peter and an account of his discussions with Simon Magus in Cæsarea, and ended with Simon's flight to Rome. In the Clementine Recognitions a family romance is introduced. A claim is laid upon our credulity in the story of the strange manner in which the sundered members of Clement's family are brought together. Clement becomes the amanuensis of Peter, and his record thus obtains official sanction.

The Gnostic version of the legend is in two parts. The first describes the death of Peter, separating him entirely from Paul. It begins with an account of the last deeds of Peter, such as his preaching upon chastity; his flight from imprisonment in

consequence of the works he wrought ; his meeting with the Lord ; his return to Rome. It closes with the story of his trial, condemnation, final speech, and death, with its attendant wonders. The second part describes the sufferings of Paul, and apparently is a pure invention not connected with any previous writing. Paul enters the city after Peter's death. The Gnostic character of these recitals is plainly revealed in the preference shown for fantastic, fabulous embellishments to the story—the introduction of miracles, visions, angels, etc. Particularly is the taste of the Gnostics revealed in the statement, that Paul made his last prayer in *Hebrew*.

The Catholic version belongs to the fifth or sixth century. In it the two previous versions are united, as far as possible. The growing church must be a witness to the whole truth. Hence, she diligently collected the stories of her great founders and wove them into a connected, consistent narrative. The connection between "Acts of Peter and Paul," and the writing styled the "Sermon of Peter and Paul in Rome" is not, with certainty, to be determined. The latter was, before the close of the second century, made use of by Gnostic and Catholic writers. Clement of Alexandria quotes it unhesitatingly as a genuine writing of Peter. Origen expresses himself waveringly. At one time he debates the question and leaves it undecided, whether it is genuine, or compounded of genuine and spurious elements. Again, he argues against its genuineness and ecclesiastical importance. Eusebius and Jerome declare it to be *pseudo-petrine*. In the fragments now existing, there is no mention of the strife between Peter and the magician. The "Acts of Peter and Paul" have undergone three revisions.

{ The point which Dr. Lipsius again and again emphasizes is that, under the mask of Simon no one else than Paul is concealed (*e. g.*, *Petrus-sage*, p. 1). This is, indeed, of cardinal importance, and since it is so, we give it the largest place in this discussion. We have in the Epistle to the Galatians Paul's statement of his opposition to Peter in Antioch. Forgetting that the epistle says nothing of any cherished resentment on the part of Peter, in the face of all probability that such was the case, in spite of Peter's own declaration, "our beloved brother Paul"—(2 Pet. iii: 15)—which, if not written by Peter, was in the style the writer supposed Peter would have used ;

ancient romancers and modern skeptics unite in asserting that Paul's public rebuke of Peter in Antioch was the result of the antagonism between Paul and Peter as teachers of Christianity. This antagonism was kept up, they say, by their disciples. It is, of course, a fact, that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Galatians partly in order to vindicate himself against the charge of undue assumption of the apostolic office. This shows it was called in question, and the vigor and earnestness he displays in defending himself indicate not only how deeply wounded he was in spirit, but how seriously made and how plausible the charge was. While far from believing in a personal strife between Paul and Peter, still, so different was their mode of presenting the same Gospel, that we are not surprised that their differences have been magnified into opposing schools of theology.

As Clement is said to have conversed with Peter and Paul, there is some historical basis for his connection with Peter in the "Recognition and Homilies." In these he is the apostle's companion for some time, and pretends to expound Peter's views. The great opponent of Peter is Simon Magus. Remembering the supposed strife between Peter and Paul, the extreme likelihood that the avowed followers of Peter would take occasion to present their master as in the end conquering all who opposed him, we are prepared to see this conflict ended in the capital of the world, as in a court of last resort. But that they would do this openly is unlikely. So it is easy to believe, that if a person could be found or invented, who could serve as a representative of the hated teacher, they would use him to bear the brunt of their attacks. Such a man, Dr. Lipsius asserts, they found in Simon Magus. The points of resemblance between the magician, as represented by the Clementines, and the Apostle Paul, are sufficiently numerous to give color to his opinion. And yet the points of difference, on the other hand, are sufficiently numerous to show the art with which the attack is made. The resemblances are these: (1) Paul's early hatred of Christianity, his persecution in Jerusalem, his journey to Damascus, in execution of the instructions from the high priest, to search out those who had fled; Simon's similar course in Cæsarea, endeavoring to uproot the true faith. (2) The Christ-vision to Simon, and his pretended call to the apostleship (*cf.* Acts ix: 3, *et seq.*) (3) A residence of Simon

in Cæsarea, and a double account of his further journeys, at one time along the Phœnician coast to Antioch (*cf.* Acts ix: 30; xi: 25); at another, on the sea, from Cæsarea to Rome (*cf.* Acts, xxvii: ^{xxviii}~~28~~). (4) A dispute between Simon and Peter in Antioch (*cf.* Gal. ii: 11, *et seq.*). (5) The entrance of the magician into Rome, his devilish arts and miracles, his favor with the emperor, his pretended decapitation, his fight with Peter, and his shameful end (*cf.* Acts xxviii: 16). There is here a travesty upon the success of the gospel in Cæsar's household (Phil. iv: 22), and Paul's decapitation by order of Nero. Besides these, there is, perhaps, some resemblance with Paul intended, in the account given of Simon's education, in which he is said to have been taught Greek philosophy, as Paul's culture put him far above the rest of the apostles (*Recog.* ix: 36).

It is true, all these points are not found in the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies, for these close in Cæsarea, but the legend is contained in the Apostolical Constitutions, which belong to the same school. In these three there is also a parody upon Paul's mode of expression. Instead of the *αγγελος σατανᾶ* of 2 Cor. xii: 7, we have Faustus' *αγγελος θεοῦ* (*Rec.* x: 61), *ἄγγελος θεοῦ* (*Hom.* xx: 19). Paul calls his thorn in the flesh "the messenger of Satan." The circumstances under which the corresponding words are used in the Recognitions are these: Simon had, by his magic arts, transformed the face of Faustus, the father of Clement, into a resemblance to his own. In this way Simon hoped to get an innocent man arrested in his stead. Peter, however, had wit enough to profit by the mishap, for he sends Faustus to Antioch, and thus impersonating Simon, make a very penitential speech to the people whom Simon had bewitched, in which all the former errors are confessed, and promises of future good behavior given. The close states the cause of this complete change: "I will tell you why I now make this confession to you. This night an angel of God rebuked me for my wickedness, and scourged me terribly, because I was an enemy to the herald of the truth; therefore, I entreat you, that even if I myself should ever come again to you, and attempt to say anything against Peter, you will not receive nor believe me. For I confess unto you, I was a magician, a seducer, a deceiver; but I repent, for it is possible by repentance to blot out former evil deeds." The sentence be-

fore the last calls to our mind Paul's assertion in Gal. i: 8: "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." In Recog. iii: 45, there is a record of Simon's feigned repentance, with which compare Acts viii: 4.

The covert attack upon Paul, as a teacher of Christianity, is thoroughly exposed by Dr. Lipsius in the *Petrus-sage*, pp. 34-40, but the exposition is too long to be translated here. Again, on page 44, he says: Malicious references to the words and doctrines of Paul are not wanting. For instance, the story of the ox (*Hom.* iv: 4): "Simon, having slain it and given his disciples to eat of it, infected them with various diseases, and subjected them to demons." Again, *Hom.* vi: 3; Peter relates the story, and gives counsel to those who partook of the "table of devils;" and in chapter viii, repeats his injunctions and commands to abstain from things offered to idols. These passages plainly refer to the teaching of Paul (1 Cor. x: 20): "But I say that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils." The story of the "new man," which, made not from earth, but air (*Hom.* ii: 26; cf. *Recog.* ii: 13; iv: 44), is a reference to 2 Cor. v: 17; Gal. vi: 15; cf. Col. iii: 10; Eph. iv: 24). In the same manner, Paul is meant, when Simon repeatedly appeals to Old Testament passages, as proving his doctrines (*Hom.* ii: 39, 40; iii: 3, 9, etc.); and when Peter, in reply to him, says: "If God is not faithful to His promises, who shall be trusted?" (*Hom.* ii: 44; cf. Rom. ii: 33). In Recog. ii: 65, there is also a reference to 2 Cor. xii: *et seq.*, where Peter ridicules Simon's boast to ascend in spirit into heaven and gaze upon the things contained there. Moreover, the cardinal doctrine with Paul, justification by faith, is opposed by Peter. "For even the Hebrews who believe Moses, and do not observe the things spoken by him, are not saved, unless they observe the things that were spoken to them. For their believing Moses was not of their will, but of God, who said unto Moses, Behold, I come to thee in a pillar of cloud, that the people may hear me speaking to thee, and may believe thee forever (Ex. xix: 9). Since, therefore, both to the Hebrews and to those who are called from the Gentiles, believing in the teachers of truth is of God,

while *excellent actions are left to every one to do by his own judgment, the reward is righteously bestowed upon those who do well.* For there would be no need of Moses, or of the coming of Jesus, if of themselves they would have understood what is reasonable. Neither is there salvation in believing in teachers and calling them lords" (*Hom.* viii: 5; *cf. Recog.* ii: 58; v: 53). In the foot-note to the page upon which the above passage is quoted, Dr. Lipsius says: "In the later tradition Pauline principles are uttered by Simon and his followers. Again no one other than Paul is meant when the source from which Irenæus drew attributes to Simon the doctrine, that men were saved through grace and not through good works (*Haer.* i: 23; *cf. Pseudo-Origen, Philos.* vi: 20). He again is meant, when the Constitutions put in the mouth of Simon the doctrine of the abrogation of the law (*Constit.* vi: 19, 20), and when the Simonians of Epiphanius make use of passages from the Pauline Epistles (*Epiph. haer.* 21, 3; *cf. 1 Thess.* v: 8; *Eph.* vi: 17, *et seq.*). Although in these later times all knowledge of the original meaning of the Simon legend had been lost, we have in these traits reminiscences of former stories (*Petrus-sage* p. 44).

In the Gnostic Acts of Peter and Paul, the same story of the continued conflict between Simon Magus and Simon Peter is hinted at, but since these Acts are later than the Clementines, there is no originality. The story is derived from the same source. In the Passion of Peter and Paul, of which we have already spoken, the fates of the apostles are treated separately. The first part treats of Peter; the disputes with Simon, are only incidentally alluded to as things of the past. Peter preaches upon chastity with such power, that many Roman wives leave their husbands in order the better to preserve their hearts in purity. These successes lead to his imprisonment. Advised by his friends, he escapes, but at the gate of the city he meets his Lord. Peter asks him: Lord, whither goest thou? The Lord answers; "To Rome in order to give myself up a second time to crucifixion," The apostle perceives immediately the purport of his Master's words; such gentle dealing with his error melts his heart, and cheered by the divine presence, he re-enters the city and submits willingly to death. This portion of the legend is so beautiful,

and so in keeping with the known character of Peter, that it is with reluctance we deny its truthfulness. There is in this entire book no mention of Paul, because he is represented as coming to Rome after the death of Peter.

We have seen how the Ebionitic writings enlarged upon the conflicts between Simon Magus and Simon Peter; how these fights were ended in Rome; how, under the mask of Simon, Paul is concealed, so that the victory was really a prophecy of the final conquests of Petrine Christianity; and how, finally, in the Gnostic story, Paul does not come to Rome before Peter's death. Now comes the Catholic legend to unite these conflicting statements, to represent the apostles, not as enemies, but as friends, as co-laborers in the work of the gospel; to give expression to the fancy that the Church at Rome was founded by the joint labors of the two great apostles, who sealed their testimony with their blood; when the one, freed by the executioner's sword, and the other by the more painful death of crucifixion, ascended to the place of glory to receive the victor's crown. Again, in the silence of authentic history do we hear the tottering footsteps of tradition.

But before the unifying work was begun, the original meaning of the Simon-legend had been forgotten. The magician had become the arch-heretic, from whom all the Gnostic sects were said to have derived their origin. In this happy forgetfulness, the two forms of the legend were quietly united. Peter in Rome fights the magician, but labors with Paul to build up the church. Peacefully they labor together, "and in their death they are not divided." "By the end of the second century the Catholic fathers have lost all recollection of the anti-Pauline origin of the Simon-legend." (*Petrus-sage*, p. 2.)

"But this union of the legends was not unattended by difficulties. There were discrepancies which demanded removal. As has been previously remarked, the arrival of Simon in Rome is set down by Justin Martyr, followed by Irenæus and Eusebius, under Claudius, under whom Peter also enters Rome to combat with the magician. On the other hand, Peter is said by others to have arrived during the reign of Nero; while others again represent both apostles coming to Rome together. The usual way of reconciling these conflicting statements is to give up the common journey of the apostles, and make them

meet in Rome. Peter, therefore, could be said to have come at any time previous, since all that was necessary was, that he should precede Paul. The contest with Simon took place before the latter's arrival, for the majority of the older accounts do not mention Paul as participating in the conquest of the magician, and those who do, give him, as already stated, a very subordinate part. Thus, there is a great confusion—itsself, to our mind, a warning against relying on the fact of Peter's presence. Out of this chaos, the only intelligible order arising supposes either that Peter came twice to Rome, once to combat Simon, and the second time in company of Paul; or that the conflicts in Rome began before Paul's arrival, and ended after it. In the latter way, all reference of the Simon-legend to the time of Claudius is removed. The first supposition is chronologically convenient, as thus there is time for the asserted twenty-five years' bishopric of Peter. The second is the usual Roman tradition, which cares more for a consistent union of the legends than for chronological exactitude." (*Petrus-sage*, p. 2-5.)

The conciliatory character of the Catholic "Acts of Peter and Paul" is clearly seen in the effort to obliterate the traces of difference between Peter and Paul. This is done by making Peter confirm Paul's teaching, and Paul that of Peter. Thus, Peter says to Nero: "All that Paul has said is true." And Paul similarly says: "What thou hast heard from Peter, believe me, is just as if I had said it. For we are of one mind, because we have one Lord, Jesus the Christ." In the same strain and to the same intent are the words in the letter written to Paul, by those who had been baptized at the preaching of Peter: "We have believed, and do believe, that as God does not separate the two great lights which he has made, so he is not to part you from each other, that is, neither Peter from Paul, nor Paul from Peter; but we positively believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, into whom we have been baptized, that we have become worthy also of your teaching." But the passages of this conciliatory design are very numerous. One strange one represents the Jews as coming to Paul and exhorting him thus: "Vindicate the faith in which thou wast born; for it is not right that thou, being a Hebrew, and of the Hebrews, shouldest call thyself teacher of the Gentiles and vin-

indicator of the uncircumcised; and, being thyself circumcised, that thou shouldest bring to nought the faith of the circumcision. And when thou seest Peter, contend against his teaching, because he has destroyed all the bulwarks of our law; for he has prevented the keeping of sabbaths and new moons, and the holidays appointed by the law." And Paul, answering, said to them: "That I am a true Jew, by this can you prove, because also you have been able to keep the sabbath, and to observe the true circumcision; for, assuredly, on the day of the sabbath God rested from all his works. We have fathers and patriarchs and the law. What, then, does Peter preach in the kingdom of the Gentiles? But if he shall wish to bring in any new teaching, without any tumult and envy and trouble, send him word, that we may see, and in your presence I shall convict him. But if his teaching be true, and supported by the book and testimony of the Hebrews, it becomes all of us to submit to him." In this passage we find Paul speaking as a Judaizer, for he declares that the truth of the doctrines consists in their agreement with the Old Testament; considers Judaism and Christianity identical, and weakens the reproach of *novelty* brought against the Christian system; while, on the contrary, it is Peter who comes into suspicion, as preaching new doctrines and setting aside the Mosaic Law. (*Petrusage*, p. 62.)

The two great apostles then unite most joyfully, and from this time forth are inseparable. Paul, however, stands rather in the background. In the trial before Nero he says very little; while, on the great day, when he sees Simon ascend toward heaven, borne by demons, Paul falls on his knees, his eyes being full of tears, and thus implores Peter: "Finish what thou hast begun; for already our Lord Jesus Christ is calling us." Peter prays and Simon falls. In the imprisonment which follows this exposure of the emperor's favorite, both apostles share, both are condemned, and both fall asleep in death on the same day, though not in the same place.

The Petro-Pauline legend is placed, by Dr. Lipsius, sometime about the middle of the second century. There were additions made subsequently, so that it was perhaps the fifth century before it attained its final form. It is of the utmost importance to bear in mind the fact of the antiquity of the le-

gend, for only in this way is the unquestioned belief of the early fathers, in the presence of Peter in Rome, robbed of its weight.

It were idle to deny that they state it as a fact. But must we believe it simply because they say so? Several considerations induce us to answer in the negative. The fathers were not in all cases sober, earnest students of history; rather they were credulous, though honest men, upon whose shoulders fell the heavy weight of combatting opinions adverse to the growing church, and, at the same time, guiding the feeble in the way of truth. We are not surprised to find them employing doubtful facts and defective logic on behalf of their opinions. Again, this legend of Peter was so wide-spread, that they were not blamable for confounding universality with truthfulness. We have shown that in its earliest form it did rest upon a basis of truth, in that it embodied in an allegory the antagonism between Pauline and Petrine Christianity. This was forgotten: so the fathers of the latter part of the second and of the third centuries were misled into accepting a legend. But if one prominent writer accepted it, others would naturally copy it. And, finally, it may be said, that the legend was far too agreeable to be hastily thrown aside. To put Peter in Rome was quickly understood to impart pre-eminence to his successors in the episcopate. The church required her ecclesiastical founder to have lived in the capital of the world. And it was far pleasanter to reflect upon his martyrdom in the eternal city than in far-off Babylon.

We are prepared now to examine the remaining witnesses for the tradition. The first one is Dionysius of Corinth. The words to be are found, according to Eusebius (*H. E.* ii: 25), in his letter to the Romans (*circa*, A.D. 175). He says: "Thus, likewise, you, by means of this admonition, have mingled the flourishing seed that had been planted by Peter and Paul at Rome and Corinth. For both of these, having planted us at Corinth, likewise instructed us; and having in like manner taught in Italy, they suffered martyrdom about the same time." Dr. Lipsius thinks it without doubt, that this passage occurred in the letter of thanks for contributions from the church in Rome, to the members of the Corinthian church, who were condemned to the mines (*vide Eusebius, H. E.* iv: 23). The

letter lays particular stress on the similarity of the experiences of the two churches. He mentions among these common experiences their foundation through Peter and Paul. "The words do not sound as if this fact was asserted for the first time." And yet we know the statement was false in regard to his own church. It seems to have arisen from a misinterpretation of 1 Cor. i: 12. But if false for Corinth, it is much more likely to be so for Rome. Where did he get his authority? It is most natural to suppose that he found it at hand in the Petro-Pauline legend, for its principal point is not that Peter, as well as Paul, came to Rome, but that they jointly founded the church there, and jointly suffered martyrdom.

The next witness, is Irenæus, "who (A.D. 185), in his work *Against Heresies*, repeatedly alludes to the founding of the Roman church by Peter and Paul (*e. g., adv. haer.* III, i: 1; iii: 2). The desire to trace the Catholic tradition to apostolic authority induced him to do this. He would fain uphold the stability of the church's doctrines, propagated by her representatives in unbroken succession since the days of the apostles, as distinguished from the ever-shifting opinions of the heretics. His authority is the official tradition of the Roman church, particularly a catalogue of the Roman bishops, which went back to the (pretended) immediate successor of Peter and Paul, the bishop Linus."

Another witness is Clement of Alexandria (*circa*, A.D. 200). He, in several places in the *Miscellanies*, refers to the so-called "Preaching of Peter" in Rome, and relates that Mark was requested to write out the extemporaneous addresses of Peter. But, as with the others, he is indeed a witness to the *existence* of the Petro-Pauline legend, but not to its *trustworthiness*.

The later witnesses are Tertullian, Origen, and the Roman Presbyter, Caius. The first (*Praescrip. Haer. c.* 36), says: "How happy is its church (Rome's), on which apostles poured forth all their doctrine, along with their blood! where Peter endured a passion like his Lord's; where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's (Baptist); where the Apostle John was first plunged unhurt into boiling oil, and thence remitted to his island exile," The second (*Euseb. H. E.,* iii: 2) is quoted as substantiating the above statements concerning Peter and

Paul. The last witness, Caius (*circa*, A.D. 210), says; "I can show you the trophies of the apostles. For if you will go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian road, you will find the trophies of those who have laid the foundation of this church" (*Euseb. H. E.*, ii: 25). And doubtless he could, just as to-day the tourist in Rome sees indubitable proofs of Peter's presence in the various churches erected in his honor. In one are the chains which bound him; in another is the stone upon which he kneeled when imploring God's help against Simon, and which, to this day, bears the impress of his knees; while under a third is the famous dungeon in which he was confined. And yet these "trophies" fail to remove all doubts in our mind. In short, in these testimonies we only see the repetition of the old story, a story which is without any more substantial foundation than the fact of the early differences in the Church of Christ.

Before closing our investigations, we turn a final glance upon the chronology of the period. We remarked at the outset, that no respectable scholar, either on the Roman Catholic or Protestant side, pretends to maintain the twenty-five years' bishopric of Peter in Rome. Here, again, we are led to notice, that the *only* point upon which there is any agreement is the single fact of Peter's presence there. When he came, how long he lived, when he died, where he died, where he was buried—all are mooted questions. And yet scholars cling tenaciously to the idea of his Roman residence! In the debate in Rome, in February, 1872, the Roman Catholic disputant, Canon Fabiani, whom Dr. Lipsius pronounced the most learned of the debaters, said, he did not attempt to prove the Catholic doctrine of Peter's twenty-five years bishopric in Rome. We may therefore consider this point settled; Peter was not twenty-five years in Rome. The common dates are A. D. 42 for his entrance, A. D. 67 for his death. But he was arrested by Herod Agrippa I. in Jerusalem, in A. D. 44. He was present at the Council in Jerusalem in A. D. 50. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, written in A. D. 58, by his silence, proves that Peter was not there then; his epistles from Rome and the Acts of the Apostles bring the testimony against his Roman residence down to A. D. 63 or 64. "Peter, therefore, must have come to Rome after the second epistle to Timothy

was written, and not long before writing his own epistles, that is, in the last half of the year 63, or in the beginning of 64. And as he suffered martyrdom in the Neronian persecution, we can hardly extend his sojourn there beyond a year" (*Schaff, Apostol. Hist.*, p. 371). But, we maintain, for what seems to us very good reasons, that his first epistle, at all events, was written in Babylon in Asia. Hence, he would have to journey to Rome in order to be martyred. But there is no evidence that he did. All the legends which remove him to the Eternal City, tell a story in direct contradiction to known facts. But if we put a later date upon the epistle, we then make it impossible for Peter to have come to Rome, both because the Neronian persecution lasted only a short time, and because Peter would then have to come to Rome after the death of Paul; but this contradicts *all tradition*. There is a legend that Paul came to Rome after Peter's death, but none that the reverse is the case. With this brief notice of the difficulties in the way of a chronological settlement, we close our discussion of the question: Was Peter ever in Rome?

What are the results we have arrived at? 1. There is no Scriptural warrant for this belief. No word of Christ, no statement of Luke, no sentence of Paul, no reminiscences of any New Testament writer, even darkly hint at its likelihood.

2. But, although post-biblical, the advocates of the theory appeal to the fathers for its support. They place much dependence upon Clement of Rome. But we have shown that he has nothing explicit to say on the point, whether Peter was in Rome, and Clement lived there in the first century. His testimony can not be pleaded in favor of Peter's residence in Rome.

3. The next witness is Ignatius, but he has nothing decisive to offer on this question.

4. But ere the next father speaks, the immense mass of tradition about Peter begins to be developed. Peter and Simon are set over against one another. But under the mask of Simon, Paul is concealed. At once the true relation of things comes out in a strong light. Peter is put in Rome to fight Simon; in other words, Petrine and Pauline Christianity meet

in the great city of the world, to struggle for the final victory. No scholar would grant that the *incidents* of those marvelous stories are true. Why, then, rejecting everything else as fabulous, does any one cling, in the face of the New Testament, in the face of rational probability, to the single fact, which, in our judgment, is not a fact, that Peter was in Rome? Why should he come there? To die? What possible purpose could his death there have served?

5. But having this legend before them, it is not in the least strange that father after father speaks of Peter as being in Rome. It was the policy of the growing Church of Rome to spread this opinion. It added dignity to her most prominent bishop to hold the "Chair of Peter."

6. Lastly, we have shown how chronological support fails. There is no time for this supposed Roman residence.

Was Peter ever in Rome? We answer in the words of Dr. Lipsius: "The Roman Peter-legend proves itself to be, from beginning to end, a fiction, and thus our critical judgment is confirmed: THE FEET OF PETER NEVER TROD THE STREETS OF ROME."

NOTE.—The materials for the present article are, as appears, chiefly taken from Dr. Lipsius. The writer hopes, before long, to publish a translation of his acute and able treatise.

Art. IV. — FINAL CAUSES AND CONTEMPORANEOUS PHYSIOLOGY.*

The Works of Man and the Works of Nature.

By M. PAUL JANET, Member of the Institute. Translated from the *Revue des deux Mondes* by WILLIAM ALLEN SMITH.

I. *Harmonies providentielles*, par M. CH. LÉVÊQUE. II. *Leçons sur les propriétés des tissus vivans*, par M. CLAUDE BERNARD. III. *De l'appropriation des parties organiques à des actes déterminés*, par M. CHARLES ROBIN.

FOR many centuries the existence of God has been proved by the wonders of nature, or, in the language of philosophers, by final causes. Fénelon, in a celebrated book, eloquently developed this argument; Cicero expounded it before him, and in almost the same terms; still earlier Socrates, as Xenophon tells us, furnished the first text, which Cicero and Fénelon developed; and though he seems to be the first philosopher who used this argument, it is probable that popular good sense had preceded him. In modern times many philosophers and scholars have applied themselves to the study of final causes.† This study has itself given birth to a complete science, Natural Theology, which, in England, in Germany, in Holland, and in Switzerland, has produced innumerable treatises, equally instructive and interesting. The most independent and daring minds have not been able to escape the force of this argument. Voltaire, notwithstanding the pleasantries of *Candide*, was very fond of it, and his friends, the encyclopedists, called him, in jest, the *cause-finalier* [final causer].

* The author of this article is well known as one of the best representatives of the spiritualist philosophy in France, and as one of the most skillful and sagacious opponents of positivism and materialism. Among his ablest works are a *Treatise on Ethics*; a *History of Philosophy*; the *History of Political Philosophy*; the *Dialectics of Plato: Brain and Thought*. A complete treatise by him on the whole doctrine of *Final Causes* is announced.

† *Final Cause*, in the language of the schools, signifies *end, design*. The argument of final causes consists in saying that there are in nature *ends*, and *means* adapted to these ends, and that this implies foresight and wisdom. The workman is known by his work.

An argument so old and so universal, which could unite Fénelon and Voltaire, which Kant himself, although criticising it on certain accounts, never mentioned without respectful sympathy, will always have a persuasive and victorious force ; it will always be useful and interesting to bring it into notice, supporting it by new examples. All generations should be able to read the *Harmonies of Nature* in a language appropriate to the state of science. No philosopher can regard as beneath him a work, demanding at the same time, wide knowledge, an earnest understanding of the problem, and a tact sufficiently exercised to make it intelligible to all, without lowering the dignity of the science, or changing the truth of the facts. These are the merits of the recent work of M. Charles Lévêque on Providential Harmonies, a work written with both thoroughness and imagination. Less brilliant than Bernadin de Saint Pierre, the author is more exact and deserves more credit. His book will obtain a distinguished place among the good works on natural theology, which are more rare in France than in other countries. Those which we now possess are, moreover, generally rather eloquent than convincing. Fénelon's *Traité de l'existence de Dieu*, for instance, is, without doubt, a very beautiful book ; but Fénelon, though a charming writer, a refined and profound metaphysician, was not versed in the sciences ; the facts which he cites are few in number, and much too vague ; and he relies more frequently on ignorance than on knowledge to make us admire the wonders of nature. The *Etudes* and the *Harmonies* of Bernadin de Saint Pierre are more rich in facts ; the author certainly has a varied and extended knowledge, but it is an adventurous and poetic knowledge, too often inexact, and we cannot trust affirmations which² are, or may at any step prove to be, mixed with errors. In short, the evident mistakes which these two authors have made concerning final causes, and which, with the latter, sometimes become ridiculous, seriously compromise the cause itself, which they defend. The work of M. Charles Lévêque, on the contrary, free from these faults, is built upon the most solid knowledge : the facts in it are well chosen and set forth with simplicity ; the difficulties are not eluded, and, although the size of the book has not permitted a full discussion, they are approached and resolved with clearness and precision. It will be said that this

is popular philosophy. This is a great encomium. True philosophy is that which knows how to make itself everything to all men, and which can speak both the language of the school and of the fireside. There is nothing more sublime than the philosophy of Plato, and, at the same time, how popular it is. A half thought carries us away from popular philosophy; deeper thought brings us back to it. Bossuet has said: "Malheur à la connaissance stérile, qui ne se tourne pas à aimer." It may also be said: Woe to the pure philosophy which does not contribute to the instruction and improvement of men.

Nevertheless, criticism and logic do not lose their rights. Popular philosophy aims chiefly at results; learned philosophy searches after and examines principles. The whole of natural theology rests on the analogy between human industry and the industry of nature; between the human method and the method of nature. Our attention is called to a palace, a statue, a picture, a watch; at each of these examples, Fénelon asks if it can be the result of chance; then, returning to the universe, he describes it to us, more beautiful than a palace, more wisely joined together than any machine made by man, and from the perfection of the work he concludes to the perfection of the workman. Voltaire, also, saw nothing in the universe but a "clock," and he was astounded that any one could believe "that this clock had no clock-maker." Is there any foundation for such analogies? Does science here come to the support of philosophy, or is it contrary to it? Does it permit us to ascribe designs and combinations to the universal cause, or does it forbid this hypothesis? We are accustomed to attach great importance to this confronting of philosophy and science, and it seems to us that this is always very profitable to both. Let us interrogate, then, the sciences, and chiefly that one which seems to be the proper domain of final cause; let us consult on the question which we are discussing, the most authoritative masters of contemporaneous physiology.

I.

Ancient physiology, following the footsteps of Galen, occupied itself principally with what was called the *use of parts*, that is to say, the use of organs and their adaption to functions. Struck with the admirable harmony, which for the most

part exists between the arrangement of the organ and the purpose which it serves, ancient physiology thought that the structure of an organ reveals its use, just as in human art, the structure of a machine may show, *à priori*, its design. Anatomy was considered as the key to physiology; by means of the scalpel the form and structure of the organs were made manifest, and thence the use of the organs was deduced. Sometimes these deductions led to remarkable discoveries. It was in this manner that Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood. At other times they led to error. Men frequently believed that they deduced that which, in reality, they only observed. We can understand what a considerable rôle the principle of final causes played in this physiology.

If we are to believe the present masters of the science, this method, which subordinates physiology to anatomy, which deduces uses and functions from the structure of organs, and which is, therefore, more or less inspired with the principle of final causes, has had its day; it has become unfruitful, and a more philosophic and profound method must be substituted for it. Nothing is more contrary to observation than to affirm that the structure of an organ is an indication of its function. However exactly the structure of the liver was known, it was impossible to deduce from it the functions, or at least one of the functions, namely, the secretion of sugar. The structure of the nerves will never reveal to any one that these organs are intended to transmit either movement or sensibility. Moreover, the same functions may be exercised by organs of the most different structure. Respiration, for instance, is performed in one case by lungs, in another by the wind-pipe; indeed, in certain animals by the skin, and in plants by the leaves. Reciprocally, the same organs in different animals may perform very different functions; thus the natatory bladder of fishes, which is the true analogue of the lungs of mammals, serves no purpose, or almost none, for respiration, and is only an organ of sustenance and equilibrium. Finally, in the lowest animals, the organism is not distinguishable: one single homogeneous and amorphous structure contains, virtually, the power of producing all the vital functions, digestion, respiration, reproduction, locomotion, etc.

From these considerations M. Claude Bernard concludes,

that the structure of organs is but a secondary element in physiology, and further, that the organ itself is only a secondary object; and that it is necessary to go further, to penetrate more deeply, in order to discover the laws of life. The organ, as well as the function, is only a resultant. In the inorganic kingdom nature shows us compound bodies, which are resolved by chemistry into simple elements; in like manner, in the domain of life, the organs are compounds, of which physiology must investigate the elements. This revolution was brought about by the immortal Bichat. It was he who thought of investigating and studying the first elements of organization, which he called the *tissues*. The tissues are not organs; the same organ may be composed of many tissues, and the same tissue may serve for several organs. The tissues are endowed with elementary properties, which are inherent, immanent, specific; *it is no more possible to deduce, à priori, the properties of tissues than the properties of oxygen*; observation and experience alone can discover them. In philosophic physiology, or general physiology, the only object is then the determination of the elementary properties of living tissues. It is for descriptive physiology to show how these tissues are combined in different organs, according to the different species of animals, and to explain the functions by the working of these elementary properties of living matter, of which they are only the resultants. Wherever a certain tissue exists, it exists with a certain property. Muscular tissue will everywhere be endowed with the property of contracting; nervous tissue with the property of transmitting sensations or movements. The tissues, in their turn, are not the last elements of organization; beyond the tissues is discovered the true organic element, which is the cell. Thus the functions of organs are nothing more than the various actions of the cells which constitute them. Hence, it is evident that form and structure, however important they may be from the standpoint of descriptive physiology, play but a secondary rôle in general physiology.

Another physiologist, M. Charles Robin, whose authority in histology and micrography is well known, expresses on this subject ideas analogous to those of M. Claude Bernard, and goes even further. M. Claude Bernard, while limiting science to the investigation of the elementary properties of living mat-

ter, by no means excludes the idea of an intelligent mechanism in the construction of the organism. For M. Robin, on the contrary, it is a superannuated and entirely false idea to represent the organization as a machine. This opinion, diffused and brought into favor by the school of Descartes, has been expressed in these terms by a celebrated English physician, Hunter: "Organism," said he, "resolves itself into the idea of the mechanical association of parts." This can not be sustained in the present state of science. Such a statement might lead us to think that there can be organism without life. Thus, according to Hunter, a corpse, so long as the elements are not disassociated, would be just as much organized as a living body. This is a grave error. Organization can not exist without its essential properties, and it is the whole of these properties in action which we call life. The instance of fossils proves sufficiently that mechanical structure is only one of the consequences of organization, and not organization itself. Indeed, in fossils, the form and structure remain indefinitely, although the immediate principles which constituted them may have been destroyed and replaced, molecule after molecule, by fossilization; no trace remains of the matter of the animal or plant, although its structure may be mathematically preserved, down to the least details. We seem to handle a being which has lived, which is still organized, and we behold only brute matter. Not only can structure or mechanical combination subsist without organism, but, reciprocally, organization can exist without any mechanical arrangement.

To make this well understood, the physiologist refers the growing complication of the parts of an organism to a graduated scale; at the lowest degrees are the *anatomical elements*, or cells; next above are the *tissues*, then the *organs*, then the *apparatuses*; finally, the complete *organism*. An organism, for instance, an animal of the higher order, is composed of different apparatuses, whose actions are called *functions*; these apparatuses are made up of different organs, which, by virtue of their conformation, have this or that *use*; these organs, in their turn, are composed of tissues, whose arrangement is called *texture*, or *structure*; these tissues, finally, are themselves made of elements, or cells, which sometimes appear with a certain structure and a determined configuration (such as the body of the

cell, the kernel, or the nucleus), and take the name of *formed organic elements*; sometimes without any structure, as an amorphous, homogeneous substance, such as the marrow of the bones, the gray substance of the brain, etc.

According to M. Robin, the essential characteristic of organization is not mechanical structure, but a certain mode of molecular association of the immediate principles;* as soon as this mode of molecular association exists, the organized substance, with or without structure, having form, or amorphous, is endowed with the essential properties of life. These properties are five in number—nutrition, growth, reproduction, contraction, innervation. These five vital or essential properties are not found in all living beings, but their being found together does not depend on any mechanical structure. The study of the organs and their functions is, then, only the study of the various combinations of the organic elements and of their properties.

If we now consider the vital properties, and the first of these, nutrition, the essential difference between an organization and a machine will be seen more clearly. In a machine each one of the molecules remains molecularly immovable, without evolution; any such change causes the destruction of the mechanism. On the other hand, the very existence of an organism depends on molecular change. The manner of molecular association of the immediate principles permits, in an organization, the incessant renovation of the materials without causing destruction of the organs; moreover, that which characterizes organization is just this idea of evolution, of transformation, of development—all incompatible and irreconcilable with the conception of a mechanical structure.

In reviewing the general sense of the physiological theories which we have just expounded, and which seem the best adapted to the present state of the science, it becomes apparent that physiology not only frees itself more and more in its methods from the principle of final causes, but that in its doctrines it occupies itself less and less with the form and structure of the organs and their mechanical adaptation to the function.

* *Immediate principles* is the name given to certain ternary or quaternary chemical compounds, which are almost exclusively peculiar to organized beings.

Organized bodies, the apparatus which composes these bodies, and the organs which compose the apparatus, are no more than resultants and complications of certain simple elements, or cells, whose fundamental properties must be investigated, as chemists study the properties of simple bodies. The physiological problem will then no longer be, as in the time of Galen, the use or the usefulness of parts, but the mode of action of each element, as well as the physical and chemical conditions which determine this mode of action. According to the old ideas, the object which the savant pursued in his researches was the animal, or the man, or the plant; to-day it is the nervous cell, the motive cell, or the glandular cell, each one being considered as endowed with its own individual, independent life. The animal is no longer a living being—it is an assemblage of living beings, a colony; when the animal dies, the elements die, one after another. It is an assemblage of little existences, to which some physiologists go so far as to ascribe a sort of dull consciousness, analogous to the obscure perceptions of the Leibnitzian monads. From this standpoint it appears, that the old comparison of the philosophers, between the organs and the instruments of human workmanship is but a superficial and superannuated idea, worth nothing in the present state of the science. It appears that final causes, so long abandoned in the physical and chemical method, are destined to become also, in physiology, a secondary phenomenon, without weight. If, indeed, an amorphous substance is capable of nourishment, reproduction, motion; if, on the other hand, we cannot divine any possible relation between structure and function (as in the nerves), what remains but the fact, that, in a certain condition, one substance has the property of nourishment, another that of feeling, just as it has been established in chemistry, that oxygen has the property of burning, and chlorine the property of disinfecting? In one word, there remain nothing but causes and effects, and resembling means and ends.

While modern physiology, following Bichat, has neglected the structure and use of parts, to consider the organic elements, anatomy, following Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire, has equally neglected the superficial form of the organs, to consider chiefly the anatomical elements and their connections. The *law of*

connections rests on this fact, that there is always a constant relation between the situation of one organ and another given organ, which, in its turn, has a constant relation to another, so that the organ may be recognized by its situation, under whatever form it presents itself. If you neglect this physical bond which, following a fixed law, unites one organ to another, you will allow yourself to be surprised by appearances, you will attach an exaggerated importance to the forms of organs and their uses, and the differences, so striking to superficial eyes, will conceal from you the very essence of the organ; the analogies disappear under the differences; you will see many distinct types as accidental forms; the unity of the abstract animal, which hides itself under the diversity of organic forms, will vanish. If, on the contrary, you fix the idea of an organ by its precise and certain connections with the neighboring organs, you are sure not to lose sight of it, whatever form it may affect. You have a conducting thread which allows you to recognize the type under all its modifications, and it is thus that you arrive at the philosophy of animal life. Thus, anatomy, like physiology, has sought the simple in the compound. Both have determined the simple elements by relations of space and time, whether by indicating the fixed position which they occupy in the organization, or by describing the consecutive phenomena which are constantly associated with them. In this we recognise the rigorous method of modern science, whose effort is to disengage itself more and more from every preconceived idea, and to confine itself to establishing determined and constant relations between the facts and the antecedent conditions.

It does not belong to philosophy to contest with science its methods and principles; and it is, moreover, entirely true, that the object of science is to find in the complex facts of nature the simple facts which compose them. We can, then, from any standpoint, only encourage science in the investigation of the simple elements of the organized machine. But if science has the right, and perhaps the duty, to exclude every investigation which has the secondary and approximate causes for its object, does it follow that philosophy and the human mind in general must limit themselves to these causes, must prohibit to themselves all reflection on the spectacle before our eyes, and on the

thought which presided in the composition of organized beings, if, indeed, there were such a presiding thought? It is easy to show that this investigation is by no means excluded by the preceding considerations. Suppose, indeed, that organization is, as we think, a work prepared with skill, in which the means have been predisposed for the ends, even under this hypothesis it will still be true, that science must penetrate beyond the forms and uses of organs to investigate the elements of which they are composed and to determine their nature, whether by their anatomical situation or their chemical composition, and it will always be the duty of science to show what are the essential properties inherent in these elements. The investigation of ends does not exclude the investigation of properties, it even presupposes it; and the investigation of the mechanical adaptation of the organs, moreover, does not exclude the study of their connections. Were there, as we believe, a thought in nature (conscious or unconscious, immanent or transcendent—it matters little at this moment), this thought could not manifest itself except by material means, connected according to relations of space and time; * science could even then have no other object than to show the connected series of these material means, according to the laws of co-existence or succession. Experiment, aided by calculation, can do no more, and all that goes beyond is not positive science, but philosophy, thought, reflection—things entirely different. Without doubt, philosophic thought is always more or less mixed with science, especially in the order of organized beings; but science rightly endeavors to disengage itself, in order to refer the problem to relations susceptible of being determined by experience. It does not result from this that thought must abstain from investigating the meaning of the complex things before our eyes; and if it finds in them something analogous to itself, it need not be prohibited from recognizing and proclaiming this, because science, in its rigorous and legitimate severity, refuses itself such considerations.

Seek, indeed, a means of submitting to experience and calcu-

* For the simplicity of the discussion, we neglect here all investigation of the first cause of the means and designs in nature. Our arguments avail from a pantheistic as well as theistic standpoint, and are only directed against the pure mechanical theory, which excludes all *final causes*, instinctive or providential, internal or external.

lation (the only rigorous methods of science) the idea of the universe—supposing that there is in it a presiding idea. When intelligence has for its manifestation signs analogous to ours, it can make itself known by such signs; but a work of art, which of itself is not intelligent, and is only a work of an intelligence (or of something analogous), has no sign, no word, to advise us that it is a work of art, and not the simple resultant of complex and blind causes. A man speaks, and we have in that the means of knowing that it is a man; but an automaton does not speak, and it is only by analogy, by comparison, by inductive interpretation, that we are able to know that this automaton is not a freak of nature. The works of nature, if they are the product of a latent and invisible art, analogous to instinct, have no means of letting us know that they are works of such an art, and it can only be by comparison with our works that we thus decide. Thought in the universe, supposing that it manifests itself in any way, could then never be recognized, except in the manner in which we claim to arrive at it, that is to say, by analogical induction: it will never be an object of experience and calculation; consequently, science, if it wish, can always make it an abstraction; but because it has made it an abstraction; and, in place of seeking the rational signification of things, contents itself with showing the physical concatenation, can it, without an inexplicable illusion, believe that it has done away with and refuted every teleological supposition? To show, as it does, that these apparent machines reduce themselves to elements endowed with certain properties, is by no means to demonstrate that these machines are not the work of an industry, or an art, directed toward an end, for this art (reflective or not) can, on any hypothesis, construct these machines only by employing elements whose properties are such, that in combining they produce the desired effects. Final causes are not miracles; they are not effects without causes. It is then not surprising that, in tracing back organs to their elements, we find primordial properties, whose combination or distribution produces these complex effects, called animal functions. The wisest and most subtle art, be it the divine art, will never produce a whole except by employing elements endowed with properties which make this whole possible. The problem for the thinker is to

explain how these elements have been able to co-ordinate and distribute themselves so as to produce these final resultants, which we call a plant, an animal, a man.

Since we maintain as legitimate the old Aristotelian comparison between art and nature, let us show by an example, borrowed from human art, how the physiological method of the vital elements by no means excludes the hypothesis of finality. Suppose an instrument of music of which we do not know the use, with nothing which informs us that it is the work of human art; if any one, in his ignorance of the true cause, should nevertheless come to the supposition that it is a machine arranged to serve the art of the musician, could we not say to him that that is a superficial and entirely popular explanation, that the form and use of this instrument matter little, that analysis, reducing it to its anatomical elements, sees nothing in it but an assemblage of cords, of wood, of ivory; that each one of these elements has essential, immanent properties; the cords, for example, have the property of vibrating, even in their smallest parts (their cells); the wood has the property of resounding; the keys in movement have the property of striking and of determining the sounds by percussion, etc. What is there surprising, it might be said, in the fact, that this machine produces a certain effect, for instance, makes a succession of harmonic sounds heard, since the elements which compose it have definitely the properties necessary to produce this effect? As to the combination of these elements, it must be attributed to happy circumstances which have caused this resultant so analogous to a preconceived work. Who does not see that in referring this complex whole to its elements and their essential properties, nothing has been demonstrated against the design of the instrument, since design resides in, and demands precisely, that, in order that the whole be fit to produce the desired effect, the elements have the properties which have been recognized in them?

The savants are generally too much disposed to confound the doctrine of final cause with the hypothesis of an invisible force acting without physical means, as a *deus ex machina*. These two hypotheses, far from reducing themselves the one to the other, are in explicit contradiction; for he who says *design* says at the same time *means*, and consequently causes

adapted to produce a certain effect. To discover this cause is by no means to destroy the idea of design, it is, on the contrary, to bring to light the condition, *sine qua non*, of the production of the end. To make clear this distinction, we cite a beautiful example, again borrowed from M. Claude Bernard. How does it happen, says this eminent physiologist, that the gastric juice, which dissolves all aliments, does not dissolve the stomach itself, which is of precisely the same nature as the aliments with which it is nourished? For a long time the vital force was supposed to intervene, that is to say, an invisible cause which, in some way, suspended the properties of the natural agents, to prevent their producing their necessary effects. The vital force would, by a sort of moral *veto*, forbid the gastric juice to touch the stomach. We see that this would be a real miracle. Everything is explained when we know that the stomach is lined with a coating, or varnish, which is not attacked by the gastric juice, and which protects the walls which it covers. Who does not see that in refuting the omnipotence of the vital force, very far from having weakened the principle of finality, we have given to it a wonderful support? What could the most perfect art have done to protect the walls of the stomach, but invent a precaution similar to that which exists in reality? And how surprising it is that an organ destined to secrete and use an agent most destructive to itself, is found armed with a protective tunic, which must have always co-existed with it, since otherwise it would have been destroyed before having had time to procure for itself this defense—which excludes the hypothesis of long gropings and happy occurrences.

Final causes, then, do not do away with, on the contrary, they demand, physical causes; reciprocally, physical causes do not exclude, but claim, final causes. Leibnitz has expressed this in terms of remarkable precision: "It is well to reconcile," he says, "those who try to explain mechanically the formation of the first tissue of an animal, and the whole mechanism of the parts, with those who explain this same structure by final causes. *Both explanations are good, both may be useful, and the authors who follow these different routes ought not to abuse each other*; for I see that those who undertake to explain the beauty of the divine anatomy, ridicule the others who be-

lieve that a movement of certain liquids, which appears accidental, could make such a beautiful variety of members, and treat these people as bold and profane; and these, on the other hand, treat the first as simple and superstitious, like those ancients, who considered the philosophers impious, when they maintained that it was not Jupiter that thundered, but a certain matter found in the clouds. *The better way would be to join one explanation with the other.*"

Nothing has been demonstrated against the doctrine of final causes, when organic effects have been referred to their near causes and to their determining conditions. It will be said, for instance, that it is not surprising that the heart contracts, since the heart is a muscle, and contractility is the essential property of muscles; but is it not evident that if nature wished to make a heart which contracts, she must employ a contractile tissue; and would it not be very astonishing if it were otherwise? Have we explained thereby the wonderful structure of the heart, and the wise mechanism which is displayed in it? Muscular contractibility explains that the heart contracts; but this general property, which is common to all the muscles, does not suffice to explain how and why the heart contracts in one way rather than in another, and why it has taken a certain configuration, and not some other. "That which is peculiar to the heart," says M. Claude Bernard, "is that in it the muscular fibres are so disposed as to form a sort of sack, in the interior of which is the bloody fluid. The contraction of these fibres results in reducing the dimensions of this sack, and, consequently in driving away, at least in part, the liquid which it contains. *The disposition of the valves* gives to the expelled liquid the *proper direction*." Hence, the question which engages the thinker, is to ascertain how it happens that nature, employing a contractile tissue, has given it the proper structure and disposition, and in what way she has known how to make it suitable for the special and important function of circulation. The elementary properties of the tissues are the necessary conditions of which nature makes use in order to solve the problem, but they by no means explain how she has succeeded in solving it. M. Claude Bernard himself cannot escape from the inevitable comparison of organization with the works of human industry, when he tells us: "The heart is es-

entially a *living, motive machine, a force pump*, designed to drive into all the organs a liquid called blood, which nourishes them. . . . In all degrees of the animal scale, the heart performs this function of *mechanical irrigation*."

We must distinguish, moreover, with the physiological savant we have just cited, between physiology and zoology. "For the physiologist, it is not the animal which lives and dies, it is only the organic materials which compose the animal. Just as an architect, with materials, which all have the same physical properties, can construct buildings very different in their exterior forms, so also nature, with organic elements possessing identically the same properties, has been able to make animals whose organs are astonishingly varied." In other words, physiology studies the abstract, and zoology the concrete; physiology considers the elements of life, and zoology living beings—such as they are in reality, with their innumerable and varied forms. But who constructs these forms? Is it, that the materials, of themselves, unite and coagulate to give birth to an apparatus so complex and so wise? It is not we, it is M. Claude Bernard, who here returns to the old comparison drawn from architecture. "One could," he says, "compare the histological elements with the materials which man employs to erect his buildings." We may here recall, with Fénelon, the fable of Amphion, whose lyre charmed the rocks, and led them to unite, so as to form of themselves the walls of Thebes. In the materialistic system, the organic atoms thus unite to form plants and animals, and there is not even a lyre to charm them. Without doubt, in order that a house may stand, it is necessary that the stones composing it have the property of weight, but does this property explain how the stones form a house?

It is not only necessary to distinguish between physiology and zoology, but in physiology itself, we must further distinguish, following the same author, between *descriptive* physiology and *general* physiology. It is general physiology which investigates the organic elements and their properties. Descriptive physiology is obliged to take the organs just as they are, that is to say, as resultants formed by the union of the organic elements. Hence, it is these resultants which will always be an object of wonder to men, and which have not been explained

by reducing them to their elements. So long as the anatomical or organic elements are only in the condition of elements, we doubtless do not perceive in them the secret of the combinations, which make them suitable to produce this or that result, and it is, perhaps, the same for the tissues; but, when the tissues are transformed into organs, and the organs unite to form apparatuses, and the apparatuses or systems unite to form living individuals, these combinations are something different from complication—they are real constructions, and the more complicated the organism, the more they resemble wise combinations, the product of method and calculation.

Finally, it is not merely by chance, and in some measure through carelessness, that M. Claude Bernard returns several times to this comparison of organisms with a work of human art. When he speaks as savant and physiologist, he limits himself, as is his right, to the investigation of elementary properties, and sees in the organs only resultants; but, when he speaks as a philosopher, he expresses himself, concerning organism, like Aristotle, like Kant, like Hegel, like Cuvier, like all the greatest thinkers, who have not been able to free themselves from the hypothesis of a method, whose conditions can escape us, and of which the first causes will be perhaps eternally hidden, but which cannot be reduced to the spontaneous and casual operation of material elements. Let us quote this remarkable page, already celebrated in philosophy: "If it were necessary to define life, I should say: life, it is *creation*. . . . That which characterizes the living machine is not the nature of its physico-chemical properties, it is the creation of this machine . . . according to a definite idea, which expresses the nature of the living being and the very essence of life. . . . This grouping of the elements is in obedience to laws which govern the physico-chemical properties of matter; but that which belongs essentially to the domain of life, which belongs neither to chemistry, nor to physics, is the *directing idea* of this vital evolution. In every living germ there is an idea which manifests itself by organization. The means of manifestation are common to all the phenomena of nature, and remain mixed up like the letters of the alphabet in a box, whence a force searches them out, to express the most diverse thoughts or mechanisms." Thus the most profound and the

most recent science, in order to express its last word concerning nature and the signification of organism, returns unconsciously to the old and imperishable comparison of the letters of the alphabet, which will never make a poem, nor even a single verse, unless a hand directs and combines them. The investigation of the material conditions of life does then not exclude, on the contrary, it implies and demands, final causes.

II.

The doctrine of M. Claude Bernard, which represents organism as a machine, constructed and guided by a creative idea, meets a decided adversary in M. Charles Robin. Both of these savants hold that it is the office of science to connect every phenomenon with its antecedent and determining conditions; but the former claims that this determination by no means supposes thought in nature, or, at least, in animated nature, but is only its mode of manifestation; the latter, on the contrary, holds, that beyond the determining conditions there is nothing to be sought, or even to be thought; and that the principle of the conditions of existence absolutely excludes the principle of final causes; moreover, that all the inductions derived from the comparison of organism with a machine are erroneous, since the organization is not a machine, and the organized substance can live and show all the properties of life without mechanical structure and adaptation.

It matters little from our standpoint—indeed, it matters not at all—that organization is essentially and by definition a mechanical combination. It is enough to know that, in most cases, and in proportion as it perfects itself, the organized substance itself creates mechanical agents for exercising its functions. Without doubt the organized substance which composes the eye, or the heart, or the wing, is not in itself a machine, but it is capable, by an efficacy in itself, of making instruments of action in which the wisest mechanism is shown; the problem remains complete, whatever idea we form concerning organization in itself and in its first state. Let us admit that organization is in essence a certain chemical combination, it always remains to be known how this chemical combination succeeds in passing from that amorphous state in which it is said to begin,

to the complete and wisely adapted structure which is observed at all degrees in the scale of living beings.

The structure of organs does not always reveal their functions. Thus the geometric form of the nervous cells, composing either the sensitive or the motive nerves, has been determined by arduous labor, without finding any relation between the form of these cells and their functions. What relation, for instance, can there be between the triangular form and sensibility, between the quadrangular form and motive influence? These relations themselves are not constant, for in birds we notice a precisely inverse arrangement; the motive cells are triangular and the sensitive cells quadrangular. We see, then, that these forms have, in reality, little importance, and that function cannot here be deduced from structure. But, on the one hand, the geometric form must not be confounded with the mechanical disposition; on the other, the structure itself must be distinguished from the fact of adaptation. Thus, whatever may be the significance of the form of the nervous cells, though it may have no relation to a given function, the nerves must always be so arranged that they put the centre in communication with the organs, and by these with the external medium. This disposition of convergence and divergence from the parts to the centre and from the centre to the parts has, then, an evident relation to sensibility and locomotion, which have a not less evident relation to the preservation of the animal. Moreover, even when the structure itself has no significance, the fact of adaptation exists none the less. For instance, I do not know whether the structure of the salivary glands and the mammillary glands has any relation to the special secretions in these two kinds of organs; nevertheless, if there were no such relation, the fact of the salivary secretions is in a no less remarkable relation of adaptation to, and agreement with, the nutritive function; and the secretion of milk, which occurs only at the moment when it is useful, and, by a happy coincidence, with the act of parturition, shows none the less the most striking adaptation and the most astonishing harmony with the final result, which is the preservation of the offspring.

Moreover, it is not by chance that the organized substance passes from this homogeneous, amorphous, indetermined state,

which seems to be its beginning, into that wise complexity, in which it shows itself in the higher animals ; it is according to a law, the law of the progressive perfecting of the functions by reason of the progressive differentiation of the organs. It is this law which M. Milne Edwards happily calls *the law of the division of labor*, and to the great importance of which, in the progressive development of animal life, he has called attention. By the very expression of this happy formula, we see how hard it is for science to escape from this comparison of human work with the work of nature ; it is so evident that these two kinds of work are only degrees of one and the same fact. This law forms one more resemblance between the two. In the works of man, indeed, all the needs, all the functions, are at first, to some extent, confounded. There is no diversity of functions, except that which results in each individual from the diversity of the organs and the needs. Thus the first division of labor is that which has been instituted by nature, but in proportion as the needs multiply, the actions and functions of individuals are separated, and the means for performing these various actions with more convenience and utility for the man, multiply in their turn. It is thus that human labor is nothing but the prolongation and development of the work of nature. Nature makes organs of prehension arms, and hands ; man prolongs them by means of sticks, staves, sacks, pails, and all machines for beating, digging, dragging, searching, etc. Nature creates organs for the mechanical trituration of the aliments ; industry prolongs these by instruments for cutting, tearing, dissolving these aliments beforehand, by fire, by water, by all sorts of seasonings, and the culinary art becomes, as it were, the substitute of the digestive art. Nature gives us organs of movement which are marvels of mechanism, if we compare them with the rudimentary organs of molluscs, zoöphytes ; art prolongs and multiplies these means of locomotion by all the motive machines, and by animals used as machines. Nature gives protective organs ; we add to them by using the skins of animals and all the machines for their preparation. Finally, nature gives us organs of sense ; human industry adds to them innumerable instruments, constructed according to the same principles as the organs themselves, which are the means

either of remedying the defects of our organs, or of increasing their power, or perfecting their use.

Nature is continually placed in opposition to art, as if art itself were not natural. Wherein are the cities built by man less natural than the huts of beavers and the cells of bees? How are cradles less natural than birds' nests? In what are our garments less natural than the cocoons of the silk-worms? How are the songs of our artists less natural than the songs of birds? If there is an opposition between man and nature, it is in the moral order, in the order of liberty and law, and also in the religious order; but on the ground of art and industry man acts as a natural agent; human work is but the prolongation, the continuation, of the work of nature. Man does knowingly that which nature has thus far done by instinct. Reciprocally, we can then say that nature, in passing from the rudimentary state, in which every organized substance is first manifested, up to the highest degree of the division of physiological labor, has proceeded exactly like human art, inventing means more and more complex, in proportion as new difficulties present themselves for solution.

We are far from maintaining that life is nothing but a mechanical aggregate; on the contrary, it is one of our principles, that life is superior to mechanism, but without itself being a mechanical combination; it constructs for itself mechanical means of action, which are the more delicate as the difficulties, are more numerous and complex. The point is to explain this fact. It is certainly right to make a distinction between natural machines or organs and artificial machines, in that, in the first, the movement of the molecules is constant, while in the others, the situation of the molecules is fixed. That certainly constitutes a great difference; it is entirely to the advantage of natural art as compared with human art. It is an argument, *à fortiori*, in favor of final causes, as Fénelon well says: "What is there more beautiful than a machine which repairs and renovates itself continuously? What should we think of a watch-maker if he could make watches which would produce others, *ad infinitum*?"

Notwithstanding his general views concerning organization, M. Charles Robin believes that he is able to deduce a theory of the adaptation of the organs to the functions, which would

absolutely exclude all idea of plan, of art, of industry, and let nothing subsist but the principle of "the conditions of existence." According to him, adaptation is one of the general phenomena of organized matter which we may call, with Blainville, *resultant phenomena*. Of this sort are, for instance, animal and vegetable calorification, hereditability, the conservation of species, etc. These phenomena are not the acts of a determined and isolated apparatus; they are the resultants which sum up the whole of the phenomena of living nature, and which belong to the totality of the conditions of organized being. According to M. Robin, physiology has reached a point where it can strictly determine the conditions of this adaptation, which has thereby become a positive fact, and every hypothesis of the design of the organs is absolutely useless.

He discards at first a doctrine which he calls "Aristotelian," and which is that of the contemporaneous German physiology of Burdach and Müller, and which M. Claude Bernard would probably not repudiate, namely, that "the egg or the germ is the potential organism." This doctrine does not differ sensibly, according to him, from that of the *preformation* of the organs, or the inclosure of the germs, developed in the 18th century by Bonnet. According to this philosopher, the germ would contain the entire animal in miniature, and development would be only growth and enlargement. Is not this almost the same as saying that the egg is the animal *in potentia*? And how could it virtually be the entire animal if it did not already contain a certain preformation of it? But experience, according to M. Robin, is contrary to all these hypotheses. The germ seen under the most powerful microscope does not show any appearance of a formed organism; much rather, at the first step of their evolution all germs are absolutely identical, and there is not any difference between that of man and that of the animals lowest in the scale. Finally, under the hypothesis of preformation, or under that of the organism in potency, all the organs ought to appear at the same time, while experience shows us that the organs are formed one after the other by exterior additions coming into life in succession. Such is the doctrine of *epigenesis* accepted by the embryology of to-day, which has definitively superseded the doctrine of preformation. If this is true, the whole does not precede the parts, but the parts pre-

cede the whole; the whole, or the organism, is not a cause, it is only an effect. What becomes of the hypothesis of Kant, of Cuvier, of Müller, of Burdach, who all agree in supposing that, in the organism the elements are ordered, conditioned, determined by the whole? What becomes of the *creative, directing* idea of M. Claude Bernard? This hypothesis is again refuted by the fact, that the deviations of the primitive germ, deviations which produce monstrosities, deformities, and congenital diseases, are almost as numerous as the normal formations, and in the forcible words of M. Robin, "the germ oscillates between monstrosities and death." Finally, the monstrosities themselves are vital productions, which are born, unfold, and live just as well as the normal beings, so that if final causes are admitted, it must be admitted "that the germ contains in potency just as strictly the monster as the most perfect being."

These are serious considerations, yet they are not decisive. Because I can say that a house is a work of art, it is not at all necessary that the first stone, the foundation stone, should itself be a house in miniature, that the entire edifice be performed in the first of its parts. It is, moreover, not necessary that this first stone should contain the entire house in potency, that is to say that it be inhabited by a sort of invisible architect, who, from this first *point d'appui*, directs all the rest. We can renounce the theory of preformation, without, in consequence renouncing design. It rather seems as if the doctrine of preformation were still more favorable to the exclusion of final causes; for, an organism in miniature being given, I could still comprehend growth and enlargement as taking place by purely mechanical laws: but what I do not understand is, that a juxtaposition or addition of parts, which represents only exterior relations of the elements, is found, little by little, to have produced a work of art, as if a Vaucanson had made it, and which is very different in its complexity and delicacy, from an automaton of Vaucanson. Without doubt, even on the hypothesis of preformation, the type contained in the germ must always be explained; but, for the same reason, it must be possible to explain the types realized by the complete organism, and it matters little whether it be preformed or not, the problem always remains the same. In the hypothesis of preformation, the type appears formed all at once; in that

of epigenesis it is formed little by little; but, because a work of art is formed little by little (which is but the law of time the law of all things transient and perishable), it does not at all follow that it is not a work of art; and gradual evolution no less demands a directing and creative idea, than would the sudden hatching of the whole, supposing that such a hatching were possible. Thus, because we may say with M. Claude Bernard, that a creative and directing idea presides in the organism, and with Müller and Kant, that the whole orders and conditions the parts, it by no means follows that this creative idea must be pictured beforehand, sensible to vision in the primitive kernel of the future being. Because I do not see in advance the plan of a house, it does not follow that there is no plan of it. In a picture drawn by a painter, the first outlines or the first touches do not contain the finished picture, and are not its preformation; nevertheless, in this case it is certainly the idea of the whole which determines the appearance of these first parts. In like manner, the idea may be inherent in the entire organism, without being shown exclusively in the egg or germ, as if the initial point of the organization were obliged to be in this regard more privileged than the other parts of the organism.

As to the difficulty drawn from the deviations of the germ, it would only be decisive against *finality*, if the organism were presented as an absolute whole, without any relation to the rest of the universe, an empire in an empire, *imperium in imperio*, as Spinoza has said. There would here be a contradiction only in case the actions and reactions of the medium should cause deviations in this absolute whole. But organism is only a relative whole: this is proved by the fact, that it is not sufficient to itself, and that it is necessarily bound to some exterior medium; hence the modifications of this medium can not but act upon it; and if they can act in the course of growth, there is no reason why they should not act equally while it is still in the state of a germ. This would result in primordial deviations, while the alterations which take place later are only secondary, and if monstrosities continue to develop as well as normal beings, it is because the laws of organized matter continue their action while they are accidentally turned from their object, just as a hurled stone may meet an

object, which changes its direction, while it nevertheless pursues its course by virtue of the velocity previously acquired.

The true problem for the thinker is not that there are monsters, but that there are living beings; just as it is astonishing, not that there are fools, but that all men are not born fools—the work of making a thinking brain being left to matter, which does not think. They would not live, it will be said, if they were all born fools. So I will ask: how does it happen that there are men, and that they think? The germ oscillates, so we are told, between monstrosities and death. Let it oscillate as much as it may, nevertheless, it becomes fixed, for life overcomes death, since species continue; and through constant oscillations, nature succeeds in creating the human machine, which in its turn creates so many other machines. Could the groping of a blind nature, however we may regard it, lead to such results? Even in humanity, gropings do not succeed in producing determined effects, and in profiting by fortunate opportunities, except on condition of being guided and limited by intelligence. It is thus, for instance, that experience, and not science, has invented, in the preceding ages, most of our industrial processes. It is a result of fortunate chances, if you will, and not reflective and systematically guided method, which has brought about such results; but there must at least have been intelligence to notice these fortunate chances, and reproduce them at will. It is related, that one of the most curious improvements of the steam-engine is due to the heedlessness of a young boy, who, wishing to go to play, devised some arrangement of threads to take the place of his presence and watchfulness; an invention which was later put to profit. That was chance it will be said; certainly not; for intelligence was first necessary to invent this artifice, and was again necessary to notice and imitate it. Throw, at hazard, into a crucible, the elements of which a machine is composed, and let them oscillate indefinitely “between monstrosities and death”—that is to say, between useless forms and chaos—they will oscillate thus for an eternity without ever settling to any precise form, and without even producing the semblance of a machine.

M. Robin then passes to the explanation of the phenomena of the adaptation of organs, and he explains it by the following

facts: the subdivision and individualization of the anatomical elements, engendered one from the other, and their configuration, whence is derived the position which they take side by side; the evolution to which they are subjected—no organ being at first what it will be later—and the successive appearance of cells, tissues, organs, apparatus, and systems; the primordial consubstantiality of all vital properties, which, being immanent in all organized matter, are found in all the metamorphoses of this matter; the molecular renovation by way of nutrition and the action of the internal or external medium, whence results necessarily an accommodation with this double medium; finally the contiguity and continuity of the living tissues, whence is born the marvelous *consensus* which is seen in animal organization. Such are the principal causes which, according to M. Robin, explain the adaptation of organs to functions, causes, by the way, which we have picked out here and there from his work, for he invokes sometimes one, sometimes another, without co-ordinating them in a regular and systematic manner.

All these causes may be referred to two principal ones: on the one hand, the individualization or specification of the anatomical elements, with distribution forcibly determined by their structure, which explains the diversity of organs, and thus the diversity of functions; on the other hand, the contiguity of living tissues, whence is born the *consensus*, or the general harmony, of the organism. The other causes serve only for counting; being useless, they explain nothing; and these causes are nothing but the very fact to be explained. Even molecular renovation or nutrition serves only for the conservation of organs, but does not explain their formation or adaptation; likewise, the action of the medium, internal or external, only serves to limit and circumscribe organic possibilities and does not at all account for determinate combinations. As to the evolution of organs, which are never at first what they will be later, and the successive appearance of elements, tissues, organs, apparatus, and organized systems, this is exactly the fact to be explained. We know very well that the organism in developing goes from the simple to the composite. How this compound, instead of becoming a chaos, is distributed into regular systems, co-ordinated and adapted, is exactly what we

want to know. Finally, the consubstantiality and immanence of the vital properties well explain the fact, that all the organs are endowed with life and possess these properties in potency, but not how they divide and combine in special organs. There remain, then, I repeat, the two causes which we have indicated.

If we now seek to give a philosophic account of the two causes signalized by M. Charles Robin, we shall see that they amount to saying, that succession explains adaptation, and contiguity harmony. The characteristic of "*positive*" science is, that it always substitutes relations of time and space for intelligible and harmonic relations; this is, moreover, a very legitimate work, if it knows its limit, but a usurpation, if it pretends thus to limit the domain of human thought. It is in the nature of the human mind, endowed with sense-perceptions to conceive of things only by representing them in the symbols of space and time; these are the material conditions of all thought, and it is the object of science to determine them; but it remains to be known whether thought is not an entirely different thing, and whether its proper object is not exactly that which cannot be represented in the forms of space and time.

Thus the learned physiologist, whose ideas we are now reviewing, shows us the anatomical elements, giving birth one to another, with a certain special configuration, and as they come into life, grouping themselves in a certain manner by reason of their structure. From such a structure, he says, there must be produced a succession of *determined* acts. Now, it is very true that the formation of an organ cannot be understood without the successive appearance of special elements configured in a certain manner; but determined does not mean adapted; and the question always remains, how these determined acts come to be those which are fitting, and no others. The difficulty is not resolved by saying, that if these were not acts exactly compatible with life, the animal would not live, for there is no contradiction in an animal's not living—that is to say, in there not being any animal; what is strange is precisely that there is an animal. The history of embryonic evolution, however interesting it may be, does not in any way destroy the inductions which we have drawn from the profound analogies of human art with vital art; for on both sides there are special elements, configured in a determinate man-

ner, and making it possible that such or such acts be produced; but in the human method, there is always some one who chooses among all these possibilities. In the vital method why should the material substratum be relieved from the necessity of choice; and how can it find spontaneously the useful combination which is demanded by the interest of the whole? In human works the material conditions are recognized as powerless to co-ordinate themselves with relation to a precise effect; why should the material conditions in the organism be endowed with such an extraordinary privilege? To say that, the elements being given, it follows of itself that they form into tissues, and that the tissues being given, it follows of itself that they form into organs, is as if one said, that silk threads being given, they will distribute themselves spontaneously into pieces of silk, and that when one has a piece of cloth, it is as if he had a garment. Although the cloth may be adapted to become a garment, and the threads of the silk-worm may be adapted to make silk, this fitness for a determined act is not equivalent to the production of the act, and there must be a definite cause to make it pass from the virtual to the actual state. In the arts of man we see this sufficient cause, which is within us; in the works of nature we do not see it, but it is just as necessary in the one as in the other.

The same is to be said of the attempt to account for the vital *consensus* by the contiguity of the organic parts; it is referring an entirely intellectual relation to an exterior and material relation. Here again, to say that the harmony of the living body is explained, because the parts touch each other, is as if one said a garment was good because there are no holes in it. The fitting of the garment to the body and the correspondence of its parts have no relation to the continuity of the piece of cloth, for this continuity existed in the piece itself before it was made into a garment. Continuity may explain, if you please, the sympathy of organs and the communication of impressions, but not the co-operation and correspondence of organs and functions; finally, continuity might account with exactness for the adaptation of neighboring parts, for instance, the articulation of the bones, but not for the common, and at the same time different, action of separate parts.

It is here that we find the difference of the two great zoölogi-

cal laws, discovered and proclaimed, the one by Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the other by Cuvier, the law of *connections* and the law of *correlations*. We know in what the law of Cuvier consists: it rests on the idea, so simple and so evident, that in an organized being all the parts must be in accord in order to produce a common action. We have seen that the law of connections, on its side, rests on the fact, that an organ is in a constant relation of situation with some other given organ. Correlation is a relation of action, of co-operation, of ends; connection is an entirely physical relation, entirely mechanical, of position, of some sort of articulation. In a machine, the parts furthest separated may be in correlation, only those adjoining are in connection. Connection does not explain correlation and cannot take the place of it; in other words, the contiguity of parts does not account for the *consensus* in the living being. Organism always remains, as Kant and Cuvier defined it, "a whole, of which all the parts are reciprocally means and ends,"* whence it follows, that organism, essentially and of itself, includes the idea of end, of design. And this co-ordination of the parts with the whole is found not only in the whole in general, but in each part considered by itself, for the parts themselves are secondary wholes, co-ordinated with the principal whole. Thus the organs of movement have a relation to the organs of nutrition, but yet, in the organs of movement, the muscles, the nerves, and the bones are equally in relation, and so on to the last elements of the organism; which caused Leibnitz to say that organized beings are machines composed of machines. For my part, I cannot understand this co-ordination, unless the whole pre-existed as a plan, and predetermined the parts. Otherwise, these parts, which are, after all, only mineral matter, would have to be so combined and contrived, as to produce systems so wisely arranged, that human art can scarcely imitate them, and, in some cases, can not do this (for instance, in the flight of birds). This is what the human mind has never been willing to admit, and never will be willing. For instance, that matter, obeying its primordial laws, can produce incisor teeth. this I comprehend without very much effort; but that the

* This by no means implies, as M. Robin supposes, that each part cannot have its own life, independent of the whole; but it means that as soon as it is drawn into the system, it lives by the whole, and contributes to make the whole live.

same matter, in the same animal, will produce claws and not hoofs—this can hardly be understood, unless it is agreed, that the claws and the teeth have a pre-established harmony—on the one part prehension, on the other the rending of the prey; and if we add that all the other parts are equally co-ordinated, as Cuvier teaches, we must conclude that this had been pre-arranged, and we must say that nature in this case acted exactly as if it had wished to make a carnivorous animal.

The sequence of ideas would lead us here to examine the theory of Darwin; but that is a work which we have already done, and to which we refer the reader.* We will only add, that the system of Darwin, far from excluding the hypothesis of final causes, seems to us to demand it imperiously, under penalty of making mere chance play an exorbitant part. We should here have to consider the formation of species as a work of art; and we need only apply to this case what we have already said of the formation of the individual; and then the work being much more complicated, since it concerns the totality of living beings, the argument would only be more strong. Moreover, this hypothesis itself rests on the analogy of art and nature, since it ascribes to nature a selection similar to the artificial selection of our builders; that is to say, we have here a real work of art. Here, again, human art would be seen to be but the prolongation and imitation of the natural method, and this method is the presentiment, or rather the type and model, of the former.

We cannot then escape the prepossession of the idea, that there is an art in nature; but, every art supposes an artist. Whether this artist be, as Aristotle supposed, nature herself, or whether it be exterior and superior to nature; whether it act by instinct, and, so to speak, by inspiration, or whether it act with precision and according to a preconceived plan—here is a new problem; this is a new order of research for metaphysicians, the solution of which supposes other conditions than the preceding. Whatever be the solution given to the problem, the artistic method in nature is just as evident as in the case of human works; on this common ground theism and pantheism can and ought to come to an understanding against materialism, and they have a common interest.

* See the *Revue* of Dec. 15, 1863.

As to choosing between these two hypotheses, that of a primordial instinct inherent in nature, or that of a supreme thought superior to nature, let us not forget that Aristotle, while advocating the former, at the same time joined the second with it; for while he ascribed to nature a secret and interior art, incapable of deliberation and reflection, he nevertheless held, that the mysterious action of the supreme thought moved, and even molded, this artistic instinct of nature; it was a blind impulse, without question and without consciousness, but yet determined by the sovereign cause and the irresistible attraction of "the good," which drew nature to ascend from form to form, from being to being, up to that supreme good, by creating progressively at each degree of the scale the means of which it had need, that it might ascend higher. Likewise in the teaching of Leibnitz, the creation of the universe by a supreme cause does not exclude second causes, which, obeying a sort of instinct and obscure tendency, seek for ends by appropriate means. The instinct of nature and supreme Providence are then not in contradiction, and ought to be reconciled in a higher doctrine. As to those who sacrifice absolutely one of these causes, and suppress intelligence in the supreme being in the interest of instinct, we can not see what advantage they can find, from the scientific point of view, in discarding a cause which is clearly known to us, and substituting for it another which is but a word. Instinct is really only a hidden quality, the symbol of a void conception which baffles our minds. All who have tried to elucidate this conception have referred it either to mechanism or to intelligence. The blind mechanism of the elements being discarded by common consent, intelligence remains the only known cause to which we can ascribe the art in nature, imagination itself being but a form or degree of intelligence. Does this imply that the cause of causes has an intelligence like our own? Does it imply that we are authorized to affirm that there is nothing beyond intelligence, and that the great artist must, in the creation of his works, obey laws of which we can not form any idea? Many metaphysicians have thought the contrary, and have supposed in God a series of perfections surpassing each other, without allowing that any analogy can represent them to us in ourselves. Perhaps the supreme rea-

son of the order of nature is to be found in this last and unfathomable depth, which every theology supposes in the background of its mysteries. All that we can say is, that the most analogous cause which we can compare with the supreme cause is intelligence. The art of nature proceeds then from a cause, which is at least an intelligence, if it be not something more.

Art. V.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL DISRUPTION OF 1861.

By R. L. STANTON, D.D., Cincinnati, Ohio.

THIS title is intended to designate the division of the Presbyterian Church in the United States into two bodies, now known, in the popular mind, as the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Churches. Previous to our late civil war they were one body, under one General Assembly (O. S.) The division was consummated, on the part of the Southern Church, in December, 1861, by the organization of a separate General Assembly. It was not, however, fully recognized and accepted by the Northern Church until 1868, when the General Assembly of that year dropped from its roll the synods, presbyteries, ministers, and churches, which had withdrawn from it in the Southern States seven years before. During the war the Old and New School Churches of the South became united in one body under the Southern General Assembly. The negotiations, which had been pending since 1866, for the reunion of the Old and New School churches of the North, having been successful, the first reunion General Assembly was held in the year 1870. This Assembly made overtures to the General Assembly of the Southern Church for friendly relations with that body. Similar overtures, from time to time, have since been made, but with no favorable result.

It is not the object of this paper to discuss the question of "fraternal relations" between the Northern and Southern Churches, but rather to consider the disruption of the church.

which occurred in 1861, to examine some of the principles announced in its defense, and to consider the causes which led thereto. A chief reason, however, for doing this, is the light thus shed upon the conditions required by the Southern Church in order to such relations.* That which will form the basis of this discussion is the official document, entitled an *Address of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, to all the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth, unanimously adopted at their Sessions, in Augusta, Georgia, December, 1861*. This Address is always referred to by the leading men of the Southern Church as setting forth the principles on which they stand, and by which they desire the Southern Church to be judged. The Southern General Assembly, of 1865, says: "Four years ago we were constrained to organize a separate Assembly. This was done because of an attempt by a part of the church to impose a yoke upon our consciences, 'which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear.' Our testimony upon this, and other points of great interest, is before the Christian churches of the world, in the Address made to them by the General Assembly of 1861." By the "yoke" here mentioned, is meant the action of the General Assembly at Philadelphia, in May, 1861, upon the state of the country. Referring to the subject of slavery, the Southern General Assembly, of 1865, again says: "The Address of our General Assembly, before referred to (1861), contains the only full, unambiguous, deliberate, and authoritative exposition of our views in regard to this matter. We here affirm its whole doctrine to be that of Scripture and reason. It is the old doc-

* Our only reason for placing the important facts contained in this able article upon our pages, is their bearing on this very subject of "fraternal correspondence" with the Southern Church, and the conditions demanded for it. In themselves considered, we would much prefer that they should be left to oblivion, as respects the Northern Church, much as in different forms they still obtrude themselves, directly or indirectly, in the publications of our Southern brethren. But so long as honored brethren of our own church still deem it for edification to urge movements for fraternal correspondence, upon the basis of some retractions or confessions on our part in regard to alleged political, or otherwise injurious, declarations, by our assemblies in the past, with no equivalent acknowledgment on the other side—if, indeed, such acknowledgments on either side are in place at all—we think this article must satisfy all that such a procedure would involve implications alike false and mischievous.—EDITORS.

trine of the church, and the only one which keeps its foundations secure."

The Address of 1861 is thus officially proclaimed to be of the highest authority upon the questions it presents. Its specific object is to vindicate the disruption of the church. Its language on this point is as follows: "The church, in these seceded States, presents now the spectacle of a separate and independent and complete organization, under the style and title of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. In thus taking its place among sister churches of this and other countries, it seems proper that it should set forth the causes which have impelled it to separate from the church of the North, and to indicate a general view of the course which it feels it incumbent upon it to pursue in the new circumstances in which it is placed. We should be sorry to be regarded by our brethren in any part of the world as guilty of schism. We are not conscious of any purpose to rend the body of Christ."

There are two distinct branches of the subject which call for separate consideration. One is historical, and concerns the causes of the disruption. The other involves fundamental principles, which enter into the vital elements of our ecclesiastical life. It will be the natural order to take up the historical question first.

I.

In the opening sentences of this Address, the separation of the Southern Church from the Northern is spoken of as purely voluntary. It says, that "the Presbyteries and Synods in the Confederate States" have "renounced the jurisdiction" of the Northern Assembly, "and dissolved the ties which bound them, ecclesiastically, with their brethren of the North." As "this act of separation left them without any formal union among themselves," they proceeded to organize an Assembly "upon the model of the one whose authority they had just relinquished."

But although this step was voluntary, the Address pleads the action of the Northern Assembly, in May, 1861, as the reason—certainly the occasion—which impelled to the separation. We ask special attention to its language on this point. It says: "The first thing which roused our presbyteries to look the question of separation seriously in the face, was the course of the Assembly

in venturing to determine, as a court of Jesus Christ, which it did by necessary implication, the true interpretation of the Constitution of the United States as to the kind of government it intended to form." Again: "The immediate occasion of our separation was the course of the General Assembly at Philadelphia, in relation to the federal government and the war." Again, after dwelling, at considerable length upon the province of the church in regard to civil affairs, the Address says: "Had these principles been steadily maintained by the Assembly at Philadelphia, it is possible that the ecclesiastical separation of the North and South might have been deferred for years to come." So, again, we find these statements indorsed by the Southern Assembly of 1865, in a passage already cited: "Four years ago we were constrained to organize a separate General Assembly. This was done because of an attempt by a part of the church to impose a yoke upon our consciences," etc.

All who are familiar with the discussions of the last few years, both before and since the proposal was made for fraternal relations, know that the men of the Southern Church have uniformly taken the same ground, assigning the action at Philadelphia, in 1861, as the reason for the separation, just as they have ever since alleged similar action, by subsequent Assemblies, as the reason for continuing the separation. In confirmation of this, the Southern Committee at Baltimore, January, 1875, in their second letter, say: "We can safely assert that our separation from the Northern Assembly was to escape these political complications." Also: "We were constrained in conscience to that separation. A political theory was propounded, which, whether right or wrong, the church had no power to decide." The same committee, in their fifth letter, say: "We were constrained in conscience to separate on account of the action of the Old School Assembly of 1861, deciding a purely political question, and making compliance by our people a condition of good standing in the church." As this action of the committee was approved by the Southern Assembly of 1875, this theory of the disruption has the indorsement of their last Assembly.

We are well aware that it is a serious matter to question the accuracy of such formal and repeated assertions, coming from such large and respectable bodies; but the truth of history

compels the conviction that other considerations, quite independent of, and operating prior to, the meeting of the Assembly in Philadelphia in May, 1861, made a separate ecclesiastical organization in the South a foregone conclusion. There are facts lying outside of this Address which amply warrant and impress this conviction, and there are statements within the Address which cannot well be construed except in accordance with these facts. In a word, we feel warranted in declaring that it was the political situation of the country, real and supposed, rather than the ecclesiastical action at Philadelphia, which furnished the vital and preponderating reason for the ecclesiastical disruption. By the real situation, we mean the country as then involved in war; and by the supposed situation, the belief prevalent throughout the South that the separation of the country into two nations was, even then, an accomplished fact. We shall first present certain statements from this Address which run in this line of thought, along with corroborative testimony, and then detail certain well-established facts which illustrate these statements.

The Address dwells at considerable length on the desirableness and necessity of separate ecclesiastical organizations in the North and the South, in consequence of the fact, that the territory over which the church extended had become divided into two separate nations. It says: "We have separated from our brethren of the North as Abraham separated from Lot, because we are persuaded that the interests of true religion will be more effectually subserved by two independent churches, under the circumstances in which the two countries are placed, than by one united body." Again: "Two nations, under any circumstances, except those of perfect homogeneousness, cannot be united in one church," etc. Again: "An Assembly composed of representatives from two such countries," etc. Besides these clear intimations, this Address argues the point in question more formally. After stating that, "in Protestant countries church organizations have followed national lines," and illustrating it by reference to the fact, that "the Calvinistic Churches of Switzerland are distinct from the Reformed Church of France," and that "the Presbyterians of Ireland belong to a different church from the Presbyterians of Scotland," and after presenting various arguments to show that "the division into national

churches, that is, churches bounded by national lines, is, in the present condition of human nature, a benefit," the Address says: "If it is desirable that each nation should contain a separate and an independent church, the Presbyteries of these Confederate States need no apology for bowing to the decree of Providence, which, in withdrawing their country from the government of the United States, has at the same time determined that they should withdraw from the church of their fathers. It is not that they have ceased to love it, not that they have abjured its ancient principles, or forgotten its glorious history. It is to give these same principles a richer, freer, fuller development among ourselves than they possibly could receive under foreign culture." "In subjection to a foreign power, we could no more accomplish it than the church in the United States could have been developed in dependence upon the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The difficulty there would have been, not the distance of Edinburgh from New York, Philadelphia, or Charleston, but the difference in the manners, habits, customs, and ways of thinking, the social, civil, and political institutions of the people. These same difficulties exist in relation to the Confederate and United States, and render it eminently proper that the church in each should be as separate and independent as the governments."

Now, while it is freely admitted that these statements and this line of argumentation—when viewed from a given standpoint—may possibly be consistent with the averment of this Address, that "the first thing which roused our presbyteries to look the question of separation seriously in the face," etc., was the action at Philadelphia before referred to, yet, when we bear in mind that the division of the country into two nations was then universally received at the South as a settled question—the government of the Confederate States having been fully organized some ten months before—this political division is assigned such prominence and is urged with such force in this Address, as to give it the place of a ruling and decisive reason for the ecclesiastical separation; and thus, in this light, this argument to justify the church in following the fortunes of the State, in the premises, becomes invested with an appreciable importance which can not otherwise attach to it. If this be not its true position and purpose, why is it dwelt upon

at such length, and urged with such variety and aptness of illustration? If, on the other hand, the action at Philadelphia was in itself sufficient to justify a separate organization not only, but was, indeed, the sole and constraining motive thereto, why was the political status pressed into the service so urgently, or rather, why was it urged at all? The argument founded upon that Philadelphia action, if good, should have prevailed, even if the nation had not been sundered; just as the principle alleged to be involved in it is still urged to justify continued separation, notwithstanding the nation is now admitted by all to be one. Indeed, we regard this presentation of the State as a precedent for the church, a strong support, in itself, to the position we take as to the real and prevailing cause of the rending of the church. But when, furthermore, this feature of the Address is sustained by corroborative evidence, in the sentiments of the leading men in the Southern Church upon the political affairs of the country at that time, and more especially, when it is construed in the light of certain facts which we shall adduce—among others, the action of Southern Presbyteries, early in 1861, and before the meeting of the General Assembly at Philadelphia in May—we think it will conclusively appear that the political situation, real and supposed, as before stated, was the decisive element in the ecclesiastical determination to separate, instead of the action taken by the Philadelphia Assembly. This position, moreover, is not a little strengthened by the candid avowal of this Address in these words: "We frankly admit that the mere unconstitutionality of the proceedings of the last Assembly is not, in itself, considered a sufficient ground of separation."

In presenting the corroborative evidence to which we have alluded, we shall find it necessary to mention certain honored names. Every party, whether in church or state, has its leaders. The Southern Church has never enrolled more distinguished names than those of Drs. Thornwell and Palmer. During the later years of Dr. Thornwell's life he was its acknowledged leader. He was in the South called "the Calhoun of the Church." It is well known that he penned the Address of the Southern General Assembly of 1861, cited above. Dr. Palmer was the Moderator of that Assembly, and his name is

officially attached to this Address. Since Dr. Thornwell's death no name has been more honored in the Southern Church than that of Dr. Palmer. These two men, as thinkers, writers, pulpit orators, were without rivals among their Southern brethren. Their opinions were revered and their influence was well nigh unbounded. We cite their views, chiefly, because they are pre-eminently representative men.

It is well known that Dr. Thornwell took ground in favor of the secession of the Southern States for a considerable time before it was effected, and that during some two years or more before the war began, he did not hesitate to give expression to his sentiments with great freedom. Of this we have the most undoubted evidence. Dr. Charles Hodge is our first witness. In the *PRINCETON REVIEW*, for July, 1864, on reviewing the proceedings of the General Assembly, for that year, Dr. Hodge says: "In the year 1859, Dr. Thornwell opposed (in the General Assembly) the recommendation of the Colonization Society, on the principle above stated. In private, if not in public, he took the ground, that the division of the country was a certain event."*

* It is but just to the foregoing statement of Dr. Hodge, and to the memory of Dr. Thornwell, to state that Dr. Hodge also says of him, in this article, the following: "He, however, wished to prevent the division of the church as consequent on the division of our National Union. To secure that end, he said it was necessary to adopt the principle, that the only duty of the church, as a teacher, was to preach the gospel, to labor for the salvation of men. He said in his public speech, that if the government choose to reopen the slave-trade, the church would have no right to open her lips against it. This new doctrine excited great attention and feeling. When the Assembly met in 1860, the subject was again brought up, and caused for a time great anxiety. A resolution was prepared and presented by the Committee on Bills and Overtures, affirming the directly opposite doctrine (drafted by Dr. Hodge), and asserting that the church, as God's witness on earth, is authorized and bound to reprove all sin, and to support all truth and righteousness. This resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote of the Assembly. . . . The Bible gives us no rule for deciding the litigated questions about public improvements, a national bank, or a protective tariff, or state-rights. But it does give us rules for pronouncing about slave-laws, the slave-trade, obedience to magistrates, treason, rebellion, and revolution. To shut her mouth on these questions, is to make her unfaithful to her high vocation. The authors of this new theory soon repudiated it; and while those who agreed with them at the North were protesting against church courts saying a word against the rebellion, the pulpits, conventions, synods, and assemblies at the South were resounding with exciting appeals to inflame the spirit of rebellion."

Rev. N. West, D.D., of Cincinnati, is our next witness. For a few days immediately after the adjournment of the Indianapolis Assembly of 1859, Dr. Thornwell was the guest of Rev. Dr. West at Cincinnati, occupying his pulpit, and discussing with him and others the great questions of the day. The following three points were emphasized to Dr. West by Dr. Thornwell: (1.) That while disapproving the horrors of the "middle passage," the African slave-trade was, nevertheless, in essence, "only the application of the principle of emigration to a degraded people, too lazy to emigrate for their own good;" (2.) That "slavery is national, protected by the Constitution and the flag, and we shall never be satisfied until the Dred Scott decision is applied to all the States as well as to the Territories;" (3.) That "the Northern vote for Fremont has so shaken the confidence of the South in the Union, that we are already organizing to go out of it, and mean to go out, in the event of the election of a sectional President." To the question of Dr. Thornwell, "You are opposed to the extension of slavery. Tell me, as you know, is this sentiment of opposition only that of the insignificant abolition party North, or is it the sentiment of the Northern people generally? How high, deep, and broad is it?" Dr. West answered: "Doctor, you may begin

While we do not question what Dr. Hodge here says of Dr. Thornwell, that, in 1859, "he wished to prevent the division of the church, as consequent upon the division of our National Union," yet subsequent facts show (as will be seen in subsequent pages of this article), that, after the presidential election in 1860, and during the winter of 1861, the leaders of the church in the South, and Dr. Thornwell among them, took other ground, and determined on a disruption of the church as "consequent upon" what had then taken place, the "secession" of several States. It may be further true, that the reason why the "resolution" presented by Dr. Hodge in the General Assembly of 1860 (declaring against the "new doctrine"), was "adopted by a unanimous vote"—even Dr. Thornwell not voting against it—was because the leaders had, at that early day, determined to divide the church if the Union should be divided; and the proof that they expected the latter event to occur beyond a doubt, and aided it with all their might, may be found in this article.

[One of the Editors of this REVIEW has published, in the July No. for 1873, p. 509, that Dr. Thornwell said to him, during the sessions of the O. S. Assembly at Rochester in 1860, in substance, that he (Dr. T.) "was especially earnest and anxious that the view of the Boards he was advocating should be adopted by the church, because he expected the disruption of the nation, and he desired to have the church organized on such a basis, that it could remain unbroken after the country should be divided." That is still his distinct recollection. We think the conversation occurred early in the session.—L. H. A.]

at Maine, and sweep the Eastern, Northern, and Western line of the States, then go down deep as the granite foundations of the continent, and then reach up high as the blue heaven; it is as deep, broad, and high as all that!" "Then sir," replied Dr. Thornwell, "civil war must come! I do not expect we shall be allowed to secede peaceably. We will fight to maintain our rights. We will never rest quiet in the Union until our rights under the Constitution are respected, and we are allowed to bring our slaves into Ohio and Illinois, and buy and sell them as we do in South Carolina and Georgia. If what you say is correct, however, as to the anti-slavery sentiment, war must come. Then we shall have two nations, and a border conflict perpetuated throughout our history, and you men will be responsible for it." To this Dr. West answered: "Dr. Thornwell, you cannot over-ride the moral sentiment of the North to the extent of applying the Dred Scott decision to the States. It is too powerful." To this Dr. Thornwell replied: "Then we shall have civil war. We mean to go out. We are determined to force the issue." This was in June, 1859.

The Old School General Assembly met at Rochester in May, 1860. Dr. Thornwell was a member. While that Assembly was in session, Mr. Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency. This naturally led to conversation among the members of the Assembly upon the political state of the country. The Hon. Samuel Galloway was a member of that Assembly from the Presbytery of Columbus. In a conversation between Mr. Galloway and Dr. Thornwell, the latter declared, that if either Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Douglass were elected President (the latter, though not nominated till June, was known to be a prominent aspirant for Presidential honors), the Southern States would inevitably secede from the Union; that neither of these men would be acceptable to the South; that secession, in the event of such a contingency being realized, was already a settled matter in the Southern mind; and that the South would not and ought not to acquiesce in the election of either, for they were equally opposed to the extension of slavery into the Territories—this being well known to be the real question, under the Dred Scott decision by the Supreme Court in 1857, which prompted the South, after the election of Mr. Lincoln, to stake its for-

tunes and the institution of slavery on the secession of the Southern States. This conversation was in May.*

After Mr. Lincoln's election had occurred, and upon a fast-day proclaimed in South Carolina, Nov. 21, 1860, Dr. Thornwell preached a discourse in Columbia, in which he said: "The Union which our fathers designed to be perpetual is on the verge of dissolution. A name once dear to our hearts has become intolerable to entire States. Once admired, loved, almost adored, as the citadel and safeguard of freedom, it has become, in many minds, synonymous with oppression, with treachery, with falsehood, and with violence." "That government has become hateful in the very regions in which it was once hailed with the greatest loyalty."

South Carolina passed her act of secession Dec. 20, 1860. Soon after this a meeting was held at Columbia, the State capital, to ratify the act of secession. A report of this meeting is found in the *North Carolina Presbyterian* of Jan. 5, 1861. Drs. Thornwell, Leland, and Adger, all Professors in the Theological Seminary at Columbia, with three other clergymen, addressed the meeting. A few sentences from Dr. Thornwell's speech will suffice to reveal the animus of the assembly. The report says: "Dr. Thornwell spoke at some length. He said that he had foreseen, and some time ago predicted, the course which our affairs would take, in case that Lincoln, or any other man of his avowed principles, was elected President."

* Although anticipating the course of the narrative of events, another part of Hon. Mr. Galloway's conversation with Dr. Thornwell may here be given, to which there are witnesses still living. It will be remembered that the famous discussion upon the "Re-organization of the Boards" of the church came off in the city of Rochester, in the General Assembly of 1860. In this discussion the Southern column was led by Dr. Thornwell, and the Northern by Dr. Hodge. Mr. Galloway took part in this debate, but not perceiving the force of Dr. Thornwell's objections to Boards, asked him, privately, what was "at the bottom" of the intense Southern resistance to Boards, and why he (Dr. Thornwell) so zealously advocated the erection of a Southern committee to receive the funds of the Southern Presbyteries? Dr. Thornwell's reply was frankly given to this effect, and most of it in these words, viz.: "The country was going to be divided, and the division of the church would follow as an inevitable consequence, and the object of the Southern Presbyteries in the Assembly was to cut loose as quickly as possible from connection with the Boards of the church and concentrate their resources among themselves, so as to be prepared for the issue." After the conversation, it was well understood why the Southern members adhered and voted as they did.

"He advised that the State act with calmness, caution, and decision, and so demean herself toward her sister Southern States, as to secure, if possible, their coöperation with us." "They are one with us, one in race, one in institutions, one in interest, and we believe that they should be one in a separate Southern Confederacy. All the speeches were of a similar tone and breathed the same spirit."

Dr. Thornwell also published an elaborate vindication of the secession of South Carolina, in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* of Jan. 1861, in which he said: "South Carolina has now become a separate and independent State. She takes her place as an equal among the other nations of the earth." "We know it to be a fixed determination of them all (the Southern States) not to acquiesce in the principles which brought Mr. Lincoln into power." "The country must be divided into two people, and the point which we wish now to press upon the whole South is, the importance of preparing at once for this consummation." "Conquered we never can be. We prefer peace, but if war must come, we are prepared to meet it with unshaken confidence in the God of battles."

The course of Dr. Palmer at that early day is well known. His Thanksgiving discourse, preached November 29, 1860, declares that "this Union of our forefathers is already gone." "I throw off the yoke of this Union as readily as did our ancestors the yoke of King George III." "I am impelled to deepen the sentiment of resistance in the Southern mind, and to strengthen the current now flowing toward a union of the South in defense of her chartered rights. It is a duty which I shall not be called to repeat, for such awful junctures do not occur twice in a century."

It is important to note the dates of these utterances (especially from the sermons) of Drs. Thornwell and Palmer. They were preached nearly one full month before the meeting of the Convention which passed the secession act of South Carolina, the first State which entered upon this course. Dr. Thornwell, as before stated, followed his discourse with a speech at the ratification meeting at Columbia, and published his vindication of secession in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* in January, 1861. Dr. Palmer also justified secession in the same *Review* in April, 1861. His article is entitled "Vindication of Seces-

sion and the South," in which he says of South Carolina : " History has nowhere upon her records a more sublime example of moral heroism. Ignorant whether she would be supported, even by her sister across the Savannah, relying on nothing save the righteousness of her cause and the power of God, she took upon her shield and spear as desperate and as sacred a conflict as ever made a State immortal." Extracts of a similar character might be given from the discourses, delivered about the same period, of many other distinguished clergymen of the Southern Presbyterian Church.

The special value which these utterances possess, consists in the fact, that these eloquent ministers of Christ who have urged so strenuously, as a distinguishing characteristic of the Southern Church, that the things of God and Cæsar should be kept wholly apart, were so early in the field in the open advocacy of secession, in the pulpit, upon the platform, and in the public journals. Indeed, they had the credit, at the time, of being far in advance, in this rôle, of many of the foremost of Southern statesmen. Hon. Alex. H. Stephens, who afterward became Vice-President of the Confederate Government, viewed the election of Mr. Lincoln in a very different light. In that same November, 1860, when Drs. Thornwell and Palmer so earnestly pleaded for secession, Mr. Stephens made a speech before the Georgia Legislature, in which he said : " The first question that presents itself is, shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States? My countrymen, I tell you frankly, candidly, earnestly, that I do not think they ought." " This appeal to go out, with all the provisions for good that accompany it, I look upon as a great and, I fear, a fatal, temptation." And yet, " this appeal to go out," vehemently pleaded by the clergy, succeeded.

In short, Southern statesmen deemed the aid of the clergy invaluable in urging secession, and held that without their aid in leading on the church of the South, it could never have been accomplished. Among many testimonies to this affect we cite a single one for illustration. The *Southern Presbyterian*, a weekly religious journal, then and still published at the capital of South Carolina, under date of April 20, 1861, argues this point elaborately. A communication appears, of that date, entitled,

"The Church and the Confederate States of America," which the editor indorses as "written by a gentleman occupying a high civil position in the Confederacy, and an elder in the Presbyterian Church," and in which it is said: "This revolution has been accomplished mainly by the churches. I do not undervalue the name and position and ability of politicians: still, I am sure that our success is chiefly attributable to the support which they derived from the coöperation of the moral sentiment of the country. Without that, embodying, as it obviously did, the will of God, the enterprise would have been a failure. As a mere fact, it is already historical, that the Christian community sustained it with remarkable unanimity." "The reason is, that our church, being sound, has the confidence of the irreligious world. Let the church know this, and realize her strength. She should not now abandon her own grand creation. She should not leave the creature of her prayers and labors to the contingencies of the times, or the tender mercies of less conscientious patriots. She should consummate what she has begun." To this the editor responds, saying: "We have no fears but that the Christian people of the land will prove faithful to their country, in this day of trial, to the very last. As our correspondent suggests, this present revolution is the result of their uprising. Much as is due to many of our sagacious and gifted politicians, they could effect nothing until the religious union of the North and South was dissolved, nor until they received the moral support and coöperation of Southern Christians." This same journal, at an earlier date, March 16, 1861, says, editorially: "As Christian citizens, the whole heart of ministers and people is in this matter," and that "the churches of all denominations and the State are as one on the questions involved." These corroborative testimonies will suffice.*

* We might greatly extend these corroborative testimonies. We add but a single example: It is well known that several of the Southern States hesitated to "secede from the Union," until it was known what course the State of Virginia would take. Her action, it was believed, would be decisive upon Tennessee and Kentucky, and other border slave States. Hence, it was deemed essential to bring as much popular influence as possible to bear upon the Virginia Convention in favor of secession. For this purpose, public meetings were called in various places. One was held at Prince Edward Court House, Va. (the seat of Hampden Sidney College and of the Union

We now ask that the foregoing arguments for secession, taken from the pulpit discourses and elaborated essays of Drs. Thornwell and Palmer—with the succeeding incidents related, to which many of like character might be added—be laid along side of the arguments of the Address of the Southern Assembly, which Dr. Thornwell wrote, and Dr. Palmer signed as moderator, where it is so forcibly put that the church should follow the course of the seceded States. The argument of the Address of December, 1861, is that the Southern Church should separate from the Northern, because the Southern States had severed their connection with the federal government and set up a new nation. The argument of the discourses of the autumn of 1860 is to bring this new nation to the birth, and the argument of the essays which followed in the winter and spring of 1861, is to vindicate its legitimacy, and to urge the church to nurse the child of "her own creation" with tender care, so as to insure its vigorous manhood. As these able prophets had predicted and witnessed its birth, and stood sponsors at its baptism, what is more natural than they that should entreat the mother to follow the fortunes of her promising child?

Theological Seminary), the "call" for which was signed by several Presbyterian clergymen, among whom, conspicuously appear the names of Rev. Robert L. Dabney, D.D. (who heads the list), professor in the theological seminary, and Rev. J. M. P. Atkinson, D.D., president of the college. This "call to the voters of Prince Edward" states as follows: "We urgently invite you to meet in public meeting, at Prince Edward Court House, the 9th day of March (1861), at eleven o'clock, for the purpose of considering the alarming condition of the country. Every day is adding to its danger. The Cotton States have taken their final position, and it is in vain to hope for their return to the Union." "In a few days the new president will be inaugurated, and nothing will remain except the forbearance of insolent enemies to shield us from invasion." "In this state of things the great danger of Virginia is in half measures. The vain attempt to detach her from her natural allies—the Southern States—can only result in a delay and vacillation, which will alarm our population, and drive thousands of our best citizens and laborers and millions of our capital to the Southwest." "Let Virginia, then, move at once, for unless she moves now, the emergency will assuredly come." "In view of these things, we are persuaded that our State Convention should immediately detach the State from the Union. We are profoundly alarmed at the dilatory disposition displayed, the desire to waste time, useless harangues, and the tendency to indecisive measures. We, therefore, request you to meet with us in order to give expression to our views, and to extend to our intelligent and patriotic representative, J. Thornton, Esq., our support and encouragement in the performance of his duty, by requesting him to take the proper steps to move the Virginia Convention to *immediate secession* (italics of the call) without further debate or delay."

While, therefore, we think the Address of Dec. 1861—interpreted in the light of this corroborative testimony—contains within itself strong evidence of the truth of our position, that it was the political status rather than the ecclesiastical action which insured the separation of the Southern Church from the Northern, we find another and wholly independent class of facts which places the correctness of our position beyond all question. These facts, in the shape of official acts of Presbyteries and the arguments of the organs of public opinion, were, some of them, extant several months, and others several weeks before the meeting of the General Assembly in Philadelphia, in May, 1861. We bring a sample of them into as compact a form as possible : (1.) Several Southern Presbyteries which had appointed commissioners to the General Assembly to convene in Philadelphia, called special meetings in April and May, and revoked these appointments. Notices of these meetings and of their action are found in the Southern religious journals of the time, now in our possession. (2.) Some Presbyteries, and those from the extreme South, as Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and other points most remote from Philadelphia, were represented, showing that it was not the apprehension of war which kept so many members away. Some in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and other less remote points, were not present, because their commissions had been revoked, or they were persuaded by the leaders of the church not to attend. (3.) The unstinted censure which the Southern religious press poured upon Southern commissioners who did sit in that Assembly, is another item of proof of the foregone determination for division. In some instances this censure was very bitter. The speeches and the votes of these commissioners against "the Spring resolutions" did not shield them. The declaration of Southern papers was, that they "should not have appeared there at all." (4.) The fact that the Synod of South Carolina sent up its records to that Assembly for review is no proof of a willingness to continue ecclesiastically connected with the North, but an incidental testimony to the contrary. Those records had not been sent up for several years before. There is ample reason for believing that a special motive induced the sending of them in the spring of 1861. On this point light is

cast by the *Southern Presbyterian*, published at Columbia, S. C., touching the Synod's new deliverance on the vexed question of slavery, at its meeting in December, 1860. That paper, in its issue of April, 13, 1861, says: "We have said, in as intelligible terms as we could, that, if the act of 1818 is to be regarded as now the opinion, or the faith, or the law, of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, it would be impossible for the Presbyterians in the Confederate States to bear it; and that we thought it due to the South that we should not be left in any uncertainty on this point. It has been the impression of the South that this act had been virtually reversed by subsequent decisions of the Assembly. So the Synod of South Carolina affirmed last December." The motive of the Synod in sending up its records, contrary to its late practice, has been affirmed to be, to draw forth from the Assembly just the action it took, viz.: a disapproval of the Synod's declaration, that the act of 1818 on slavery was "virtually repealed." This would furnish the Synod with an additional argument to use in rallying the people to sustain the Confederate cause. (5.) The Southern religious press took open ground for the division of the church several weeks before the Assembly met in May. We quote a single example. In addition to the above extract of April 13th, we find in the *Southern Presbyterian* of April 27, 1861, an editorial on the "Division of the Presbyterian Church," which says: "We have plainly and unequivocally expressed our conviction (in previous issues), that a separate ecclesiastical organization of the Southern Presbyterian Church will be desirable and necessary." "As to the future relations between Northern and Southern Presbyterians, ecclesiastically, we have no doubt of the issue, and are very well content to let things take their course. We do not think it necessary or expedient to say or do anything to hasten the inevitable result." "In the Assembly which will meet in Philadelphia on the sixteenth of next month, we suppose there will be scarcely one commissioner from the Southern States. If any such appear there, we are convinced it will not be with the approbation of their constituents."

This is a specimen of the testimony to the point in hand which the organs of Southern opinion furnish. In the extracts

produced upon this and other points, we have put the *Southern Presbyterian* and the *Southern Presbyterian Review* on the witness stand as representatives of the Southern religious press, because the former was at the time the leading weekly of the Southern Church, and the latter the only quarterly of that church, Dr. Thornwell being one of its conductors, and because both were published at the capital of South Carolina, the birth-place of secession and the home of Dr. Thornwell. For these reasons their utterances possess a representative and peculiar importance. The facts of the period, then current, as indicated by these quotations, conclusively show that these leaders of public opinion, the men who had such power in both church and state, had determined on ecclesiastical separation months before the Philadelphia Assembly met, and weeks before the attack on Fort Sumter.

We now, therefore, ask that the considerations we have presented be brought together and candidly weighed, with a due observance of principles, facts, and dates of expression and action, and then we request a sober judgment upon the point we have made, viz.: that the decisive and ruling reason for the ecclesiastical disruption of 1861 was far less the action taken at Philadelphia by the Old School General Assembly in May of that year, than the withdrawal of the Southern States from the Government of the United States, and the organization of a new government in the winter of 1861, called the "Confederate States of America," the former being but the subordinate, while the latter was the real and controlling, ground of the separation; and thus, that the leaders of the Southern Church, who largely contributed to form its public opinion and to shape the determination of its councils, resolved upon ecclesiastical separation as soon as the birth and life of the new nation were believed to be assured. In a word, the leaders of a church, which makes its boast above other churches of maintaining in purity the crown rights of her divine head, uncontaminated by any subserviency to the State, made the church, in this act of separation, but the mere follower of the State, chaining the spouse of Christ to the war-chariot of Cæsar—if any branch of the Presbyterian Church is obnoxious to this charge.

II.

The second branch of the subject proposed for examination, involves principles which are held, in the Address of the Southern Assembly of 1861, to be fundamental to the proper conception of the functions and province of the church. The institution around which they are made largely to revolve is the system of negro slavery, as formerly maintained in the South. Although this institution is now dead, and although it is not our intention to discuss its dead issues, the principles in question still live and are held in great reverence.

It has been said, that what Dr. Charles Hodge pronounced a "new doctrine" in the church, first broached by Dr. Thornwell in the General Assembly of 1859 (noticed in a previous page), was devised as a rampart behind which slavery might be safe from molestation in the church. However this may be, the application of this "new doctrine" is by no means confined to that now defunct system. It has been, and still is, so used, as to put beyond the jurisdiction of church courts all those questions which Dr. Hodge mentions for illustration, and others of a similar character.

The first thing which strikes us in this examination, is what we shall call, for the want of a better term, a species of ecclesiastical phenomenology peculiar to the Southern Church, the profundity of which we have never been able to fathom. It is found in the Address of the Assembly of 1861, also in the Pastoral Letter of the Assembly of 1865, and is frequently met with in the pulpit discourses and essays of Southern ministers and in the Southern religious press. It consists in this: that, whereas, it is the height of presumption bordering on apostacy for a church court, especially the highest, to express a judgment upon, or even to touch, a given class of subjects, for the Head of the Church has given it no commission to do so; yet, every clerical member of such court, in his individual capacity as a minister of Christ, in the execution of his commission from the same Head of the Church in preaching the gospel, may expound and urge his views upon this same class of topics, and claim that in so doing he is proclaiming the very will of God. Every person who is familiar with Southern ecclesiastical literature has encountered this phenomenon. Striking illustrations of it are abundant.

The Southern Address of 1861 finds fault with the Northern Assembly of that year for "handling a political topic." It says: "A political theory was propounded," etc. "What we maintain is," that the church "transcended her sphere and usurped the duties of the State." "These are points which the church has no commission to adjudicate." So, also, the Southern Assembly of 1865: "The rightfulness of these several authorities, or to which of them, the allegiance of our people, as citizens, was or is primarily due, are matters upon which a judicatory of the church has no right to pronounce judgment." "These are questions which the Church of Christ has no commission to decide." So, also, the Baltimore Southern Committee, in their second letter, say: "It is suitable to represent freely and fully to the brethren of your committee that this kind of political action, begun in 1861, and carried on in successive Assemblies through 1866, constitutes at once a most weighty grievance to us, because much of it was aimed at our people; but constitutes also a serious hindrance to establishing fraternal relations, because they are lamentable departures from some of the fundamental principles laid down in those noble standards, which, as you truly observe, we hold in common."

Now let the reader call to mind what we have already quoted from the pulpit discourses of Drs. Thornwell and Palmer, urging the people to secession. Dr. Thornwell further says, in the same Fast-day sermon in 1860: "The rights of Congress are only the concessions of the sovereign States." "The Constitution of the United States, in its grants of power to Congress, is only a device by which a general description is given in advance, of the kind of legislation that each State will allow to be obligatory on its own people." We think Dr. Thornwell, in this passage, has fairly won his title of "the Calhoun of the church," for this doctrine is nothing less than sheer "nullification;" but then it was merely an utterance from the pulpit. So Dr. Palmer, in his Thanksgiving discourse of 1860, declares: "It is just this impertinence of human legislation, setting bounds to what God only can regulate, that the South is called this day to resent and resist." "Let the people in all the Southern States in solemn council assembled, reclaim the powers they have delegated." "Let them, further, take all the necessary steps looking to separate and independent existence, and initi-

ate measures for forming a new and homogeneous confederacy. Thus prepared for every contingency, let the crisis come." "I am impelled to deepen the sentiment of resistance, and to strengthen . . . the South in defense of her chartered rights."

According to these exhibitions, every minister, from his pulpit throne, may preach politics of the most radical type—may authoritatively, as a minister of Christ, interpret the Constitution of the United States—and incite the people to open "resistance" to the supreme "powers that be;" but when the same ministers come together in a church court, they suddenly find that "these are questions which the Church of Christ has no commission to decide." And yet, can any person show us where Christ's instructions to his church are held in the Scriptures as more sacred, or are hedged about with more definite limitations, than those which concern the functions of the pulpit in the commission of Christ to his ministers to preach the gospel? Will any one show us where ministers as preachers find any immunity in their commissions which does not equally extend to their functions as members of church courts? But among our Southern brethren, politics on the most divisive questions, running into the very vitals of constitutional law, may grace all their pulpits, but to touch any of these questions in church courts is "virtual apostasy." The changes have been rung upon this "heresy" for the last fifteen years. "The supreme Headship of Christ as King in Zion," (So. Ass., 1865), with all his "crown rights" aglow, is the sign by which we conquer, when convened in that court "of very shadowy authority," as some have claimed, called a General Assembly; but when standing in that place, acknowledged by all Christendom to be ordained of God—the pulpit—the crown may be wrenched from the Saviour's brow, its jewels scattered in the dust, his kingly honor brought into contempt, and high questions of state policy may claim a hearing as properly as the doctrines of faith and repentance.

We have said that we are unable to fathom the depths of this peculiar phenomenon, which makes it right for each individual, in his pulpit, to proclaim these tenets on the authority of God, and yet makes it a heinous sin for any church court, from the lowest to the highest, where every minister may either be personally present, or be represented, to touch them

with the tips of its fingers. Is it said that Christ's "commission" commands it in the one case and forbids it in the other? Then let this be shown from the Scriptures.' Or, is it because each minister of the whole church is possessed, individually, of more ability, more wit, more wisdom, and more grace, than the whole combined, that this function is given to each, and denied to all? In mathematics, the sum of all the parts is but equal to the whole. But, in this peculiar phenomenology of the Southern Church, as represented for these subjects by honored leaders, each part is greater than the whole; and though the parts may be multiplied indefinitely, each part shall remain greater than the whole.

But, notwithstanding the Southern Church has urged and reiterated this "new doctrine" since, at least, the year 1859, as seen in the foregoing quotations from its General Assemblies, from that day to this, it were easy to show that it has squarely contradicted itself by regular and persistent official action, through all its courts to the highest, in pronouncing, during this same period, upon all these questions which it has so often affirmed a church court has "no commission" to decide. This species of self-contradiction is seen in the Address of 1861, and in almost every General Assembly of the Southern Church which has since been held. We give an example or two:

All during the war, the Southern Church, by the formal deliverances of one General Assembly after another, took what it so much deprecates as "political action" of as decisive a character as any taken by any Northern Assembly during the same period. It encouraged the Confederate armies in the field by the cheering words: "We honor you for your self-denial and patriotic zeal." "In you are wrapped up all the hopes of our church and country. With the solution of the question, what you are to become, will be determined the problem of our national glory or shame." "We tremble for you as we see you drawn away by the duties of patriotism." "We sympathize with you, as you consecrate everything dear on earth on the altar of patriotic duty." It embalmed by the graceful pen of Dr. Palmer, on the records of its General Assembly, the memory of "Stonewall Jackson," in a beautiful tribute paid to his "military genius," which "made him what

he was, the true soldier and the consummate general," and whose "brilliant career forms so large a part of this young nation's history;" while "the rapidity of his movements imparting to him a seeming ubiquity, the promptness, and daring, and uniform success of his achievements rendered his name a terror to our foes and a tower of strength to ourselves;" and under the loss of this "consummate general" a "word of cheer to our bereaved countrymen" is given, in that "God seems to us only the more to have charged Himself with the care and protection of this struggling Republic." The Southern Assembly of 1862 also declared: "We acknowledge it as a high privilege, as well as a plain duty, for our people to pledge to each other and the government of their choice, their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, in united efforts to drive back the invaders of our soil, and the enemies of our institutions." The same Assembly adds: "The Assembly desires to record, with its solemn approval, this fact of the unanimity of our people in supporting a contest to which religion, as well as patriotism, now summons the citizens of this country, and to implore for them the blessing of God in the course they are now pursuing."

It is seen from this, that while claiming to keep their church courts free from "political contamination," it is a groundless claim; and that while charging "political action" upon the Northern Assembly, they are involved in the same condemnation.

This same phase of self-contradiction is seen in the Address of 1861. Here the topic, concerning which it is very strikingly illustrated, is slavery. In one breath, as a system, it is put beyond the province of a church court to handle; in the next, as a system, it is elaborately discussed, vindicated, sanctioned, commended. The Address says: "In our ecclesiastical capacity, we are neither the friends nor the foes of slavery; that is to say, we have no commission either to propagate or abolish it. The policy of its existence or non-existence is a question which exclusively belongs to the State." Again: "Is it not a subject, save in the moral duties which spring from it, which lies beyond the province of the church." And yet, this Address enters into an elaborate defense of slavery as a system. It plants it upon the express authority of the word of

God. It imbeds it in the moral law: "God sanctions it in the first table of the decalogue." It shelters it under the Mosaic code: "Moses treats it as an institution to be regulated, not abolished; legitimated, and not condemned." It protects it from the touch of censure, by the authority of Christ and the apostles: "We find it, again, in the churches founded by the apostles, under the plenary inspiration of the Holy Ghost." This Address claims all this for slavery as a system, and that system the negro slavery of the South. Moreover, it not only defends but commends the system as worthily and, under the circumstances, necessarily perpetual: "We can not forbear to say that the general operation of the system is kindly and benevolent; it is a real and effective discipline; and without it, we are profoundly persuaded that the African race in the midst of us can never be elevated in the scale of being. As long as that race, in its comparative degradation, co-exists side by side with the white, bondage is its normal condition."

It would seem at first sight to be a very plain proposition, to the common mind, that whatever is clearly taught in the Word of God is a subject for the pulpit to teach, and for church courts to handle. But this profound Address involves itself in a triple contradiction. First, it declares that there is one subject which pervades the entire Scriptures, older than the giving of the law, made a precept of the law, running all through the New Testament; and yet this one subject "lies beyond the province of the church." Second, the writer of this Address, and all the ministers of the General Assembly that unanimously adopted it, in direct violation of its own declarations, preach upon this prohibited subject as a part of God's revelation to mankind. Third, the Address itself, in direct contradiction of its main position, shows that it is the most determined "friend of slavery," and that the peculiar system of the South should be made perpetual, as "bondage is the normal condition" of the race involved in that system. In perfect accord with this last sentiment, the Southern Assembly, of 1865, exhibits its strong attachment to the then defunct institution, laments its overthrow, and the giving of freedom to millions, in this fervid tone: "Our church may hold up its hands before heaven and earth, washed of the tremendous responsibility involved in this change in the condition of nearly four million bond servants, and for which it has hitherto been conceded they were unprepared."

We confess that we see no rational way out of this thicket of contradictions but this: the "foes of slavery" have "no commission" to meddle with it; but its "friends" are fully authorized to defend and commend it in the pulpit, and in the highest courts of the church.

Moreover, while the Address of 1861 and the Assembly of 1865 so pointedly rule the subject of slavery out of the church—and at the same time so effectually cut the ground from under their own feet—it is a matter of special interest to note that Southern ministers, in their pulpits, discuss the system, not only in its moral, but in all its political bearings, with the freedom and in the spirit of politicians. Thus Dr. Thornwell: "The plea is still more flagrantly inadequate when applied to the exclusion of slavery from the Territories. All the States have confessedly an equal right of property in them." "The citizens of any State may go there and take up their abode," and "they are at liberty to observe the customs of their own States." Dr. Palmer is equally explicit in presenting from the pulpit the purely social and political bearings of slavery: "Must I pause to show how it has fashioned our modes of life, and determined all our habits of thought and feeling, and molded the very type of our civilization?" And he appears to claim a prescriptive right for the church over civilians to deal with it. "It was debated in ecclesiastical councils before it entered legislative halls." But when he carries it into the sphere of morals and religion, he rises to a sublime height, and gives the Southern Church and people a place which puts all competition out of the question. "To the South the highest position is assigned of defending, before all nations, the cause of all religion and of all truth. In this trust we are resisting the power which wars against constitutions and laws and compacts, against Sabbaths and sanctuaries, against the family, the State, and the church; which blasphemously invades the prerogatives of God, and rebukes the Most High for the errors of his administration, which, if it cannot snatch the reins of empire from his grasp, will lay the universe in ruins at his feet. Is it possible that we shall decline the onset?" But beyond all this, Dr. Palmer finds his commission authorizing and impelling him to proclaim that to the Southern people is committed the "divine trust to conserve and to perpetuate

the institution of slavery as now existing" (in 1860); that it is "the nature and solemnity of our present trust to preserve and transmit our existing system of domestic servitude, with the right, unchanged by man, to go and root itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it;" that, in so doing, "we defend the cause of God and religion;" and in the execution of this trust, he says: "Not till the last man has fallen behind the last rampart shall it drop from our hands, and then only in surrender to God who gave it."

If Dr. Palmer interprets his commission properly—and if he is right, then the same duty is for all—would it not be the most pertinent of all inquiries for church courts of every grade, from the Presbytery up to the General Assembly, to ascertain whether the demands of this vital element in the commission of their ministers had been faithfully performed? Is it not one of the highest functions of church courts, as viewed from the Presbyterian standpoint, to see that the clergy faithfully proclaim the truth, and to watch against the teaching of vital errors? We venture the opinion, that, for the period immediately preceding and during the war, if at no other time, this duty relating to the special point in hand, was discharged with jealous care by the vigilant courts of the Southern Church.

What a spectacle is thus presented in a church which claims to be preëminently the depositary "of all religion and of all truth;" which clings with deathlike grasp to the notion, that sound orthodoxy, as nowhere else, dwells within its pale; and holds that the Northern Church, with which it was once united, has become "virtually apostate," by allowing politics to defile its pulpits and sway its church courts.

If the Address of 1861, in saying, that "in our ecclesiastical capacity" we have nothing to do with slavery, merely means that the State and not the church can pass laws to "propagate or abolish" it, and that in this sense "the policy of its existence or non-existence is a question which belongs exclusively to the State"—if it mean this and nothing more, no one would dispute these propositions. They are the merest truisms, and are scarcely worthy of the place they occupy. But this is not all that is here meant. The teaching of this phase of the Address is that the Church of Christ—not the Southern Church, but the church universal—occupies a position of moral indiffer-

ence toward slavery; "we are neither the friends nor the foes of slavery;" that this is its true position; that to take any other is to invade the province of the State and dishonor Christ. This is its plain teaching.

Passing by the fact already stated, if this position be correct—that this Address commits sin for the Assembly which issued it, and for the whole Southern Church—it is worthy of note, that this ground of utter indifference to the system of negro slavery in the South, as it actually existed, would be one of the most remarkable phenomena of the whole case, were it not that every turn the subject takes, every shape it assumes, presents something very remarkable. The common sentiment of Christendom, to-day, in the church and out of it, except in the places where it exists (even if not there), is against slavery. The General Assembly of 1818 unanimously condemned it, and set forth the duty of seeking its universal extinction. All the members of the South voted for this action. But a total revolution was wrought in the sentiments of the South, within a few years previous to the war, concerning the whole system. The Assembly of 1818 declares it "utterly irreconcilable with the law of God," while the Address of 1861 says that "God sanctions it in the first table of the decalogue. The Assembly declares it to be "totally irreconcilable with the spirit and the principles of the Gospel," while the Address claims the Gospel in its favor. The Assembly declares that its evils "connect themselves with its very existence," while Dr. Thornwell pronounces it "a school of virtue." The Assembly declares it "the duty of all Christians to use their unwearied endeavors to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and, if possible, throughout the world," while Dr. Palmer discovers "a divine trust," committed to the Southern Church, "to preserve and transmit" the system to posterity; and while the Southern Assembly of 1864 declares it to be "the peculiar mission of the Southern Church to conserve the institution;" and while the Address of 1861 says, that "as long as that race, in its comparative degradation, co-exists side by side with the white, bondage is its normal condition:" and while the Southern Assembly of 1865 is emphatic in disclaiming all responsibility for giving freedom to "nearly four million bond-servants."

There is not a church nor a people anywhere to be found in Christendom, save the church and people in the Southern portion of the United States, among whom such sentiments as the foregoing are held ; and yet Dr. Palmer, now the foremost man among them all, and speaking for them all, says : " Just what we were from 1860 to 1865, we have also been from 1865 to 1875, and shall continue to be until we go to the judgment." And with most surprising boldness, the Southern Assembly of 1865 declares of slavery, as vindicated in the Address of 1861 : " We here reaffirm its whole doctrine to be that of Scripture and reason ; it is the old doctrine of the church ;" when the challenge may be safely made to show what branch of the church, in any age of the world, ever held the sentiments, concerning slavery, set forth by the Southern Church and its leading men, until they were proclaimed by them within a very few years immediately preceding the war. We challenge any one to show that the doctrine, that slavery is an " ordinance of God " was " the old doctrine of the church." More particularly, whoever taught that the negro slavery of the South was " a school of virtue," until Dr. Thornwell preached it in his Fast-day sermon, Nov. 21, 1860 ? Who ever put that system into " the same category with marriage and civil government," before the publication of Dr. Ross in 1857 ? Following Dr. Ross, who ever put it so pointedly that " these four great relations of human life (the civil, matrimonial, parental, and servile) stand side by side, equally approved of God, and equally rightful among men," and that " the Saviour himself, apostles, saints," etc., " all accepted slavery as being equally of God with civil government, marriage, or the parental relation," as Dr. Stuart Robinson, in the *True Presbyterian*, published in Louisville, Ky., during the war ? Who ever preached from the pulpit, that to " preserve and transmit " the system to posterity was a " divine trust " committed to the Southern people, till Dr. Palmer made the remarkable discovery in his sermon of Nov. 29, 1860 ? Where ever was the doctrine proclaimed, following the lead of Dr. Palmer, that " it is the peculiar mission of the Southern Church to conserve the institution of slavery," until the Southern Assembly uttered it in 1864 ? Who ever published a defense of slavery, declaring that the reader " will at once recognize in these provisions of the Mosaic law, the same fun-

damental provisions which characterize the slave codes of the Southern States," except Dr. Stuart Robinson, and as late as 1865?* What church court under heaven ever unanimously, or by any vote, declared of the system, that "God sanctions it in the first table of the decalogue," previous to "the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America," in Dec. 1861? And, finally, who ever became so infatuated with negro slavery, as to say of the system, "It might have existed in Paradise, and may continue through the millennium," until Dr. Stuart Robinson published this in his *True Presbyterian*, and until Dr. Joseph R. Wilson preached the millennial phase of it from his pulpit in Georgia, in January, 1861?

We may see, from these intimations, what the sentiments are on this subject, which characterize the leaders and courts of the Southern Church, and which they still hold and propose to carry on "to the judgment;" and we may see, also, how well founded the claim is, that these salient points, or, indeed, any of them, exhibit "the old doctrine of the church."

In this review of the disruption of 1861, and its consequences, it appears very evident that, although slavery is dead, and although its menacing power may never again threaten the integrity of the State, or dismember the church, yet the same principles which gave it such potent sway during the palmy days of its existence, are still cherished in the Southern Church, as a sacred deposit of truth of perpetual obligation. However inconsistent the leaders in that church have been, and still are, in applying these principles to the government of their own conduct, in the pulpit, and in the church courts, they think they should be faithfully observed by the church of the North. Even as late as the meeting of the Baltimore Conference Committees, the Southern Committee, in a passage already quoted, deem a departure from these principles in what they term "political action," as a "serious hindrance to establishing fraternal relations." If the question were union, "this serious hindrance" would become an insurmountable obstacle. This Southern Committee, in illustration of their point, and for condemnation, cite the action of the New School Assembly of 1865, where the Assembly declares "the right of suffrage" to be "but a simple dictate of justice" to

"the colored man in this country." This, at most, is but expressing an opinion upon an incident in the condition of a freeman. Perhaps the opinion should have been withheld. But the Address of 1861, which, upon all these themes, is the Confession of Faith of the Southern Church, goes to the very root of its "philosophy of human rights," when it contradicts the doctrine "that slavery is inconsistent with human rights," and places the slave in his natural "lot, at the bottom of the line" in the scale of humanity, and makes slavery his "normal condition," with no hope of release.

The same peculiarity of view, which so frequently appears in the instances already cited, possesses the Southern Church, whenever its eye turns upon what the Northern Church has said of its opinions and conduct touching slavery and the war. It not only seems utterly oblivious to the fact, that many of its own deliverances, during the war, were intensely "political," in its sense of the term, but equally unaware that it ever cast any disparaging imputations upon the Northern Church. The fact, however, is quite otherwise. Two instances, for illustration, shall close this paper. One is taken from its earliest, and the other from its latest, action; and, singular to observe, these two instances constitute the Southern Church both the earliest and the latest offender in the special matter of "aspersions upon character," the theme which has been the burden of Southern complaint for the last fifteen years. When speaking of the ground held by the Northern Church upon slavery, the Address of 1861 says: "It occupies the position of a prevaricating witness, whom neither party will trust." When the full meaning of such a declaration is weighed, it will be difficult to find in anything uttered by either Northern Assembly during the war, a more deep and sweeping aspersion upon the character or conduct of the Northern Church. This was declared when nothing more had been done by the Northern Assembly than to pass "the Spring resolutions" upon the state of the country. These resolutions declared the duty of loyalty, but cast no personal imputations upon any one. But a "prevaricating witness" is a type of the most unworthy of men. It thus appears that the first General Assembly of the Southern Church which ever met, cast this unpro-

voked imputation upon the whole body of Northern Presbyterians. So, also, in the very latest action of the Southern Church—the sentiments of the Baltimore Committee, passed upon by the General Assembly of 1875—do we find imputations of a similar character. The Committee declare: “We do not hesitate to say, that a church (especially in this country, where separation from the State is, at least, theoretically complete, and still more, a Presbyterian Church, which, holding its noble standards, ought to know better), might so cover itself with disgrace by defiling its garments with things it is forbidden to touch; or, might, also, in matters purely ecclesiastical, so deplorably subvert its own fundamental principles, as to forbid any intercourse whatever. It is the right of every church to judge of each case by itself; and it is especially our right to do this now, and no cause of offense, when invited to a conference, which must, of necessity, bring such considerations under review.” If it be said that the case here put is hypothetical, the reply is, that it would be utterly without pertinence, unless it were intended to make the impression, in the absence of any disclaimer, that it presents a close parallel with the position of the Northern Church as viewed by the Southern. It is what the lawyers call “a legal innuendo.”

We here leave the subject. It gives us no pleasure to make these exhibitions. Truth and justice alone have constrained them. They speak for themselves, and the times demand that they should be gravely pondered; for it is the boast of the leaders of the Southern Church, that they stand to-day where they have stood for the last twenty years, and will stand, there until the grand assize of the world shall sit.

Art. VI.—CHRISTIANITY WITHOUT CHRIST.

By CHARLES HODGE, D.D.

IN one sense of the word, Christianity is the system of truth taught by Christ and his apostles. In this sense the question—what is Christianity? is simply a historical one. It may be answered intelligently and correctly by a man who does not profess to be a Christian, just as he may answer the question, what is Brahmsism? or, what is Buddhism?

In another sense, Christianity is that state of one's mind produced by faith in the truths revealed concerning Christ. In this sense, Christianity without Christ is an impossibility. It would be an effect without its proximate cause. Nevertheless, there is a form of religion, widespread and influential, which is called Christianity, in which Christ fails to occupy the position assigned to him in the Bible.

The Bible teaches us, that the same divine person by whom and for whom the universe was created, is the Jehovah of the Old Testament and the Jesus of the New. And as natural religion (in the subjective sense of the word) is that state of mind which is, or should be, produced by the revelation of God in the works of nature, and by our relation to him as his rational creatures; and as the religion of the devout Hebrew consisted in the state of mind produced by the revelation of the same God, made in the law and the prophets, and by their relation to him as their covenant God, and Father; so Christianity is that state of mind produced by the knowledge of the same God, as manifest in the flesh, who loved us and gave himself for us, and by our relation to him as the subjects of his redemption.

Three things follow from this: First, as the same divine person is the Creator of heaven and earth, the Jehovah of the Old Testament and the Jesus of the New, there can be no inconsistency between the religion of nature, the religion of the Hebrews, and the religion of Christians. The one does not assume that to be true, which either of the others assumes to be false. The only difference is that which arises from increased knowledge of the object of worship, and the new relations which we sustain to him. The Hebrews, in worshipping Je-

hovah, did not cease to worship the God of nature ; and the Christian, in worshipping Christ, does not cease to worship the God of the Hebrews.

Second, it is impossible that the higher form of religion should be merged into a lower. It is impossible that the religion of a Hebrew should sink into natural religion. That would imply that he ceased to be a Hebrew, that he rejected the revelations of Moses and the prophets, and that he renounced his allegiance to Jehovah as the God of his fathers. In like manner, it is impossible that the religion of a Christian can sink into that of the Old Testament, or into that of nature. That would imply that he ceased to be a Christian ; that he rejected or ignored all that the New Testament reveals concerning God and Christ. There could be no true religion in the mind of a Hebrew that was not determined by his relation to Jehovah as his covenant God ; and there can be no true religion in the mind of a Christian that is not determined by his relation to Christ as God manifested in the flesh.

Third, the Christian, in worshipping Christ, does not cease to worship the Father and the Spirit. He does not fail to recognize and appreciate his relation to the Father, who loved the world and gave his Son for its redemption ; nor does he fail to recognize his relation to the Holy Spirit, on whom he is absolutely dependent, and whose gracious office it is to apply to men the redemption purchased by Christ. In worshipping Christ, we worship the Father and the Spirit ; for these three are one—one only living and true God, the same in substance and equal in power and glory. Christ says, I am in the Father and the Father in me. I and the Father are one. He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father ; and therefore, he that worships the Son, worships the Father. Hence, it is written, "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father," but, "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God." "He that hath the Son hath life ; he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life." It is to be remembered, however, that in the mysterious constitution of the Godhead, the second person of the Trinity is the Logos, the Word, the Revealer. It is through him that God is known. He is the brightness of his glory, revealing what God is. We should not know that there is a sun in the firmament,

if it were not for his ἀπαύγασμα. So we should not know that God is, or what he is, were it not for his Son. "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal him." In having Christ, therefore, we have God; for in him dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead.

It does not need to be proved that Jehovah was the God of the Hebrews; the object of their worship, of their love, gratitude, and trust. They recognized him as their absolute and rightful sovereign, whose authority extended over their inward as well as their outward life. On him they were dependent, and to him they were responsible. His favor was their life, and they could say, "Whom have we in heaven but thee, and there is none on earth we desire beside thee."

As little does it require proof that Christ is the God of Christians. In the New Testament all divine titles are given to him. He is called God, the true God, the great God, God over all, Jehovah. He is declared to be almighty, omnipresent, immutable, and eternal. He created heaven and earth; all things visible and invisible were made by him and for him, and by him all things consist. He upholds all things by the word of his power. This divine person became flesh; he was found in fashion as a man, and in the form of a servant. Having been born of a woman, he was made under the law, and fulfilled all righteousness. He redeemed us from the curse of the law by being made a curse for us. He bore our sins in his own body on the tree. He died the just for the unjust, to bring us unto God, and having died for our offenses, and risen again for our justification, has ascended to heaven, where he is seated on the right hand of God, all power in heaven and earth being committed to his hands, and where he ever lives to make intercession for his people. This Christ, God and man, in two distinct natures and one person forever, was to the writers of the New Testament all and in all. He was their wisdom; from him they derived all their knowledge of divine things, and to his teaching they implicitly submitted. He was their righteousness; renouncing all dependence on their own righteousness, they trusted exclusively on the merit of his obedience and death for their acceptance with God. He was their sanctification. Their spiritual life was derived from him and sustained by him. They were in him as the branch is in the vine, or the members

in the body, so that it was not they who lived, but Christ who lived in them. Without him they could do nothing; they could no more bring forth the fruits of holy living separated from him than a branch can bear fruit when separated from the vine, nor than the body can live when separated from the head. They felt themselves to be in him in such a sense, that what he did, they did. They died with him. They rose with him. What he is, they become. What he has, they receive, all in their measure—that is, as much as they can hold. They are filled with the fullness of God in Him.

This being so, it follows, of course, that Christ was to them the object of divine worship and of all the religious affections, of adoration, of supreme love, of trust, of submission, of devotion. He was their absolute sovereign and proprietor by the double right of creation and redemption. Love to him was the motive, his will the rule, his glory the end of their obedience. It was Christ for them to live. Living or dying, they were the Lord's. They enforced all moral duties out of regard to him; wives were to obey their husbands, children their parents, servants their masters, for Christ's sake. Christians were commanded not to utter a contaminating word in a brother's ear because he belonged to Christ; they endeavored to preserve their personal purity, because their bodies were the members of Christ. The blessedness of heaven in their view consisted in being with Christ, in beholding his glory, enjoying his love, in being like him, and in being devoted to his services. It is a simple fact, that such was the Christianity of the writers of the New Testament. Their religious life terminated on Christ, and was determined by their relation to him. He was their God, their Saviour, their prophet, priest, and king; they depended on his righteousness for their justification; they looked to him for sanctification. He was their life, their way, their end. If they lived, it was for him; if they died, it was that they might be with him. They did not attempt to reform or to save men on the principles of natural religion, or by a process of moral culture. These had their place, but they are inadequate and absorbed in a higher moral power. Paul, in writing to Titus, speaking of Christians before their conversion, says: "They were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving diverse lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and

hating one another. But after the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy, he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, that, being justified by grace, we should be heirs according to the promise, of eternal life." They, therefore, labored for the reformation and salvation of men, by going everywhere preaching Christ as the only Saviour from sin.

What Christianity was in the hearts of the apostles, it has been in the hearts of Christians of all ages, and in all parts of the world. Of this, every Christian has the evidence in his own experience. Christ is to him both God and man—God manifest in the flesh; God surrounded by the rainbow of humanity, which softens, diversifies, and beautifies his rays. Christ he worships, trusts, loves, and obeys. Christ is his wisdom, his righteousness, his sanctification, his redemption. Christ is ever near him, so that he can be spoken to, appealed to, and communed with; a present help in every time of need. Christ is the Christian's portion for time and for eternity. With Christ he has everything, and without him he has nothing.

The experience of one Christian is the experience of all. This is the conscious bond of their union. The hymns which live through all ages, are hymns of praise to Christ. All Protestants can join with St. Bernard, when he says: "Jesus, the very thought of Thee, With sweetness fills my breast; But sweeter far Thy face to see, And in Thy presence rest. When once Thou visitest the heart, Then light begins to shine, Then earthly vanities depart; Then kindles love divine. Jesus, our only joy be Thou, As Thou our prize shalt be; Jesus, be Thou our glory now, And through eternity." "JESUS, OUR BEING'S HOPE AND END." They can also join with that other Bernard, who says of heaven: "The Lamb is all thy splendor, The Crucified thy praise, His laud and benediction, His ransomed people raise." What is true of the Christianity of the mediæval saints, is true of believers now. Toplady's hymn "Rock of Ages, cleft for me," finds a response in every Christian heart, So does his hymn, "Compared with Christ, in all besides, No comeliness I see; The one thing needful, dear-

est Lord, Is to be one with Thee." "Thyself bestow; for Thee alone, I absolutely * pray." "Less than Thyself will not suffice, My comfort to restore: More than Thyself I cannot have; And Thou canst give no more." Cowper expresses the hopes and feelings of every believer in his hymn, "There is a fountain filled with blood, Drawn from Immanuel's veins; And sinners plunged beneath that flood, Lose all their guilty stains."

Every Christian can join with Newton in saying, "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds, In a believer's ears; It soothes his sorrows, heals his wounds, And drives away his tears. It makes the wounded spirit whole, And calms the troubled breast; 'Tis manna to the hungry soul, And to the weary rest." "He is a rock, a shield, a hiding-place, a never-failing treasury." "Jesus, my Shepherd, Husband, Friend, My Prophet, Priest, and King, My Lord, my Life, my Way, my End, Accept the praise I bring." "When I see Thee as Thou art, I'll praise Thee as I ought." In like manner, Keble makes Christ everything to the believer. "Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear, It is not night, if Thou be near." "Abide with me from morn to eve, For without Thee, I cannot live; Abide with me when night is nigh; For without Thee, I dare not die." "Come near to bless us when we wake, Ere through the world our way we take; Till, in the ocean of Thy love, We lose ourselves in heaven above."

Wesley's hymn, "Jesus, lover of my soul," is on the lips of every English-speaking Christian. All look up to him as a guide, as their refuge, their trust, their only source of strength, as their all, more than all—as the source of spiritual and eternal life. In another hymn he says: "I thirst, I pine, I die to prove, The wonders of redeeming love, The love of Christ to me. Thy only love do I require; Nothing on earth beneath desire, Nothing in heaven above. Let earth, and heaven, and all things go, Give me Thy only love to know, Give me Thy only love." Again, "Oh, for a thousand tongues to sing, My dear Redeemer's praise, The glories of my God and King, The triumphs of his grace," etc., etc. So Dr. Watts, "Dearest of all the names above, My Jesus and my God." "Till God

* *Absolutely* means here *unconditionally*, and is the proper word.

in human flesh I see, My thoughts no comfort find." "But, if Immanuel's face appear, My hope, my joy begins." "Jesus, my God, Thy blood alone, Has power sufficient to atone; Thy blood can make me white as snow; No Jewish type could cleanse me so." "To the dear fountain of Thy blood, Incarnate God I fly, There let me wash my guilty soul From sins of deepest dye." "A guilty, weak, and helpless worm, On Thy kind arms I fall, Be Thou my strength and righteousness, My Jesus and my all." Volumes might be filled with such proofs of what Christianity is in the hearts of Christians. It will be observed, it is not mainly Christ as a teacher, as an example, nor even as the expiator of our sins—it is not mainly what He has done that is rendered thus prominent; but what He is. He is God clothed in our nature, ever with us, ever in us—our life, our present joy, our everlasting portion; the one to whom we owe everything, from whom we derive everything, who loves us with a love that is peculiar, exclusive (that is, such as he entertains for no other class of beings), and unspeakable.

In painful contrast with the Christianity of the Bible and of the church, there is a kind of religion, very prevalent and very influential, calling itself Christianity, which may be properly designated Christianity without Christ. It might be all that it is, though Christ had never appeared, or, at least, although our relation to him were entirely different from what it really is.

The lowest form of this kind of religion is that which assumes Christ to be a mere man, or, at most, merely a creature. Then, of course, He cannot be an object of adoration, of supreme love, of trust, and of devotion. The difference is absolute between the inward religious state of those who regard Christ as a creature, and that of those who regard him as God. If the one be true religion, the other is impiety.

The second form of this religion admits of higher views of the person of Christ, but it reduces Christianity to benevolence. And by benevolence is often meant nothing more than philanthropy. The gospel is made to consist in the inculcation of the command, Love your neighbor as yourself. All who approximately do this are called Christians. Hence it is said, that if all records concerning Christ should be blotted out of existence, his religion could be evolved out of our own nature.

And hence, too, an avowed atheist is told, that if he sits up all night with a sick child, he is a Christian, whatever he may think. A popular poem—popular because of the sentiment which it teaches—represents the recording angel as placing at the head of those who love God, the name of the man who could only say; "Write me as one who loves my fellow-men." The love of our fellow-men is thus made the highest form of religion. This is below even natural religion. It ignores God as well as Christ. Yet this is the doctrine which we find, variously sugared over and combined, in poetry, in novels, in magazines, and even in religious journals.

The doctrine which makes benevolence, the desire or purpose to promote the happiness not of our fellow-men merely, but of being in general, or all beings, logically, and often actually, results essentially in the same thing. All religion, all moral excellence consists in benevolence. Our only obligation is so to act as to promote the greatest good. This is the motive and the end of obedience. According to the New Testament, the motive to obedience is the love of Christ, the rule of obedience is the will of Christ, and its end the glory of Christ. Every Christian is benevolent; but his benevolence does not make him a Christian; his Christianity makes him benevolent. Throughout all ages the men who have labored most and suffered most for the good of others, have been Christians—men animated and controlled by Christ's love to them, and by their love to Christ. It is evident that the spiritual life—the inward religious state—of the man to whom it is Christ to live, is very different from that of the man who lives for the happiness of the universe. A man might thus live if there were no Christ.

Another form of religion in which Christ fails to occupy his proper position, is that which assumes God to be merely a moral governor, of infinite power and benevolence. Being infinitely benevolent, he desires the well being of his kingdom. To forgive sin without some suitable manifestation of his disapprobation of sin, would be inconsistent with a wise benevolence. Christ makes that manifestation in his sufferings and death. Then he retires; henceforth we have nothing to do with him; we have to deal with God on the principles of natural religion; we must submit to his authority, obey his commandments, and

expect to be rewarded, not merely according to, but for, our works. Christ merits nothing for us, we are not to look to him for sanctification, or any other blessing. All he has done, or does, is to make it consistent with the benevolence of God to forgive sin. Forgiveness of sin, therefore, is the only benefit which God bestows on us on account of Christ.

This theory changes everything. Men are rebellious subjects. It is now consistent in God to forgive them. He calls on them to submit, to lay down their arms, then he is free to deal with them as though they had never sinned. They must merit, not forgiveness—for that is granted on account of what Christ has done—but the reward promised to obedience; justification is simply pardon. Conversion is that change which takes place in a man when he ceases to be selfish, and becomes benevolent; ceases making his own happiness the end of his life, and determines to seek the happiness of the universe. The essence of faith is love, *i. e.*, benevolence. It is hard to see, according to this theory, in what sense Christ is our prophet, priest, and king; how He is our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; what is meant by our being in him as the branch is in the vine; or, what our Lord meant when He said, "without me, ye can do nothing;" what was in Paul's mind when he said, it is Christ for me to live, "it is not I that live, but Christ liveth in me," and so on to the end. This is a different kind of religion from that which we find in the Bible and in the experience of the church. As the religion (in the subjective sense of the word) is different, so is the preaching different, and so are the modes of dealing with sinners, and of promoting reformation among men. Some go so far as to hold, that there can be morality without religion; men are exhorted to be moral because it is right, because it will promote their own welfare, and make them respected and useful. They are to become morally good by a process of moral culture, by suppressing evil feelings and cherishing such as are good ones, by abstaining from what is wrong and doing what is right.

Others take the higher ground of theism, or of natural religion, and bring in considerations drawn from our relation to God as an infinitely perfect being, our creator and preserver and father, who has rightful authority over us, who has prescribed

the rule of duty, and who rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked.

All this is true and good in its place. But it is like persuading the blind to see and the deaf to hear. This is not the gospel. Christ is the only Saviour from sin, the only source of holiness, or of spiritual life. The first step in salvation from sin is our reconciliation to God. The reconciliation is effected by the expiation made by the death of Christ (Rom. v: 10). It is his blood, and his blood alone, that cleanses from sin. As long as men are under the law, they bring forth fruit unto death; it is only when freed from the law, freed from its inexorable demand of perfect obedience and from its awful penalty, that they bring forth fruit unto God (Rom. vii: 4-6). Christ delivered us from the law as demanding perfect obedience, by being made under the law, and fulfilling all righteousness for us; and he redeems us from the curse of the law, by being made a curse for us—dying the just for the unjust, and bearing our sins in his own body on the tree. Being thus reconciled unto God by his death, we are saved by his life. He sends the Holy Spirit to impart to us spiritual life, and transforms us more and more into his own image. The Spirit reveals to us the glory of Christ and his infinite love. He makes us feel not only that we owe everything to him, but that he himself is everything to us—our present joy and our everlasting portion—our all in all. Thus every other motive to obedience is absorbed and sublimated into love to Christ and zeal for his glory. His people become like him, and as he went about doing good, so do they. All this of course, is folly to the Greek. God, however, has determined by the foolishness of preaching to save them who believe.

Pulmonary consumption is more destructive of human life than the plague. So Christianity without Christ, in all its forms, the phthisis of the church, is more to be dreaded than skepticism, whether scientific or philosophical. The only remedy is preaching Christ, as did the apostles.

Two important facts are to be borne in mind. First, the inward religious life of men, as well as their character and conduct, are determined by their doctrinal opinions. Even the *Edinburgh Review*, years ago, said, "The character of an age is determined by the theology of that age." Therefore, any sys-

tem of doctrine which assigns to Christ a lower position than that which he occupies in the New Testament, must, in a like degree, lower the standard of Christianity—that is, the religious life of those calling themselves Christians. Second, nevertheless, it is equally true that men are more governed by their practical than by their speculative convictions. The idealist does not feel and act on his belief that the external world has no real existence. In like manner, the religious life of men is often determined more by the plain teaching of the Scriptures and by the common faith of the church than by their theological theories. Hence, men have often more of Christ in their religion than in their theology. It is, however, of the last importance to remember, that sound doctrine is, under God, our only security for true religion and pure morals. If we forsake the truth, God forsakes us.

Art. VII.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

Scribner, Welford & Armstrong have imported, for use in this country, a special edition, price \$3.00, of Volume II. of the *Theology of the Old Testament*, by Dr. GUST. FR. OEHLER, late Professor Ordinarius of Theology in Tübingen, translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR. We have before called the attention of our readers to the merits of volume first, which, like the present, is very scholarly, discriminating, and evangelical. In this volume the Mosaic ritual, prophecy in its nature, various forms, stages of development, and its theology, are very thoroughly discussed. It closes with an examination of the Old Testament Wisdom, as displayed in Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. We think the tendency of the author is somewhat to underrate the measure of evangelical experience of the Old Testament saints, as compared with those under the New. But the book as a whole sheds great light on the theology of the Old Testament.

The same publishers also issue, at \$2.25, *Moses, a Biblical Study*, by J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, D.D., translated from the Dutch by JAMES KENNEDY, B.D., another signal proof that the author is equally great in practical and speculative divinity. If history is "philosophy teaching by example," biog-

raphy is eminently so. There is no better way of translating the abstract propositions of theology, theoretical or practical, into the concrete forms of life and actual religious experience, than to trace their application and exemplification in the typical lives of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. Whenever we look in this volume, *ad aperturam libri*, we find it rich, not only in delineations of Moses' life and character, but in the instruction and guidance which it derives from the vicissitudes of his career, suited to all the phases of Christian life and experience. No better book could be put into the hands of thousands of ministers and Christians, and especially recent converts, to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest. Something equivalent to it is quite needed to assist new-born Christians to grow in grace and the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

A. D. F. Randolph & Co. publish *Pray for the Holy Spirit*. By the REV. WILLIAM SCRIBNER.

If the author could have foreseen the remarkable spiritual quickening which has spread over the country—more remarkable than anything of the kind, it may be safely said, in our day—he could not have prepared a volume more seasonable, or better suited to be useful. It would seem, indeed, that the same good Spirit, who is moving with so much power on the hearts of great numbers, must have prompted the devout author to have in readiness such a work as this, as he appears in a high degree to possess the spiritual qualifications for its performance. Laid aside from the active work of the ministry, his heart has been fully in it; rejoicing in the success of his brethren permitted to labor, he has sought to render them what help he could by means of his pen. His former little volume, *Pray for your Children*, although addressed to parents, had the same lofty aim.

Mr. Scribner has the theological insight needed for handling the subject of this second publication with intelligence and soundness; but his spiritual insight and wisdom qualified him especially for this undertaking. The very title breathes the earnestness of his convictions. In the first part he assigns reasons why Christians should earnestly seek this priceless gift for *themselves*; and in the second, why they should thus seek it for *the church and the world*. The style is simple and perspicuous, and there is scarcely a page on which may not be found suggestions of great importance, evidently proceeding from that Spirit whom the volume is designed to honor.

We heartily commend the work for wide dissemination. It will remain as a proof that this busy and—as some are disposed to regard it—shallow age of ours is not without examples of piety of as deep and spiritual a type as have distinguished any other.

La Théologie Allemande Contemporaine. Par J. F. ASTIÉ. Genève, Bale, Lyon. H. Georg, Libraire-éditeur. 1875. 8vo, pp. 286, 100, 360. Professor Astié, of Lausanne, is already well known to our readers, not only by a former residence in this country, and as a delegate from Switzerland to the Evangelical Alliance in New York, but also as the author of a valuable *History of the United States, 1620 to 1860*, 2 vols., with a preface by Laboulaye, of the French Institute, and a work entitled, *Esprit d'Alexandre Vinet*

(2 vols.) He was a pupil of Vinet, and his successor in the academy of the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud. He has also written an *Explication of the Gospel of John*, a work of merit. He has taught at Lausanne for a series of years, in the independent and philosophic spirit of Vinet, but with a fuller knowledge of the later German theology, which has served to modify some of his views, and made him a representative and advocate of "liberalism," in contrast with what he considers to be a formal orthodoxy. His essay on the *Two New Theologies in the Heart of French Protestantism* is devoted to this theme. It is also the subject of the preface to the above volume, viz.: a *Letter to the Younger Theologians of the Countries Speaking the French Language*. His divergence from the stricter forms of orthodoxy has much of the character of Rothe's speculations. The volume itself is made up of a series of criticisms, republished in part from a prominent quarterly, entitled, *Swiss Review of Religion and Theology*, to which M. Astié has been a frequent contributor. These essays indicate an active, penetrating, critical mind, addicted to theological and especially speculative inquiries, independent in its investigations, and willing to give up much of the letter, for the sake of saving what M. Astié considers to be the essential verities, of the Christian revelation. He departs much further then did Vinet from the traditional orthodox phraseology; and, while agreeing with Rothe in being an ardent supernaturalist, he is less confident of the results of a speculative construction of the Christian theory.

The first essay is a critical examination of the *Philosophy of Liberty* (second edition), by M. A. Secrétan, which is made the occasion of a penetrating discussion, not only of the extreme views of Secrétan on the nature and extent of human freedom, but also of several fundamental questions in religious philosophy and dogmatic theology, such as "native culpability," and the christological problem. As to sin, while rejecting imputation, he maintains a doctrine not unlike that of the later New England theology. In respect to the person of Christ, he denies the strict distinction of natures (the divine and human), and advocates what he terms a "successive incarnation"—the divine becomes the human.

A large part of the volume is devoted to a clear, comprehensive synopsis of the theological views of Rothe, as given in his *Contributions to Dogmatics* and his *Theological Ethics*. This is done with thorough appreciation and decided ability. Outside of Germany no better account has been given of the critical and speculative scheme of the famous Heidelberg professor. The French language demands a precision of statement which is often lacking in the German. Any one who wishes to see a summary of Rothe's teachings on the idea of dogmatics in general, and of Protestant dogmatics in particular, his views on revelation, inspiration, and the Scriptures, and the main points in his speculative ethics, will be abundantly aided and well guided by this impartial and exact summary. The remainder of the volume is devoted to an analysis of Schwarz's *Contemporaneous German Theology*; Hausrath's *Era of Jesus Christ*; of Gass' *History of Protestant Dogmatics*

(4th vol., from Semler to Schleiermacher); and of Ernesti on *Paul's Doctrine of Sin*, in relation to modern theories.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by Rev. J. McCLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, S. T. D., VOL. VI. ME—NEV. New York: Harper & Brothers. The publication of this valuable cyclopædia was begun in 1867. Since Dr. McClintock's death, in 1870, it has been continued on the comprehensive plan which he projected. Dr. Strong has furnished the articles on biblical literature, which cover that ground fully; his recent travels in the East adapt him still more to this work. Professor Worman's articles, for example, on Missions, Monarchism, Mohammedanism, Messiah, Midrash, Mishna, are crowded with the results of wide reading, and with ample references to the literature of the subject, including with great particularity the articles in the leading English, American, and German reviews. Dr. Woolsey has an excellent essay on mythology, with a promise of one on polytheism, which work could not be in better hands. The articles on Methodism are prepared with great care and fulness. Besides the editors, some fifty other contributors write in this volume on subjects specially familiar to them, including such names as Kidder, Gould, Gillett, Jacobs, Harbaugh, Schem, Schweinitz, Dean R. Payne Smith, Stoever, and Whedon. The first part of the long article on miracles is signed J. P. S., for which initials no name is given in the list of contributors. Should it be R. P. S., Dean of Canterbury? The *Monita Secreta* of the Jesuits are regarded as genuine. Gieseler, in his Church History (the part not yet translated), sums up the evidence with his usual fairness, and decides against its genuineness. This cyclopædia is, undoubtedly, the most convenient and useful one we have, covering the whole ground of church history. Large as is the undertaking, it will, doubtless, be successful, for it is needed. Some three volumes more will be necessary to complete the work. It is, of course, got up in the best style by the Harpers; carefully printed, and sufficiently illustrated.

Letters of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. Translated by the REV. J. G. CUNNINGHAM. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark & Co., 1875. This is the second volume of the translation of Augustine's letters, and the thirteenth volume of his works in this series. Three more volumes, to be soon issued, will complete the series, viz., Augustine's Confessions, the third volume of his Anti-Pelagian Writings, and his Life by Principal Rainy. The Benedictine edition of Augustine's works contains 272 letters, of which 160 are translated in this selection. Among the omissions are the letters on the Donatist controversy, those relating to Pelagianism, and those on the Trinity; they are left out because this series contains the larger polemical and expository treatise of Augustine on these topics. Other omitted letters are exegetical or doctrinal tracts, or contain only "miscellaneous" matter. The selection made is certainly sufficient for any ordinary student. They are chiefly on doctrinal subjects, and present the views of the great Father of the Western Church in a more familiar form than his elaborate treatises. The trans-

lation seems to be carefully executed. We hope the enterprise of the Messrs. Clark will be cordially encouraged in this country. Scribner, Welford & Armstrong import a special edition for America, at the low price of three dollars a volume.

The American Tract Society, New York, has issued a new and revised edition of *Blending Lights*, by the REV. WM. FRASER, D.D. It is on the Relations of Natural Science, Archæology, and History, to the Bible. We have already cordially recommended this work. The present edition was revised by the author for this Society, and is published by special arrangement with it. We bespeak for it a wide circulation, particularly among our young men, to whose use it is specially adapted.

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Chaldean Account of Genesis, Containing the Description of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Times of the Patriarchs and Nimrod, Babylonian Fables and Legends of the Gods, from the Cuneiform Inscriptions. By GEORGE SMITH, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum. With illustrations. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1876. This superb volume, as to the style in which it is issued, is a fit vehicle for its contents, which consist of Mr. Smith's account of the results of two visits made by him to the seats of the cuneiform inscriptions, brought to the attention of Oriental and Biblical scholars, years ago, by Layard and others. They show that the great events of creation and history recorded in Genesis had become recognized in confused and erroneous forms in the traditions of surrounding idolatrous nations. The engravings, as well as the text of the volume, are of high value. Mr. Smith does not yet feel prepared to unfold the bearings of these discoveries on the Genesis of Scripture. The nature of the traditions may be seen from an example presented in the following account of the tower of Babel :

"*On the Tower of Babel*—(p. 48). They say that the first inhabitants of the earth, glorying in their own strength and size, and despising the gods, undertook to raise a tower whose top should reach the sky, in the place in which Babylon now stands; but when it approached the heavens the winds assisted the gods, and overthrew the work upon its contrivers, and its ruins are said to be still at Babylon; and the gods introduced a diversity of tongues among men, who, till that time, had all spoken the same language; and a war arose between Cronos and Titan. The place in which they built the tower is now called Babylon, on account of the confusion of tongues, for confusion is by the Hebrews called Babel."

The Clarks of Edinburgh, and Scribner, Welford & Armstrong of New York, have brought out, at the price of \$2.00, an edition, for American use, of the *Principles of New Testament Quotation, Established and Applied to Biblical Science*, by the Rev. JAMES SCOTT, M.A., B.D., which is an important contribution to the subject with which it deals. Few students of the Bible will undervalue the importance of adequate helps to the right understanding and just estimate of the quotations made by our Lord and the in-

spired writers in the New Testament, from the Old, whether made *verbatim et literatim*, for substance of language or meaning, or in the way of reference, allusion, or illustration, more or less remote. Mr. Scott has done his work very ably, not only as he has given an exhaustive analysis of all the passages in question, but as he has brought to it the insight of the genuine scholar, exegete, and theologian.

He specifies five forms of quotation: 1. Literal; 2. Substantial; 3. Analytic: in which, the passage quoted from, having been analyzed into its elements, a part suited to the writer's purpose only is taken; 4. Synthetic: where, after analysis of two or more passages in the Old Testament, parts from each are so combined in quotation as best to accomplish the writer's aim; 5. Idealistic: in which the idea of the original is seized, and reproduced in a garb or phrase so new that it does not rank with the second class above noted, in which the idea is presented substantially, though not word for word, in the language of the original.

Passing from the forms to the principles of quotation which must control the interpretation and explanation of it, he mentions: 1.. The psychological, or that of ascertaining the mind and thought of the writers quoting and quoted from, which is fundamental in all right exegesis; 2. The grammatical and philological, which is also essential to ascertaining what an author both says and means to say; 3. The synthetic or unitive principles of interpretation. "It is synthetic, because it gives the combined sense of several passages; and unitive, because it tends to that unity which is the end of all philosophy and of all theology. It is based on two things, the progressive development of the revelation and the unity of the economies. These general principles of revelation underlie all principles of revelation, and especially the synthetic and prophetic" (p. 37); 4. The analogical principle. Under this head, the author ably discusses the value of analogy as a source of proof and disproof in religion, natural and revealed. While not alone absolutely conclusive, yet it is essential to the due estimate of other evidence, and the proper understanding of Scripture, as a whole and in its parts, that it be viewed according to the analogy or proportion of faith; this, too, with respect to facts, principles, and doctrines.

After exhausting the New Testament quotations from the Old, the author proceeds to analyze, after the same manner, the patristic quotations from both, and ends with a powerful application of the whole, both apologetic and doctrinal. He derives from it a very cogent argument for the inspiration, the integrity of the canon, the unity of the Old and New Testament Scriptures as a progressive unfolding of one and the same living truth of doctrine, divinely inspired as to matter and form, so a complete and infallible guide as to faith, life, and morals. In a word: "All scripture is, *θεοπνευστος*, given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." (2 Tim. 16-17.)

From those houses to which we are indebted for so much of our more valuable Biblical literature, the Clarks, of Edinburgh, and Scribner, Welford &

Armstrong, New York, we receive, at \$4.50, *A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, by CH. ED. CASPARI, translated from the original German as revised by the author, and with additional notes by the translator, MAURICE J. EVANS, B.A. A map of the scene of our Lord's labors, and a plan of Jerusalem, are also added. The volume does not look into the supernatural aspects of the gospels or of the life of our Lord, but only analyzes them as external and historical narratives, and compares them with each other, and with other authentic evidence, for the purpose of testing their consistency with each other, and with other historical testimony. The results are highly satisfactory and important, and go to establish the truth of the evangelical narratives aside of all questions as to their inspiration. The peculiar scope and aim of the work are best shown in the following statement of the author himself, in his preface (p. 6):

"It might perhaps appear strange that, in studies like Biblical geography and chronology, which have been so abundantly treated of, and from so many points of view, there should yet remain important discoveries to be gleaned, but the enigma is solved when it is considered that the exegetes have seldom drawn their chronology and geography—regarded by them as subordinate questions—from the sources themselves, but have received them at second or third hand; that, on the other hand, professional geographers and chronologists, even the masters among them, are no exegetes, but are often misled by inaccurate translations of the gospels. This evil I have earnestly striven to avoid, inasmuch as in all the sources I have had recourse to the original text, and that, in addition to the sources of which my predecessors have availed themselves, I have ransacked the books of Jewish tradition, hitherto, to the great loss of the cause, too much neglected."

From the same houses and at the same price we receive the second volume of Delitzsch's *Biblical Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon*. The first appeared some time ago, and was brought to the attention of our readers. Those who have the first volume, will not be satisfied without the second. Both alike bring to the exposition of this book the scholarship, learning, and sound exegetical insight which have given the author so high a rank in the estimation of Biblical students and exegetes.

The same houses also publish, for the use of Biblical students, *A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke*, by F. GODET, Doctor and Professor of Theology, Neuchatel, in two volumes, at \$6.00. The first translated by E. W. Shalders, the second by M. D. Cusin, from the second French edition, which was called for within a year after the publication of the first. It succeeds a commentary on John's Gospel by the author, as being best adapted to exhibit the relation between the latter and the three former gospels. It is clear, fresh, learned, and evangelical, and very successful in bringing out the meaning of the writer. It is especially thorough and searching in its exposures of the assaults of recent rationalism upon the evangelistic record, particularly those coming from Renan, Strauss, Baur, and the whole Tübingen school. Also, at \$3.00 each, two additional volumes of *Meyers' Commentaries on the New Testament*, one being the second on John's Gos-

pel, edited and revised by THOS. CROMBIE, the second being a *Critical and Exegetical Hand-book to the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians*, translated from the fourth edition of the German, by WILLIAM P. DICKSON D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. We find these marked by the same judgment, candor, learning, and orthodoxy, which we have noted in the previous volumes brought to the notice of our readers.

Bible Lands: their Modern Customs and Manners, illustrative of Scripture. By the REV. HENRY VAN-LENNEP, D.D. With maps (one physical and one ethnological), and wood-cut illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. The Harpers have published several valuable works on the Holy Land, but the subject is one of inexhaustible interest. There is a fascination about it, due not only to its unique and incomparable history, but also to its peculiar physical characteristics, its comparative unchangeableness, its very contrast with the whole of occidental civilization. It is in the sharpest contrast with American civilization; and this is one of the reasons why Americans feel the spell more, perhaps, than most other travelers. Yet they do not visit it as foreigners; it is rather like going to the old home of which so much has been heard from one's earliest years. Some of the very best books upon it have been written by our scholars, who have sojourned there, and Dr. Van Lennep, in this new work, admirably brought out by the publishers, has added another most valuable and engrossing volume to the Palestine library. It will take its place by the side of Dr. Thompson's *The Land and the Book*, not in the way of rivalry, but by adding new observations and illustrations, the fruit of a life-long experience by one who grew up amid those sacred scenes, and spoke the language of the land. The style is simple and perspicuous; the descriptions are animated, minute, and graphic; the whole arrangement of the work is simple and clear. With no parade of learning, it rests upon minute and careful observations. It is so written, that all may read it to their satisfaction and profit. The illustration of scriptural passages and allusions is made prominent on almost every page, and a new sense of the reality of Scripture history is impressed upon the mind of the reader.

The first part of the work is devoted to the "Customs which have their origin in the Physical Features of Bible Lands;" the second, to "Customs which have a Historical Origin." Both are traced out in detail, with pertinent illustrations and descriptions. In the case of those lands, the present explains the past more than is possible in any Western nation, for there the past lives in the present. The races, the men and women, the habits of domestic and social life, the buildings, the arts, as now existing, carry us back to ancient times. In an Appendix there is a good selection of Oriental Proverbs. There is a full index of Scripture Texts, and one of Subjects. The illustrations are profuse and well executed. In the writing of names, Dr. Van Lennep does not depart as much as some other writers do from the prevailing usage. He writes Mohammed, instead of Mahomet; Bedawy (plural, Bedawin), for Bedouin—the religion of Mohammed is not called Mo-

hammedanism, but *Islam*, its universal name in the East (not "*Islamism*," nor "*the religion of Islam*"); and the followers of Mohammed are called, as "*they call themselves, Muslims* (not Mussulmans, for the plural of Muslim is Muslimin)."

Notes Explanatory and Practical upon the International Sunday-School Lessons for the year 1871. By REV. RUFUS W. CLARK, D.D. New York: Dodd & Mead. This extensive international scheme is bearing excellent fruit in the way of popular commentaries, among which Dr. Clark's book takes good rank.

Bible Word-Book. A Glossary of Scripture Terms which have changed their Popular Meaning, or are no longer in General Use. By WM. SWINTON. Edited by PROF. T. J. CONANT, D.D. New York: Harper & Bros. The title sufficiently explains the scope of this little book, which is very well got up. The scriptural usage is exemplified by apt quotations from other sources. It is so convenient to have at hand, that the wonder is it was never done before.

Truths for the People; or, Several Points in Theology, plainly stated for Beginners. By WM. S. PLUMER, D.D. American Tract Society. Dr. Plumer's instructions on some cardinal points of doctrine are here given in a plain and direct style, suited to popular apprehension, and enforced by scriptural testimony. His work is particularly adapted for the guidance and instruction of young converts.

Geschichte Jesu. Nach akademischen Vorlesungen von DR. KARL HASE, Leipzig, 1876. s. 612. The course of lectures which forms the basis of this *History of Jesus*, by the veteran and skillful church historian of Jena, was first delivered over fifty years ago in Tübingen (the winter of 1824-5), when, as yet, there was no "*scientific life of Jesus*," and some arrangements for publication were even then begun with the bookseller, Von Cotta. But easily becoming convinced that such a work required longer study, Dr. Hase published a small manual, 1829 (which was translated by J. F. Clarke, Boston, 1860), and meanwhile continued to read his lectures every three years, following the course of criticism called out by the works of Strauss, Baur, and others, and making the Life of Jesus the "*portal*" to his course on the general history of the church. The whole has now been worked over into a somewhat different form, though retaining the best characteristics of a free course of lectures in distinction from a formal treatise. Dr. Hase has the art of combining a "*scientific*" method with an animated exposition, so that he is neither too abstract nor too popular. His standpoint is that of free and thorough criticism, while he rejects the speculative theories, and avoids the most destructive results of the pantheistic developments, which mark the works of the later Tübingen school. He is in a somewhat difficult position, for he believes in Christ and in a divine revelation in history, while he evaporates most of the marvellous and supernatural incidents of the gospel history. And yet he confesses, that "*the old historical Christ will still, as of old, pour out his blessing upon the race without being dissolved into a myth like the Olympian Zeus, or*

trembling before the modern Titans." "The doubts that remain do not lay hold of the heart; they are, so to say, the doubts of scientific curiosity;" and, he who once quieted the scruples of Thomas, and let him put his hands into his wounds, "will silence our last doubts, when, by following him in life we are led upward at last to himself."

The history of Jesus is laid out on a natural and comprehensive plan. All the parts and relations of the subject are brought into review. The different schools are fairly represented and acutely criticised. Substantial truth is found in the gospel narratives in spite of all the adverse criticisms. There is a full account of the apocryphal gospels and acts, as well as of all the ancient traditions about Jesus. In the by-paths of investigation Dr. Hase is always at home, and his effort is rather to harmonize differences and difficulties than to press them to negative results. His work is perhaps chiefly valuable in the way of summing up, in a concise and pregnant form, the present state of inquiry and controversy upon the momentous and central theme of which he treats.

PHILOSOPHY.

History of Philosophy, from Thales to the Present Time. By DR. FRIEDRICH UEBERWEG. Translated by Professor GEO. S. MORRIS, of the University of Michigan. With Additions by PRESIDENT PORTER, and PROF. V. BETTA. 2 vols., 8vo. Being Vols. I. and II. of the Theological and Philosophical Library, edited by Drs. H. B. Smith and P. Schaff; published by Scribner, Armstrong & Co., New York. To meet the demand for the use of this History of Philosophy as a text-book in colleges, it is now issued at the low rate of five dollars for the two volumes. It is undoubtedly the best text-book of the kind extant. Professor Ulrici, of Halle, in a notice of this translation in his *Philosophical Journal*, says, that Ueberweg's History is distinguished for its conciseness, its clear arrangement, the *objectivity* of its criticism, and the great fulness and exactness of its bibliography. Some defects in the original, he adds, have been well supplied by the American translator; while the additions made by President Porter and Professor Botta (whom Ulrici reports as "lately deceased, as a Professor in Turin") supply a desideratum in respect to English, American, and Italian philosophical literature. Such high praise is deserved. None who need a history of philosophy can well afford to be without Ueberweg. At the present low price, a large demand is to be anticipated. Though it is not all needed for instruction, yet no real student can be content with a meagre and superficial outline in the place of it. The parts not needed in the class-room are necessary in the study.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Manual of Universal Church History. By REV. DR. JOHN ALZOG, Prof. of Theology, Freiburg. Translated from the ninth German edition, by F. J. PABISCH, D.D., President of Mount St. Mary's Seminary, and Rev. Thomas S. Byrne, Professor in the same. Vol. II. The Middle Ages. With chronological tables and a map. pp. 1,096. Cincinnati, O. Robert Clarke & Co., Publishers. Dr. Alzog's Text Book is undoubtedly the best Roman Catholic Manual of Church History in German. It supersedes

Ritter's. Dollinger's projected work may never be completed, and would no longer be Roman Catholic. The ninth edition of Alzog, 1872, was much enlarged. This American reproduction is not only an excellent translation; it also contains valuable additions, "relating chiefly to countries where the English language is spoken; and in some sections—as, for instance, in that treating of the British Isles"—the original text is used "only as an outline." This work is, of course, Roman Catholic; it has "the sanction of the proper ecclesiastical authorities." None the less may it be of use to those who are not Roman Catholics. In many important respects it supplements Protestant histories. Dr. Alzog is a learned, conscientious, and able writer. He condemns the forged Decretals; he does not deny the blots upon the personal character of many of the Popes, nor palliate the corruptions of the Papal Court in several dark periods of its annals. Of course he magnifies his own church; he is a believer in the Pope and his Infallibility. He cannot well be just to Wickliffe and John Huss, and he defends the betrayal of Huss by the Emperor Sigismund. He relies upon "a divine instinct in the Church" in the case of these "sectaries and heretics." But he is a scholar of high attainments, and few manuals are so complete and well-arranged. The book is brought out in a substantial and handsome style. We hope. that the publication of the third and last volume may not be long delayed.

Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie, D.D., and Memoirs, by his Sons. REV. DAVID K. GUTHRIE and CHAS. J. GUTHRIE, M.A. 2 vols. R. Carter & Brothers. With a portrait. This captivating biography has already been noticed in our REVIEW. It is now issued in a new and comely edition. It has taken its place as one of our best standard biographies. Dr. Guthrie was in person, as well in heart and mind, a noble specimen of a great Christian preacher. He was not merely a pulpit orator, but he was also a Christian warrior, doing battle for Christ and his Church, never daunted and never disheartened. In the times that tried the Kirk of Scotland; he was ever foremost in advocating the rights and liberties of the church. And he touched and swayed the popular heart as did few men of his generation. His biography is elevating and ennobling.

Life and Labors of Duncan Matheson, the Scottish Evangelist. By the REV. JOHN MACPHERSON. New York: R. Carter & Bros. A fitting memorial of the life of an earnest and devout Christian worker, who was instrumental in the conversion of many souls, not only at home in Scotland, but also in the Crimea, in "the diocese of open-air," as well as in buildings dedicated to worship. It will be a help and stimulus to many engaged in the same labors.

Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D., late Missionary at Constantinople. By his son-in-law, E. D. G. PRIME, D.D. New York: Carter & Brothers. This Memoir is conceived and executed in the best style. Dr. Goodell was a man of rare qualities—of a rare combination of qualities for just the work to which Providence called him. He is identified with the whole story of Protestant Missions to

Constantinople; and fully deserved the tribute paid by the Earl of Shaftesbury to the American missionaries in Turkey, that they are "a marvellous combination of common sense and piety," and that "they have done more toward upholding the truth and spreading the Gospel of Christ in the East, than any other body of men in this or in any other age." Though Dr. Goodell kept no diary, yet his characteristic letters, written during his forty years' residence in Turkey, and other papers, furnished abundant materials, so that the chief difficulty was in the selection of just enough, and the best. This has been admirably accomplished by Dr. Prime. The traits of Dr. Goodell's character come out rather incidentally, than by formal descriptions or elaborate panegyrics. We receive a living impression of an earnest, wise, devoted, persevering Christian Missionary—faithful day by day, yet also ready for any crisis—a strong character, tempered by an affectionate disposition, and elevated by divine grace—simple, and yet shrewd—witty as well as wise—unconscious of itself, while influencing all around. The book, too, gives graphic illustrations of life in the East—of all the domestic incidents of a missionary career. For the history of the Turkish Empire during these eventful years, it furnishes important and valuable data and documents. It will take its rank among our best missionary biographies, and ought especially to be in the hands of all our students.

The Presbyterian Board has published two works, appropriate to the Centennial year. *Presbyterians, and the Revolution*, by the REV. W. P. BREED, D.D., 12mo., pp. 205, gives interesting historical sketches of the services which Presbyterians rendered to the country, in connection with our revolutionary history. They contributed largely to the preparations for Independence, to the success of the war, and to the shaping of our republican government. In the latter respect their influence was very great. Presbyterianism itself is, as Dr. Breed justly shows, a Representative Republican Form of Government. Much still remains to be gathered and written on this point. The "Westmoreland County Resolutions," and the famous "Mecklenburg Declaration," are described in the fifth and sixth chapters. The "final action of the Presbyterian Church," in chapter eight, shows the true spirit of our fathers, and that they were very far from holding to some recent theories about the indifference of the church to all state affairs. The inspiring record of Dr. Witherspoon is fitly commemorated. Dr. Breed's useful volume should have a wide circulation. The other volume is *an Historical Sketch of the Synod of Philadelphia*, by REV. R. M. PATTERSON, of Philadelphia; with *Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Members of the Synod of Philadelphia*, by Rev. ROBERT DAVIDSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 128. A carefully prepared yet concise work. There should be similar volumes for all our Synods, in due celebration of our Centennial. We trust that our Historical Society, under its efficient Secretary, Dr. Craighead, may be encouraged in its present effort to bring about this result.

Whillet & Shepperson, Richmond, Va., publish the *Life of James Henly Thornwell, D.D., LL.D., President of South Carolina College, and*

Professor in Columbia Theological Seminary, of which we had prepared a notice so extended, that at the last moment, we find ourselves without space for it in this number. Meanwhile, we will say that it is exceedingly rich, interesting, and instructive, whether we regard the distinguished subject, or author of it, its matter or its style. Both rank as representative exponents of Southern ideas in ethics and politics, also in religion as respects the Presbyterian Church South. We hope the volume will have a wide circulation, not only on account of its great merits as a biography, but even on account of those parts of it which are antagonistic to our own views. It reveals the Southern mind and heart in an authentic way. It is only as we understand this, that we can deal properly with questions relating to the South—social, political, and ecclesiastical.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Norse Mythology ; or, the Religion of our Forefathers. Containing all the Myths of the Eddas, systematized and interpreted, with an Introduction, Vocabulary, and Index. By R. B. ANDERSON, A.M., Prof. of the Scandinavian Languages in the University of Wisconsin. Second edition. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Professor Anderson is an enthusiastic as well as an able scholar ; and he imparts his enthusiasm to his readers. His volume is deeply interesting as well as in a high degree instructive. No such account of the old Scandinavian Mythology has hitherto been given in the English language. It is full, and elucidates the subject in all points of view. It contains abundant illustrations in literal and poetic translations from the Eddas and Sagas. Some of the admirable versions by Mr. Longfellow, to whom the work is dedicated, are incorporated by permission. Professor Anderson's interpretations of the myths throw new light on them, and are valuable additions (as is the whole work) to the history of religion and of literature. The author is anything but a "Roman ;" he looks for the time "when Greek, and Anglo-Saxon, and Old Norse, and Gothic, and German, will shake hands over the bloody chasm of Roman Vandalism !" The Norse Mythology is treated in detail under the heads of "the Creation and Preservation of the World ;" "the Life and Exploits of the Gods ; and Ragnarok and Regeneration." A full Vocabulary and Index shows that Professor Anderson knows how to make a scholarly book. It is brought out in the best style by Griggs & Co., of Chicago. It deserves to be welcomed, not only as most creditable to American scholarship, but also as an indication of the literary enterprise which is surely growing up in our North-Western States.

Douglass Series of Christian Greek and Latin Writers. For Use in Schools and Colleges. Vols. I., II., III. Edited by F. A. MARCH, LL.D., Professor of Comparative Philology in Lafayette College, Pa. New York: Harper & Bros. The first volume is a collection of Latin Hymns, selected and edited with the best judgment, by Professor March, with Notes and Biographical Sketches. The second volume comprises five books of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, with an Introduction by Dr. Ballard, and Notes by Prof. Owen, both of Lafayette College. The third volume, edited by Dr. March, is of special value for the purposes of this Series, containing

the famous Plea for Christians, by Athenagoras, the Athenian scholar and philosopher, and his clear and logical treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead. His Greek is the best of his times; his arguments are manly and well put; his style is elevated and forcible. It is also remarkably well edited. The Notes, by Prof. Owen, are suited to the class-room. It would be a good thing to have such a book studied in all our colleges and higher schools. The college curriculum may as well be enlarged in this direction, as in conchology and entomology. The plan of the series is a commendable one and it will make its way.

Alwyn; a Romance of Study. By JAMES C. MOFFAT. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. We take pleasure in calling attention to this little volume, recently published by A. D. F. Randolph. Those who have read *Song and Scenery: or, a Summer Ramble in Scotland*, and have seen how much the writer's mind is imbued with the spirit of poetry, will not be surprised that he has adopted its distinctive form. The poem is divided into seven cantos, in the first of which the youth, Alwyn, brought up amid the woods and hills, revels in the charms of pastoral life, and is continually deriving lessons from animate and inanimate nature, rejoicing to give play to his imagination, until he finds himself questioning causes. Then his rest is broken. The succeeding cantos describe his earnest search for truth. Literature, ancient and modern, philosophy, deism, fatalism, all are investigated and argued, but his reasoning brings him no satisfaction. Even practical life is tried, but he is in darkness still. In early life he had smiled at the simplicity of his rustic friend, Norman, who believed and was happy. Long years have passed since then, and Alwyn, prospered in temporal things, after study and travel, finds himself again in his native land. In a lonely walk he finds the friend of his youth, afflicted and in abject poverty, yet believing still. Alwyn wonders, but devotes himself to relieving his necessities, and finding others who need help he assists them. In simple deeds of charity he experiences a joy he never knew before, and this joy comes from the faith that his labors are not in vain. In doing good to others, he is led to study the life and character of Him who "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister," and learned to trust and love Him. Reason's arguments are not answered, but they flee away, because supplanted by the stronger principle of faith.

Robert Carter & Brothers are bringing out new editions of several of their well-known works, and new volumes by some of their favorite authors. Their books are uniformly selected with the greatest care and judgment. We have received copies of the "thirty-second thousand" of HUGH MILLER'S *Testimony of the Rocks*, and of the "twenty-second thousand" of his *Foot-Prints of the Creator*. The latter has a Memoir of the Author, by Louis Agassiz. By the Author of the *Wide, Wide World*, there are two volumes, *The Rapids of Niagara* and *Bread and Oranges*, both of them characteristic works, illustrating the qualities which have given her such a wide popularity and so enviable an influence for good. *Nurses for the Needy; or, Bible-Women Nurses in the Houses of the London Poor*, by L. N. R., author of "The Book and its Story," is a familiar record of devo-

ted service among the poor, which may guide and cheer others in these pious labors. *The Story of the Apostles*, by the well-known author of "Peep of Day," is a simple and pertinent explanation of *The Acts*, for children, well illustrated. There are also beautiful editions of DR. J. R. MACDUFF'S *The Gates of Praise*, and in one volume of his three works, *The Mind and Words of Jesus, the Faithful Promiser, and Morning and Night Watches*.

WORKS ON THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

D. Appleton & Company publish *Currency and Banking*, by BONAMY PRICE, Professor of Political Economy in Oxford University, who visited this country some time ago, and gave several public addresses on these subjects, particularly as related to the commercial crisis of 1873, its causes and effects. Similar views are more fully set forth in this volume, with more copious application and illustrations in relation to the Bank of England, and the other monetary institutions and developments in Great Britain. In substance, and aside of special application to later commercial phenomena, here and abroad, they reiterate the views advanced in his lectures on the principles of currency, delivered in Oxford, and published in 1869.

On this particular branch of economics Prof. Price has no superior, and the more carefully he is studied, the more fully will this be seen, and the more clearly will all who have any responsibility in determining practical measures in regard to money, banking, and currency, understand their duty.

He shows, very conclusively, what ought to be evident to all without such demonstration, that commercial crises, whatever may be the occasions, incidents, or sequences, arise from a destruction which exceeds the production of wealth; sometimes from providential visitations, oftener from unproductive consumption and expenditure in speculative enterprises, or extravagant living—frequently in all combined. So our late panic was due, in different degrees, to the inherited waste of an exhausting war, the great fires of Portland, Chicago, and Boston, the immense outlays in premature and unproductive railways, and other public improvements, and, probably, more than all, to that extravagance of living which infested all classes of society. What was thus spent is gone; and is not on hand to pay the debts contracted for it. We have been feeling our way for three years to find on whom this gigantic loss shall fall. New bankruptcies every week are at once revealing the secret, and telling us the end is not yet, and that we shall only reach it when, by industry and its savings, we shall have replaced the wealth that has been lost.

In regard to our present inconvertible currency, Prof. Price strenuously asserts the principles we have constantly maintained. The objection to resumption of the coin standard, that it will increase the burdens of the debtor class, he rightly holds to be greatly over-rated. But, at the worst, it should be no bar to resumption. Every change of legislation, demanded by the public honor and welfare, operates to the immediate prejudice of some class. This is true of all changes in taxes and imports, indeed, all public improvements. We never should have had a canal, railway, bankrupt law, or even gas and

water in cities, if such an objections were admitted to be valid. Besides, the creditor class, including the widows and orphans, the aged and infirm have already suffered their losses in the inroads which the legal tender act made upon the pittance accumulated for their support.

But we take occasion here to say, that even Prof. Price and other advocates of resumption, seem to us to over-rate the amount of contraction which must precede specie payments, when they say that the excess of present currency is measured by the premium on gold, and that it must, therefore, be contracted in this ratio. We doubt it. We think the gold premium represents, in part, the discount on our currency, arising from the uncertainty as to its redemption, or time of redemption. We believe that, without any contraction, were it fully and universally believed that our paper dollar would be equal to gold as early as the year 1879, the gold premium would at once begin to go down.

Hon. E. G. Spaulding, of Buffalo, N. Y., Chairman of the Sub-Committee of Congress which framed and urged the adoption of the legal-tender act, in which originated our present inconvertible currency, has published a very useful volume, entitled *Financial History of the War*. It is replete with valuable information for all who may have any responsibility for the future legislation of Congress on the currency. He vindicates, as we think, unanswerably, the necessity of the legal-tender act when it was passed. And, in our judgment, he shows no less conclusively, that the financial necessity out of which the legal-tender act arose, and the difficulties to which it led, were greatly aggravated by one great blunder of the financial secretary which preceded it, and another which followed it. The first of these was the act of Mr. Chase, in insisting that the great \$150,000,000 loan, made by the banks of the country to the government after the Bull Run disaster, should be drawn from them in coin, in conformity to old sub-treasury traditions, instead of taking it in the usual form of bills, drafts, and notes, and such small portions of coin as might prove necessary, according to the customs of all nations, in which credit forms a large part of the machinery of business. The effect of this was needlessly to break not only the banks, but the national treasury itself, which could not, in the nature of things, be stronger than the sources of its supplies. This made the legal-tender act a necessity. But for this the war could have been prosecuted much longer, perhaps to the end, upon the simple treasury notes of the government, made fundable into its gold loans, without this legal tender element.

The next blunder was near the close of the war, depriving these legal-tenders of the fundable quality, which was originally given them, and certified upon the back of each. Had this been continued, even at a reduced rate of interest, as good faith required, the whole currency question would have taken care of itself. The necessary contraction would have gone on spontaneously, and they would long since have reached the coin standard. A similar act now making them convertible into a four, or four and a half per cent. stock, gold bond of long standing, and free of taxation, if only gradual in its operation, would soon solve the whole question of return to a coin standard, by making it a reality.

Two addresses on *Money and the National Finances*, by the Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, M.C., one delivered in Congress, the other before the citizens of Philadelphia, are before us. They aim to prove that a currency of coin, or convertible into coin, is a national curse, and an inconvertible paper currency one of the greatest of national blessings. Their pet scheme is an irredeemable paper currency, interconvertible, dollar for dollar, with a 3.65 government bond, payable, principal and interest, in such irredeemable paper, thus supporting one engraved sheet upon another, bubble upon bubble, and the whole upon nothing. It would require one whole number of this REVIEW to to unravel the *ad captandum* fallacies which crowd every page of these pamphlets. They are all branches of the one fundamental fallacy, that promises to pay dollars, which are not designed to be kept, are as good as, or better, than dollars. But it can hardly be needful to argue against one who denounces the law requiring the collection of customs and the payment of the national bonds, in gold, as a "crime perpetrated by the Senate of the United States, or blunder worse than a crime!" There is no common plane on which we can reason with such.

Art. VIII.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1876. Part II. W. Grimm examines the question of the nationality of the Galatians of Asia Minor, contending ably for their Celtic origin, contesting incidentally the views of Renan and Hausrath. Pastor Hermann Ohl, on the Justification of the Three Traditional Questions in Infant Baptism (as in the Lutheran form), takes the ground that they cannot strictly be defended as addressed to the child. Pastor C. J. Nösgen presents a clear view of the Plan of the Gospel of Luke. Mönckeberg defends the genuineness of Luther's famous words at Worms, "Here I stand," etc. Dr. Alois gives an interesting account of an autograph of Melancthon's *Loci Communes*, in the German language, which is found in the imperial library of Olmütz. The longest article is a review, by Diaconus H. Schmidt, of Stuttgart, of the last vol. of Ritschl's *Doctrine of Justification*; its great ability and theological learning are fully recognized, also its unsatisfactory theory and conclusions. W. Hermann contributes a long notice of Superintendent Rocholl's (of Gottingen) recent work on the "Real Presence," meaning by that the mode of Christ's presence with and in his disciples. It is an attempt to construe the Lutheran theory of the ubiquity of Christ by the metaphysics of space and time—a somewhat difficult process, with the results of which the reviewer does not seem to be satisfied.

Fahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie. IV. 1875. 1. Kern, God and the World: or, Spirit and Matter; a contribution to the metaphysics of theism. 2. Wetzel.

the Time of the Creation of the World. 3. Witz, Stephen and his Defense; a new exegetical attempt. 4. Wellhausen, the Chronology of the Book of Kings, subsequent to the division of the kingdom. 5. Weizsäcker, David Friedrich Strauss and the ecclesiastical proceedings in Würtemberg about him. 6. Wagenmann, St. Anno, a German Imperial Chancellor eight hundred years ago. In the second article Dr. Wetzel states the different theories as to the time of creation, thus: (1) God creates when and where he will, arbitrarily; (2) Time does not exist for God, it begins with the world; (3) Creation is eternal; (4) The plan is eternal, but God determines to effect it at a given time; (5) The creation of the present world is not eternal, but there has been an eternal series of worlds. The author decides for the fourth, with the addition, that the reason why God did not create before was, that he would show that he could do without the world. Some of the above theories run into one another. The whole question is only one form of the general question, of the relation of the infinite to the finite, of the eternal to the temporal—which it is very probable we do not fully understand. The fifth article on Strauss contains all the documents in relation to the censure passed upon him at Tübingen, after the publication of his Life of Jesus. The letters of Strauss are given in full.

Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie. 1875. 4 Parts. 1876. First Part. This quarterly Year-Book of Protestant Theology, edited by the Jena professors, Hase, Lipsius, Pfleiderer, and Schrader, was begun last year, and takes its place worthily by the side of its competitors. It is intended to embrace all departments of theology, and to encourage thorough investigations. One feature of it will be articles devoted to a general sketch of progress in the different departments of theology, Reviews and notices of new books, as a special part, are excluded. The Jena professors are to be aided by competent men from other universities, including Leyden, Strasburg, Vienna, etc. Among the most important articles published in 1875, were, Holtzmann, Theological Investigations of the Present Time, especially on the Philosophy of Religion; Fr. Nitzsch, the Historical Significance of the Illumination-Theology (*Aufklärungs-theologie*), two parts; O. Pfleiderer, the Question about the Origin and Development of Religion; E. Schrader, Semitism and Babylonism; or, the Origin of Hebraism; R. A. Lipsius, Schleiermacher's Orations on Religion, two, articles; Schrader, the Original Sense of Jahveh Zebaoth, as the Name of God, used especially of "the hosts of Israel;" H. Schultz, The Christology of Origen, in connection with his Theory of the Universe; C. Holsten, the Epistle to the Philippians, two long articles, to be followed by another, contending that this epistle is not Pauline; C. A. Hase, Bernardino Ochino of Siena, a very interesting sketch of this learned, and eloquent General of the Capuchins, who became a Protestant, fled from Italy, and led a wandering life in great trials (a full memoir of him, by Karl Benrath, has been published in Germany since Dr. Hase's article was written); Biedermann, an Address on Strauss and his theological influence, sympathizing with Strauss' earlier, while disapproving his later, position; O. Pfleiderer, on Herder and Kant; H. Holtzmann, a General Review of the latest works of New Testament Criticism, etc. The first part of this Journal for 1876, has a very interesting sketch of the First French Revolution and the Church, by the veteran historian, Dr. C. Hase, of Jena; Pastor August Trümpelmann discusses Darwinism; the Monistic Philosophy of Nature, and Christianity—contending against the mechanical explanation of phenomena—distinguishing between Darwin and Darwinism, and saying that though Darwin may recognize God, yet there can be no God in Darwinism, taken strictly as a merely mechanical explanation of the universe. E. Schürer illustrates the conceptions of the

kingdom of heaven from Jewish sources; R. A. Lipsius on Gal. vi: 6-10, says the object of Paul here is to enkindle the feeling of a common faith and common work in opposition to the party feeling prevailing among the Galatians.

Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie. I. 1876. The two most interesting and ablest articles in this number are on the question, discussed in this number of our REVIEW, whether Peter was in Rome. Dr. E. Zeller, now of Berlin, the well-known historian of the Greek Philosophy, argues for the negative (pp. 31-56), while Dr. Hilgenfeld, of Jena, the editor of the *Zeitschrift*, contends that, though Peter was never bishop of Rome, yet he may have labored there (pp. 56-80). Both agree in doubting the genuineness of the first epistle of Peter, and put it in the second century; both agree that "Babylon" there means Rome; also, that the legends of Simon began to appear there. They also agree that the first epistle of Clement of Rome is a genuine letter addressed to the Corinthian Church. In this epistle Hilgenfeld finds the death of Peter in Rome already recognized; and this is denied by Zeller. The passage is given in the article of our REVIEW aboved named. The other essays in the *Zeitschrift* are, Holtzmann, the Development of the Æsthetic Conception of Religion (Kant, Jacobi, Fries, De Wette, and others); H. Harnack, Contributions to the History of the Marcionite Churches; W. Grimm, the most recent discussions on the "Consul Licius," named in I Maccabees, xv: 16.

Zeitschrift f. Philosophie und philosophische Kritik, 1875, four parts, making vols. 66 and 67 of the series. This journal, edited chiefly by Ulrich, keeps its place at the head of purely philosophical periodicals. Dr. A. Dorner, the younger, in three articles, examines at length, in an instructive manner, the Principles of the Kantian Ethics, in their relations and developments. Prof. Dr. C. Grapengiesser concludes, in a third article, his discussion of the subject of Transcendental (*à priori*) Deduction, with reference to the method and speculations of Kant and Fries. Dr. Wolff also concludes a series of learned expositions upon the Platonic Dialectics, the nature of the process and its value in respect to human knowledge. Prof. Dr. Teichmüller, of Dorpat, contributes several inedited letters of Kant and Fichte. Prof. Dr. J. H. Löwe investigates the question of the Simultaneousness of Language and Thought. Dr. Fr. Steffens begins a critical inquiry into Aristotle's Representation of the Views of Greek Philosophers, from Thales to Plato. Prof. Dr. Franz Hoffman under the title, Anti-materialism, criticises the views of Büchner, as presented in his work, *Aus Natur und Wissenschaft*, a collection of various articles devoted to the exposition of materialism. There are also good reviews of recent philosophical publications—among others of Flint on the Philosophies of History, Bowne on Spencer, and Morris' Translation of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, which is highly commended. A full philosophical bibliography is given in each volume—embracing the publications of Germany, France, England, Holland, and this country, besides the philosophical articles in all the leading reviews.

The *Historisches Taschenbuch*, founded by Von Raumer, now edited by W. H. Riel, fifth series, fifth year, 1875, has an unusual number of valuable contributions. Dr. John Huber gives a sketch of the life and influences of Savonarola, in relation to the culture of his times and the revival of letters. H. Tollin brings together many facts bearing upon Tolerance in the Period of the Reformation. K. A. Zittel contributes a concise and useful sketch on the History of Palæontological Investigations. One of the best articles is by Friedrich Nippold on Pope Hadrian VI, his efforts at reform and the causes of their failure—showing how the papacy

was too strong for the Pope. Reinhold Röhricht describes the Pilgrimages to the Holy Land before the time of the Crusades. He begins with the third century and comes down to the eleventh. In an appendix quite a full chronological summary of the most noted pilgrims is given by name, running through seven centuries.

A new journal devoted to Theological Literature in general (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*), edited by Prof. Dr. Schürer, and published by J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, begins with the current year. It appears every fortnight, sixteen to twenty-four pages, 4to, large double columns. It intends to give a critical review of all theological works, not limited to any party or tendency. Each criticism is to bear the writer's name. Besides reviews, each number will contain the current bibliography, an announcement of the contents of all theological periodicals, and of the reviews in other journals. The price, yearly, is sixteen marks, about four dollars. The early number gives good promise for the future. Among the contributors are Bertheau, Harnack, Köhler. Ed. Pfeiderer, Von Oettingen, D. H. Weiss, Weizsäcker, Kamphausen, Gebhardt, Brieger, Brockhaus, Diestel, Fried. and Joh. Delitzsch, etc.

Three well-known treatises of the late Dr. F. C. v. Baur, of Tübingen, have been republished, edited by Dr. Edward Zeller, now of Berlin, viz.: Apollonius of Tyana and Christ, or the Relation of Pythagoreanism to Christianity; the Christian Element in Plato, or, Socrates and Christ; Seneca and Paul, the Relation of Stoicism to Christianity, as seen in the writings of Seneca. They all bear on the question of the relation of Christianity to the ancient philosophy.

The venerable Dr. August D. C. Twesten, the senior professor of the theological faculty in Berlin, died there Jan. 8, 1876. He celebrated the sixtieth jubilee of his academic career in 1874. He was born at Glückstadt, Aug. 11, 1789, became professor at the Kiel University in 1814, and succeeded Schleiermacher at Berlin in 1835. He wrote a useful treatise on logic, but his chief work was his famous "Lectures on the Dogmatics of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church," 2 vols., 1826-1837 (third edition of first vol. in 1834). This contains only the introduction, and the doctrine respecting God, the Trinity, and Angelology. The work was never carried further. The parts on the Trinity and the Angels were translated by Prof. H. B. Smith in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vols. 1, 2, and 3. Dr. Twesten was, in an independent way, a follower of Schleiermacher, but came much nearer the substance of the old orthodoxy. He was an admirable teacher, and enjoyed the honor and love of his numerous pupils. It is to be hoped that his Dogmatics may be completed from his manuscripts, and that other courses of his lectures may be published.

Dr. J. G. Dreydorff, pastor of the Reformed Church in Leipsick, and author of a life of Pascal, 1870, follows that up with a critical essay on Pascal's "Thoughts." To account for the enigmatic character of the work, he supposes that Pascal's various thoughts, here collected, can be harmonized by the theory of a change in his general plan, not indicated by him; that he at first had in mind a logical demonstration as a means of convincing bold unbelievers; finding this insufficient, that he next attempted to show that Christianity alone solves the riddles and contradictions of man's actual condition, and that, in fine, he contented himself with the endeavor to win the indifferent. Perhaps the best way to explain the "Thoughts" is, not that Pascal changed his plan, but that he had these various classes in mind, and wrote for them all; and that he did not digest his various arguments into any settled order.

The *Beweis des Glaubens* gives high praise to a work by Dr. H. Scharling, Prof. of Theology in Copenhagen, recently translated from the Danish into the German (2 vols., Gütersloh, 1875), entitled *Humanity and Christianity in their Historical Development; or, the Philosophy of History from the Christian Point of View*. It says that this is "one of the most important and thorough works in the sphere of Christian apologetics, and one of the most interesting and genial products of Christian scholarship." It gives a critical and comparative view of Christianity in its different epochs, and in its various forms of manifestation—Ancient, Roman Catholic, Greek, Protestant (with a decided preference for Lutheranism). In contrast with the modern anti-Christian speculations, it exhibits the inherent superiority of the Christian system.

The first volume is out of the *Universal German Biography*, published by a commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Munich. It extends to Baldamus. The project is a large one, the names of the contributors extending to over four hundred. The work will undoubtedly be thoroughly done.

L. Lemme edits a special edition of Luther's *Three Great Reformation Writings*, viz.: his Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, Babylonian Captivity of the Church, and the Freedom of a Christian Man (Gotha:Perthes.)

B. Duhm, Privat-docent in Göttingen, has published *The Theology of the Prophets as the Basis of the Internal Development-History of the Israelite Religion*. It is a work of reconstruction. He agrees with Kuenen (in his *Religion of the Israelites*) in the extreme position, that the Levitical laws, in the main, belong to the post-exilic period—a wide departure from Ewald, who is altogether too conservative for this new generation, which constructs everything by "the idea."

Prof. Hubner, of Berlin, is publishing a supplement to his *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Latinæ* (vol. VII., of the Berlin *Corpus Inscript. Latinæ*), entitled *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*, with 184 wood engravings, and a map by Kiepert. Several English scholars have aided in this work. The inscriptions range from A.D. 500 to 1,000, and come from Cornwall, Devon, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Scotland.

Hosea et Joel, prophetæ, ad Fidem codicis Babylonici Petropolitani, ed. H. Strack. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

A *Journal of Church History* (*Zeitschrift f. Kirchen, geschichte*), to take the place of the Leipsick Journal, recently came to a close, is to be published by Perthes of Gotha, edited by Dr. Th. Brieger, with the special aid of Drs. Gass, Reuter, and Ritschl—all strong names. It will cover the whole ground of scientific historical theology, the history of doctrines as well as the external church history, and consist of essays, critical accounts of new works, analecta, etc.

FRANCE.

A new philosophical review is started at Paris, by Ballière & Co., entitled *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Etranger*. It is a monthly periodical, at the rate of thirty francs a year, 112 pages a number. The editor is M. Th. Ribot, whose work on Heredity has been translated. This review is "for all the schools. It proposes to give a complete and exact picture of current philosophical movements, excluding no school. . . . It is not so certain that the different schools know one another sufficiently, and perhaps reciprocal contact might result in dissipating many misunderstandings, at any rate, one can then judge with full knowledge of the grounds." "Lively as are the quarrels of the schools, the reasons which separate them are less numerous than those which unite them, since

they are all at work on the same problems, speak the same language, and address themselves to the same sort of minds." Pure Positivism, the experimental school of France, England, and Germany, the Criticism of Kant, and the French Spiritualism, as inspired especially by Maine de Biran, will find here a free field. Psychology, ethics, theories on the philosophy of nature, even metaphysics (so far as it rests on facts), and new studies in the history of philosophy, are admitted. This is the general programme of the *Revue*, and in the parts for January and February it is well carried out. H. Taine opens with an interesting essay on the Acquisition of Languages by Children and by the Human Race, making liberal use of Max Müller's *Science of Language*. The next essay is by Paul Janet, of the Institute, on Final Causes, consisting of two chapters from his forthcoming work on that subject—one, a statement of the problem; the other, on the abuse of the doctrine of Final Causes. In this number of our REVIEW there is a translation of an article by Janet on the subject, which gives a full view of his theory. His discussion is able and philosophical, and in the present state of the controversy his views will attract and reward close attention. The third article is a translation of Herbert Spencer's lecture before the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain on the Comparative Psychology of Man. He first treats of the degree of mental evolution in the different types of the race, then compares the sexes, and lastly, speaks of the special intellectual characteristics of the different types of the race. In the February number there are four articles. W. Wundt, Mission of Philosophy at the Present Time. Ch. Bénard (translator of Hegel's *Æsthetics*) on Contemporary German *Æsthetics*, reviews the work of the different German æsthetic schools, the Hegelian idealists, the Herbert realists, the Positivist (Kirchman), the popular æsthetics of Thiersch, Ritter, and Carrière, and the historians of æsthetics, Ed. Müller, Lotze Zimmermann, and Schasler. It is a valuable summary by a competent critic. G. H. Lewes on the Hypothesis of a Specific Energy of the Nerves. P. Tannery, Nuptial Number in Plato, a learned discussion of the *locus mathematicus* in the eighth book of Plato's Republic, which is one of the most puzzling questions in ancient philosophy. The *Revue* contains full notices of several new philosophical works, German, French, and English. It promises essays on Berkeley, Bacon, Spencer, Herbert, Lotze, Jevons' Logic, the Swedish Philosophy, etc.

The Celtic scholar, M. Adolphe Pictet, recently deceased, formerly an officer in the Swiss artillery, was one of the first to bring out the connections between the Celts and the Aryans, by a comparison of languages in his work *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*.

A new historical review (*Revue Historique*), edited by G. Monod and G. Fagniez, has been begun in Paris. The first number contains Monod on the Progress of Historical Studies in France in the sixteenth century; V. Duruy on Municipal Government in the Roman Empire in the first two centuries of our era; C. Thurot, Critical Studies on the Historians of the First Crusade; A. Castan, Gravelle and the Little Emperor of Besançon, 1518-1538; A. Chézuel, Saint-Simon and Du Bois.

M. Fustel de Coulanges, author of the *Ancient City*, is publishing the second volume of his *History of French Institutions*; he is also lecturing at the Sorbonne on the History of Roman Institutions. M. Coulanges follows Sir Henry Maine in tracing back European institutions, feudalism, etc., to a common Indo-European social instinct. M. Perrens, the author of *Savonarola* and *Etienne Marcel*, is bringing out a *History of Florence*, in six volumes, of which two are published. M.,

Mignet is to add two volumes to his work on the *Rivalry of Francis I. and Charles V.*

A new work by M. Renan is announced—*Philosophical Dialogues*, divided into three parts: 1. "Our Certainties," or, Scientific Knowledge; 2. "Our Probabilities;" or, the Existence of God and the Immateriality of the Soul; 3. "Our Dreams"—after immortality. M. Thiers, abandoning the completion of his history, has in hand a work on *Nature and Spirit*, defending spiritualism by the natural sciences.

In the *Revue Chrétienne*. Jan., the editor, M. de Pressensé, gives a deplorable picture of the state of things under the recent administration, in relation to the liberty of the press and the liberty of worship. He says, "the most innocent and beneficent publications, such as the *Almanach des Bons Conseils*, are submitted to the most minute supervision, and enormous expenses are imposed to replace the pages in which the most effete bigotry can scarcely find a distant allusion to its superstitions. It is true that the scissors of this unsparing censorship are in Protestant hands, which is a grand consolation for us! The liberty of worship is not better treated. Not only is the authorization which we have received for many years capriciously withdrawn, as was done in Yonne last spring in twelve instances, but the pastors of the established church (Protestant) are molested in their ministry when it is exercised outside of their own temples; for instance, the trial of Pastor Lacheret, of Maubeuge, condemned for having celebrated worship in a private, almost domestic, manner. The letter of Pastor Marre, of Maligny (Yonne), reproduced by the whole liberal press, has aroused public indignation, as showing how an administration in the service of clericalism does not refrain from violence, even in the case of children of ten to twelve years, whom it withdraws from evangelical instructions on the most frivolous pretexts." If this goes on, "all free and courageous words will be impossible, public [Protestant] conferences will be limited to pure mathematics or mere trifles, while the Catholic universities will construct at their leisure the grand political philosophy, whose last word is the liberty of possessions to the profit of the *syllabus*."

ENGLAND.

The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, Jan., 1876, has a new editor, the Rev. J. S. Candlish, D.D. In a paper, entitled Soundness and Freedom in Theology, he presents ably some just views upon the function of a Review in promoting and maintaining "a more profound, learned, and fresh theological literature." "Humanly speaking," he says, "evangelical religion cannot be expected to keep its hold on the more educated and cultivated men of our days, in the face of so much ability and learning as is employed in certain questions against it, unless some, at least, of its defenders show themselves equal or superior in research and insight to their adversaries." He pleads for thorough discussion, for an allowance of differences on non-essential points: "The doctrines of the Reformation cannot be maintained without the recognition of the distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental articles." The tone of this number is in harmony with these avowals. The other articles are: 1. Church History: its Scope and Relations, an excellent introductory lecture in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, by Rev. Wm. Binnie, D.D. 2. "The Temperance Bible Commentary," of Dr. Lees and Mr. Burns, is sharply set right by Rev. Robert Watts, D.D., of Belfast. 3. The Spirits in Prison, and the Sons of God, by Rev. C. H. H. Wright, B.D., of Belfast, ably contending that the "Preaching" in 1 Pet. iii: 18-20, was in the days of Noah. 4. The Science of Religion and

Christian Missions, by the Rev. John Robson, M.A., soundly argued, with special reference to the views of Max Müller in his noted lecture on missions, and to modern theories of the Philosophy of Religion. 5. The Protestant Doctrine of Evangelical Perfection, by Rev. John Rae, M.A. 6. Ultramontaniam in France, by Rev. Clement de Faye, Brussels. 7. Tischendorf and Tregelles as editors of the Greek New Testament, by the Rev. William Milligan, D.D., Professor in Aberdeen, one of the British Committee on Revision, who is entirely competent to discuss the respective merits of the German and English critics above named. His article is every way good, and very instructive. He gives, on the whole, the preference to Tregelles, to whose life and labors full justice is done. "Tregelles," he writes, "stands between Lachmann and Tischendorf—not so limited in his aim as the one, and neither so wide in his range of materials, nor so subjective in his use of them, as the other. His position is thus a truer one than either." Dr. Milligan thinks that England is now taking the lead in just criticism of the New Testament text. Scrivener, Westcott, Hort and Lightfoot, are discussing the whole matter on the ground of settled "principles." "The prestige once enjoyed by us in the high field of sacred criticism, but long lost, becomes ours again."

We should like to make, did our space permit, extracts from several of these articles. That on Evangelical Perfection, by Rev. John Rae, is clear and discriminating. He gives a fair statement of the Romanist and Methodist views, and also of those of the German Professor Ritschl, who insists too sharply on the distinction between legal and evangelical perfection. Mr. Rae, while differing from him, agrees on one important point, that "our perfection under the gospel consists in making of ourselves a whole after our kind;" this is "substantially identical with the doctrine of the old divines, that it consisted in a *perfectio partium*, in our being an organic unity, wasting nothing essential to our nature as Christians, though having, it may be, nothing in its fullest development." This *perfectio partium* is in distinction from the *perfectio graduum*. Mr. Rae sums up thus:

Love to God and love to man, then, are one and the same principle; and this principle of love, which is only possible for one reconciled through Christ, is the characteristic and the power of the new life. It is the single trunk from which all the branches and foliage of that life spread. By its means, too, we perceive the essential unity which exists between legal perfection and evangelical, which, in Ritschl's system, seem put too far out of all relation with one another. The law is the multifarious expression of love in all its many-sided applications. Love is the fulfilling of the law, and he is evangelically perfect whose life, amid many short-comings and failures, is still ruled by this principle of love, which is the spirit that dictates and transfuses the law. He may fall into many sins, and betray many imperfections, but if he understands this principle clearly, and strives earnestly to obey it, he is pursuing the end of his being, and exhibiting the essential character of Christian perfection.

The Theological Review, edited by Charles Beard. January. 1. P. H. Wicksteed on Hilgenfeld's Introduction to the New Testament. 2. Dr. John Gordon, Review of Dale on the Atonement. 3. Wm. Binns, Methodism since Wesley. 4. C. Keegan Paul, Life of Bishop Gray. 5. Alexander Gordon, Hook's Life of Archbishop Laud. 6. F. R. Conder, The Central Ideas of Semitic and of Aryan Faith.

Dickinson's Theological Quarterly, January, has thirteen articles from American Reviews, etc. Among them are President Woolsey on the Equilibrium between Physical and Moral Truth; Dr. Peabody, The Sovereignty of Law; Dr. T. M. Post, The Incarnation; Prof. T. Dwight on the Fourth Gospel; Hon. J. D. Baldwin, the Early British and Irish Churches; Rev. A. J. Lyman, Opportunities of Culture in the Christian Ministry; Rev. W. D. Wilton, The Origin of Man and his Civilization; a translation of Kurtz on the Nature of Angels, etc.

Journal of Mental Science, edited by Drs. Maudsley and Clouston. 1. January. 1. Thos. Laycock, Reflex, Automatic, and Unconscious Cerebration. 2. H. C. Major the Brain of the Chackma Baboon. 3. W. L. Lindsay, Mind in Plants. 4. Clouston on Skae's Classification of Mental Disease. 5. D. Yellowlees, Plea of Insanity in Cases of Murder—case of Tierney.

Mr. George Long's *Decline of the Roman Republic*, is completed by the publication of the fifth volume. It is distinguished for thoroughness and impartiality, and a constant use of the original authorities.

A new and important work on Michael Angelo, by Mr. Heath Wilson, of Florence, is announced by Murray. It is based on the Italian work by Signor Gotti, but gives the results of elaborate studies by the author.

As showing the drift of speculation, Mr. Frederic Harrison's two essays on the Religious and Conservative Aspects of Positivism, in the *Contemporary Review* (Nov. and Dec. 1875), are worthy of note. Mr. Harrison is one of the editors and translators of the new English edition of Comte's Positive Philosophy. Positivism is to him the most religious and conservative of creeds and tendencies. It alone, he thinks, can preserve mankind from atheism and materialism. "Progress," he says, "is only the development of order." Religion, Philosophy, and Action are the three great "faculties" of humanity. These give us Comte's grand "hypothesis" of the Church, Education, and Society (Polity). All these are indispensable, and all work together. A "collective and organic power" presides over the whole development of mankind. "The spiritual conception" of such a being, he says, "is one of the grand conceptions in the progress of civilization, which mankind owes to Theology."

The new philosophical quarterly, *Mind*, Jan., 1876, contains the following articles: Prefatory Words, by the Editor, Prof. G. C. Robertson; Herbert Spencer, the Comparative Psychology of Man; James Sully, Physiological Psychology in Germany; John Venn, Consistency and Real Inference; Henry Sidgwick, the Theory of Evolution in its Application to Practice; Shadworth H. Hodgson, Philosophy and Science; Philosophy at Oxford, by the Rector of Lincoln College; Early Life of James Mill, by Prof. Bain; Critical Notices, Reports, Notes, by G. H. Lewes, Prof. Flint, J. G. McKendrick, Prof. T. M. Lindsay, C. Coupland, Prof. Bain, and the Editor.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has in preparation a series of popular manuals on the various non-Christian systems of religion: Prof. Moule, Williams on Hinduism; Rhys Davids on Buddhism; Mr. J. W. H. Stobart, of Lucknow, on Islamism; Rev. H. Rowley on the Fetish Systems.

The Canon of Canterbury, under the direction of the Master of Rolls, is to edit a series of volumes, containing all the extant materials for the Life of Thomas Beckett, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Dean Howson and Canon Spence are preparing a Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles.

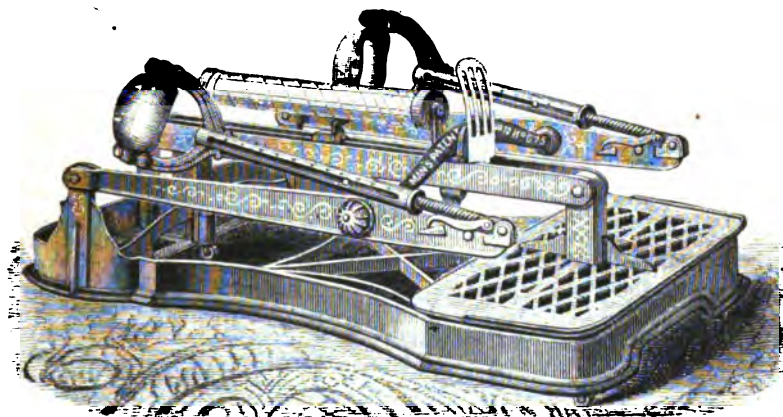
Some of the best works of Albericus Gentilis are to be republished at Oxford; he is buried in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. A monument is also to be erected to him in Italy, and a prize scholarship founded at Oxford in commemoration of his services.

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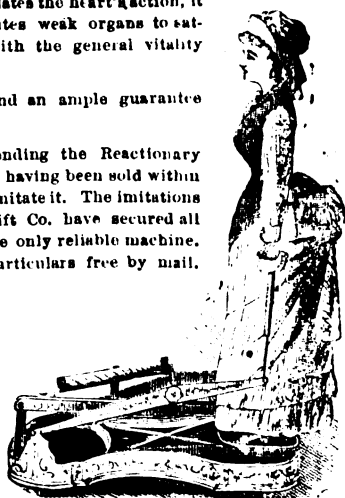
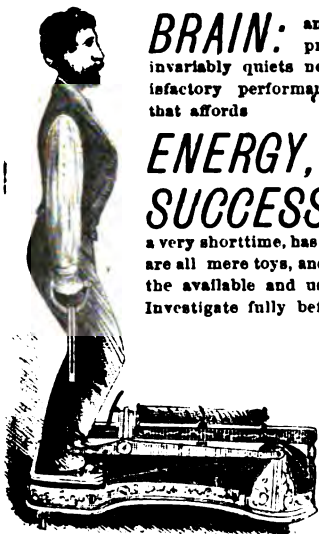


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JULY, 1876.

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Art. I.—THE FORMATION OF OUR STANDARDS.*

By J. B. BITTINGER, D.D., Sewickley, Pa.

“ON Saturday last, the Assembly of Divines began at Westminster, according to the ordinance of both the Houses of Parliament, where Dr. Twist of Newbery, in the County of Berks, their Prolocutor, preached on John xiv: 18—‘I will not leave you comfortless, I will come unto you,’ a text pertinent to these times of sorrow and anguish and misery, to raise up the drooping spirits of the people of God who lie under the pressure of popish wars and combustions.” In these simple and somewhat sad words, the parliamentary newspaper of the time records

* Minutes of the Sessions of the WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES while engaged in preparing their *Directory for Church Government, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms* (Nov. 1644 to March, 1649), from transcripts of the originals, procured by a Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Edited by PROF. MITCHELL and REV. JOHN STRUTHERS. William Blackwood & Sons, London. [A noteworthy volume, and which, by its notes, preface, introduction, and index of names (there should be by all means, also, an index of topics), is made doubly valuable. I wish it might be reprinted, and so brought within the reach of every member of Pan-Presbyterianism.]

the beginning of an Assembly, whose name and fame have since passed round the world. Very different is the tone of the royalist paper, as witness: "It was advertised this day that the Synod, which, by the pretended ordinance of the two Houses, was to begin on the 1st of July, was put off till Thursday following—it being not yet revealed to my Lord Say, Master Pym, and others of their associates in the Committee of Religion, what gospel 'tis that must be preached and settled by these new evangelists, only it is reported that certain of the godly ministers did meet that day in the Abbey church to a sermon, and had some doctrines and uses, but what else done, and to what purpose that was done, we may hear hereafter." Such were the gibes and word-play with which the Cavaliers were entertained by the *Mercurius Aulicus*, under that day and date of July 7, 1643. But he laughs best who laughs last. The royalist reporter was a little out as to the details of the meeting. This may have been carelessness on his part, or indifference, or it may be that that day, which, in its maturity proved to be an epoch in history, was *dies non* in the court of human judgment.

According to the ordinance of Parliament, the Assembly met Saturday, July 1, 1643, but did not sit for business till the following Thursday. Their task was set them, and began with their first session. Of the four things mentioned in the Covenant, to which, by order of Parliament, under date of July 5, they were first to direct their attention, was the consideration of the first ten articles of the Church of England, "to free and vindicate the doctrine of them from all aspersions and false interpretations." To this work they at once commended themselves—a work full of difficulties, if not dangers. Mending would not suffice, and altering was not allowed. While employed on these ten, another order came for the next nine following. They had only got through repairing and amending fifteen, when a third order, that of Oct. 12, 1643, "required them to lay aside the remainder, and enter upon the work of Church Government," and afterward, by another order—for orders in those days were frequent and peremptory—"we were to employ us in framing a Confession of Faith for the three kingdoms, according to our solemn league and covenant."

The general order in which "the four things mentioned in the

Covenant" were discussed, was Church Government, Directory of Public Worship, Confession of Faith, and a Catechism. We say "general" order, because all of them were under consideration, if not discussion, simultaneously. The four-fold chord, which was to bind the three kingdoms in peace and uniformity, was not separately woven in its several strands, and then formed into one—it began as one. Our standards in their several parts grew side by side; some, indeed, outgrew others, and came to an earlier maturity, but whether in the blade, or in the bloom, or in the ripe fruit, there was one and the same life moving in all the parts all the time, and they are one organically and not mechanically. In the first days of the Minutes with which we are now concerned, it is ordered "to report the preface to the Directory and concerning the Sabbath-day." The discussion on the Directory continued till Dec. 30, 1644, when it was ordered that "the appendix be sent up to-morrow." But from the Scottish Lord Chancellor's speech, we gather that the draught of Church Government would and ought to be presented at the coming January meeting of the General Assembly of Scotland. At the same session, the Committee on the Catechism was increased, with a view to hasten its completion. The draught of Government was ordered to be transcribed (Dec. 9, 1644), and was sent up to both Houses of Parliament, and so reported two days after; but in the beginning of the following year a note of trouble is heard from Uxbridge, where Parliament is treating with the King, and the Lords command the Earl of Manchester "to desire to hasten what is behind of Church Government, because it makes some stop in the business there." Next day comes an order "to send up what is remaining in Government," but not till July 4, 1645, was "the humble advice of the Assembly to both Houses of Parliament" carried up. Twenty-one months of discussion, long and learned, were devoted at intervals to the settling of Church Government. "This work," said Mr. Marshall, "though it appears short, yet has spent much time, by reason of dissenting judgments, that if possible they might be satisfied." Into this period of twenty-one months must be intercalated the time spent on the Directory of Worship, which, though begun after Church Government, was completed before it. In fact, Church Government never was completed. It was the first topic, and it was the last, and

down to 1648 we find traces of its slow length as it dragged along. The Confession of Faith occupied the attention of the Assembly between two and three years. In August of 1644, it is already mentioned, and the last month of '46 it is completed. These dates show that the framing of the Confession began before either Government or the Directory were finished, overlapping both of them a considerable time. As early as November of 1644, Baillie reported the Catechism as drawn up, and "I think shall not take up much time," but our canny Scotchman lost his guess, since our Catechisms did not get themselves completed so soon, nor so easily—the larger not till October, 1647, and the shorter fully a month later; and here, as in the case of the Confession of Faith, and notably so in Government, 'twas not done when 'twas done—the Scripture proofs, as usual, lagged behind. Thus, from October 12, 1643, when the Assembly was ordered to take up Government, to April 12, 1648, when the Scripture proofs of both Catechisms were ordered to be sent up to Parliament, the standards were under discussion. All the parts were taken in hand before any one part had been completed, and as there were questions which came up, some in several of "the four things," and some in all of them, the discussions were necessarily duplicated and reduplicated, from time to time, during those four and a half eventful years.

For while the Assembly were discussing, in the seclusion of the Jerusalem Chamber, those standards, which were intended to give peace and security to the three Kirks and Kingdoms, those realms were in the fiercest ferment. Every element of discord was let loose. The whole atmosphere was charged with passions, threatening to explode in deeds of violence, cruelty, and blood; civil war had been flagrant in England for more than a year past. During the Assembly's sittings was fought every battle, from the Second of Newbery to the fatal day of Naseby. The King a fugitive, a prisoner, and a "martyr;"—the Primate tried, condemned, and executed; and the Church, whose articles they were met to explain and defend, prostrate and bleeding at every pore. Ireland was all ablaze from Dublin to Derry, Catholic against Protestant, and Protestant against Catholic, and, at times, both against the Parliament. In Scotland, Montrose had come down from the Grampians like a wolf on the fold, and scattered the Covenanters like sheep, from Tipper-

muir to Philiphaugh. Kingdoms were divided, counties were divided, neighborhoods and parishes—yea, a man's enemies were those of his own house. Fear and hate filled the land. It was at such a time that the Westminster Assembly met, and amid such scenes were its standards set up. Perhaps these pious laborers at their task applied to themselves Gabriel's words to Daniel. Certain it is, that the munitions of our Presbyterian faith and order, like the walls of Jerusalem, were built "even in troublous times." Without were fightings, within were fears.

In reading these Minutes, the meagre record of their daily doings—much of this outside conflict comes to the surface. Not only in the formal feasts and thanksgivings proclaimed because of military misfortune or military success; but in their standing committee for plundered ministers; in the appointment of chaplains for the army and navy; and in the non-appointment of persons to pray with the committee of both kingdoms and the House of Lords, we get a nearer view of the Assembly, and of their labors. How, when, by whom, and amid what circumstances, our Articles of Faith were framed, are questions which never have been so satisfactorily answered as they now are by these official minutes, from Nov. 18, 1644, to February 22, 1649.

The Assembly numbered from first to last about one hundred and seventy-five members. This sum is made up of the original one hundred and twenty clerical names, twenty-five of whom never appeared; of the twenty-one superadded divines to fill these vacancies, and also to supplement the places of deceased members; of the four Scottish commissioners, and of the thirty-two lay-assessors—ten lords and twenty commoners. The Assembly opened with sixty-nine—forty being a legal quorum—and even this number was, with difficulty, kept up toward the last. The members had been summoned by name from all parts of the kingdom, and impartially, so far as appears; but the King's subsequent prohibition deterred a good many; fears and scruples kept back others of the established church, so that in effect the body was Presbyterian; the two Erastians, the seven Independents, and the few Episcopals being as conspicuous—especially the Erastians and Independents—for the small number of their votes, as for the pertinacity and power of their opposition.

The following is "a taste of the outward form of the Assemblée:" "On Monday morning we sent to both Houses of Parliament for a warrant for our sitting in the Assemblée. Here no mortal man may enter to see or hear, lett be to sitt, without ane order in wryte from both Houses of Parliament. When we were brought in, Dr. Twisse had ane long harangue for our welcome; when he had ended, we satt down in these places, which since we have keeped. The like of that Assemblée I did never see, and, as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor any where is shortlie lyke to be. They did sit in Henry the 7th's chappell, in the place of the Convocation, but since the weather grew cold, they did go to Jerusalem Chamber, a fair roome in the Abbey of Westminster. At the one end nearest the doore and both sides are stages of seats. At the upmost end there is a chaire set on ane frame, a foot from the earth, for the Mr. Proloquutor, Dr. Twisse. Before it, on the ground, stands two chairs for the two Mr. Assessors, Dr. Burgess and Mr. Whyte. Before these two chairs, through the length of the roome, stands a table, at which sitts the two scribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough. The house is all well hung, and hes a good fyre, which is some dainties at London. Foreanent the table, upon the Proloquutor's right hand, there are three or four rankes of formes. On the lowest we five doe sit. Upon the other, at our backs, the members of Parliament deputed to the Assemblée. On the formes foreanent us, on the Proloquutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the house to the chimney, and at the other end of the house, and backsyde of the table, till it come about to our seats, are four or five stages of formes, whereupon their divines sitt as they please, albeit commonlie they keep the same place. From the chimney to the doore there is no seats, but a voyd for passage. The Lords of Parliament uses to sit on chaires in that voyd about the fire. We meet every day of the week but Saturday. We sitt commonlie from nine to one or two, afternoon. The Proloquutor, at the beginning and end, hes a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he hes studied, and very good, beloved of all, and highly esteemed, but merelie bookish, and not much, as it seems, acquaint with conceived prayer—among the unfittest of all the company for any action; so, after

the prayer he sits mute. It was the canny convoyance of those who guides most matters for their own interests to plant such a man of purpose in the chair. The one Assessor hes kept in of the gout since our coming; the other, Dr. Burgess, a very active and sharpe man, supplies, so far as is decent, the Proloquutor's place. Ordinarily there will be present above three-score of their divines. These are divided in three committees. Every committee, as the Parliament gives order in wryte to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion, and in their afternoon meeting prepares matters for the Assemblie, settis down their minde in distinct propositions with texts of Scripture. Mr. Byfield reads the proposition and Scriptures, whereupon the Assemblie debates in a most grave and orderlie way. No man is called up to speak, but who stands up of his own will—he speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedlie calls on his name whom they desyre to hear first. No man speaks to any but the Proloquutor. They harangue long and very learnedlie. I doe marvell at their very accurate and extemporall replies. . . . The scribe, when the question is called, rises and comes to the Proloquutor's chair, who, from the scribe's book, reads the proposition. . . . When the question is once ordered, there is no more debate of that matter, but if a man will vaige [*i. e.*, wanders from the question], he is quickly taken up by Mr. Assessor, or many others, confusedlie crying—speak to order! to order! No man contradicts another expresslie by name, but most discreetly speaks to the Proloquutor, and at most holds on the generall!—the reverend brother who lately or last spokè, on this hand, on that side, above, or below." So much for Baillie, the Boswell of the Assembly. His description is so minute, and withal so frank, that no picture by Teniers could more graphically set this venerable body before us.

If we cannot unreservedly subscribe to the words of praise, spoken of its members in the above quotation, nor fully accept his farewell estimate, three years later, "that the piety and wisdom of the Assembly was more than, at that day, were to be found in any one place of the whole world," we can, without scruple, give our hearty approbation to their patient labors, the extent of their learning, and the zeal and piety of their purpose. It is surprising how large a number of authors the

Assembly embraced. Men seemed to have rushed into print. It was harder to find one man who had not written a book, than seven men who had. There was no room for the lament, that your adversary had written a book. Instead of one, he had, in all likelihood, written half a dozen—if not books, at least sermons. The air was full of flying leaves, torn by the storm of controversy from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. There were, doubtless, a few names that had kept themselves from this "battle of the books," but they were very few. Here and there one has escaped the "Dictionary of Authors," but there are not many whose names may not be found in our Allibone. Some, like John Ward of Ipswich, or Stanley Gower, and Thomas Temple, have brought with them a single sermon, or, mayhap, two—of course they are in quarto form. Others, like Richard Vines, and Anthony Tucker, come to us, the one with thirty-two discourses on one text, and the other with thirty-two on another. Occasionally, one is credited with an octavo volume, but, as a general thing, quartos are the favorite form, while not a few, like Caryll and Calamy, Lightfoot and Goodwin, Case and Bridge, stand on our shelves in massive folios, filled with erudition, comment, and controversy. Nor was there lack among them of the solidest learning. Usher, who was a member by brevet, and Reynolds and Gataker, were known beyond the seas, having an European reputation as the peers of Blondel and Bochart.

The titles of their publications point mainly to the field of theology and polemics. Philip Nye dabbled some in politics; John White, one of the Assessors, "the patriarch of Dorchester," in England, and one of the most efficient patrons of "Old Dorchester" in Massachusetts, was the author of the "Planter's Plea" for emigration; and Thomas Thorougood showed his interest in matters outside of theology, by his "Jews in America; or, a Probability that the Americans are of that race"—but divinity was the staple product, and the era was a theological era. While such training may have given an unduly militant cast to their labors, it was not a disqualification for their work. That was theological and controversial. They were met to formulate a creed, and to defend it against all comers. Episcopacy had been abolished, and the country was waiting for a church government and a rubric.

The titles of a few of their works will give us the spirit and flavor of the times. Arrowsmith's *Armilla Catechetica*; Thomas Young's *Dies Dominica*; Cheynell's *The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianisme*; also his *Chillingworthi Novissima*; or, *the Sickness, Heresy, Death, and Burial of W. C.*; Thomas Westfield, *The White Robe*; or, *Surplice Vindicated in Several Sermons*. Rutherford's *Plea for Paul's Presbytery in Scotland*, and his *Lex Rex*—the latter burnt by the common hangman. Burning heretical books, instead of their authors, was one of the steps toward toleration, and on several occasions during their sittings, the Assembly appointed committees to superintend such work in London and Westminster. These burnings were the Protestant Indexes, *Expurgatorius and Prohibitorius*; Herle's *The Independency upon Scripture of the Independency of Churches*; Rathband's *Confutation of the Sect called Brownists and Separatists*. The limits of Church and State were far from being clearly defined in theory, while in practice they rubbed hard, and often disastrously, against each other. If every politician was not a clergyman, nearly every Puritan clergyman, whether Independent or Presbyterian, was somewhat of a politician. It seemed less dangerous to them to encroach on Cæsar, than on God, and the Scotch, to a man, were *jure divino* Presbyterians.

But while it was an age of speculative divinity, and of politico-theological controversy, it was eminently also an age of practical piety and biblical study. Catechisms and Scripture expositions abounded. There were brave men before Agamemnon, and there were Catechisms before the days of the Westminster Larger and Shorter Catechisms. As early as 1598, Mickelthwaite had put out his "Catechism for Householders," and even before that, a Catechism in Latin and Greek appeared, from the pen of William Whitaker. Palmer had the reputation of being "the best Catechist in England," and it is more than probable that Rutherford came down to the Assembly with a Catechism in his pocket. The "Morning Exercises", at Cripplegate, St. Giles, etc., by Thomas Case and his co-laborers, filled six quarto volumes; Caryll's "Exposition on Job" ran up to twelve quartos. Dr. Gouge is credited with one thousand Wednesday Lectures. Greenhill gives us five volumes on Ezekiel, and these are only specimens of the Ex-

pository work done by some of the members of the Assembly. The Assembly itself became a commentator, and to its "Annotations of the Bible," such scholars as Ley and Gataker contributed their large learning and labors.

Age, as well as training, is an element of power in such a body, and most of these men were in the prime of life. Twisse, Gouge, Gataker, Ley, Henderson, and Harris were among the oldest. They were between sixty and seventy—these were the old men for counsel. Then there were some very young men—such as Gillespie and Cheynell; but the great majority ranged between these two extremes, and at least four-fifths of the Assembly were born within three years of the line that divided the sixteenth from the seventeenth century.

If we except one or two questions where Erastianism came in conflict with *jure divino* Presbyterianism, the English Lay-Assessors took very little part in the Assembly's discussions. The Scotch Lay-Assessors were far more active, and especially is this true of the Scottish clerical delegates. They were very vigilant. Each one, says Baillie, was there with a set purpose: "Mr. Gillespie for the crying down of the English ceremonies, on which he has written; I for the convincing of that prevalent faction (Arminian Episcopalists), on which I have written; Blair to wean off England from Independency to Scotch Presbyterianism." Scotland's predominance lies on the surface of these Minutes. Her commissioners occupy the place of honor in the Assembly—the moderator's right, and in front of the Commons—and great deference is shown to their letters and commissions. The Northern Kingdom always comes with observation. Rutherford, Gillespie, and Henderson were only three, but in the debates their names recur with marvelous frequency; this point seems to have arrested the notice of Gillespie himself. Granted that they made the best speeches, it will not be denied that they made, out of all proportion, the most. Gillespie has obtained most reputation; Baillie never took part in the debates, but gave his time to taking notes, writing letters, and "managing"—for he was shrewd, politic, and tireless. Rutherford makes no special mark, but Henderson—Alexander Henderson, without doubt—was the guiding spirit of the Scotch Commission. He had age

and experience. He was a man of affairs. During those critical days, when the covenant was to be adopted in Scotland, he had piloted "the cause" through the narrow straits between Scotch zeal and English state-craft, and he ever kept his hand steadily on the helm. Whenever he rose in the Assembly, it was to compose differences, and he seldom failed. We cannot deny that he was a diplomatist, but in his comprehensiveness he was more than the diplomat—a Hushai rather than an Ahithophel. On all important questions the Scotch Commissioners were "desired to be present," and without them, not anything was done that was done. We are now prepared to take up the work of the Assembly, in its several parts.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

This question which gave rise to the sharpest debate and the bitterest feelings, was one which touched least on the spirit of religion. It was the first, the longest, and the last to occupy the time of the Assembly. As early as the fall of 1640, it was a live question in Scotland; and Henderson, in the paper which he drew up to present to the Lords of the Treaty of Ripon, lays special stress on Uniformity of Religion. "It is to be wished that there were one Confession of Faith, one form of Catechism, one Directory for all the parts of the public worship, and *one form of Church Government* in all the churches of his majesty's dominions." The last part is, with this most astute and comprehensive of all the Scotch Commissioners, the point of a standing or falling national church. He has five separate arguments to prove this, and then addresses five more, with some subdivisions, to commend Scotch Presbyterianism as being the best, and by all reformed divines held to be "*jure divino* and perpetual." Baillie, in a private letter to his wife, most naively testifies to the same point. Before prelacy was abolished, and before the Assembly was called, England had begun to look with interest to the Scotch as allies in arms, if not as allies in faith, order, and worship. When the Assembly met in July, Scotland still waited for light, though invited to send commissioners, and had them in readiness; but the arrival of the English commission in August removed all doubts as to whether they should assist their "English brethren." But how? Should it be civil or religious aid? Both! Sir Harry Vane suggested, and Henderson agreed, and thus was the solemn League and

Covenant adopted by Scotland, amid smiles and tears and huzzas, and with equal zeal and solemnity by England a few months later.

Two weeks after the adoption of the Covenant by the Assembly and the Houses of Parliament, the former received its order to "treat among themselves of such a discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed Churches abroad." This order at once threw down the apple of discord before the three parties in the Assembly—Erastians, Independents, and Presbyterians. What is the church? A question which they did not answer, and which is not yet satisfactorily answered. They proceeded to settle the questions that lay about the centre, but wisely forbore through fear to fix the centre. They began with "church officers"—differing about their number, functions, perpetuity, and authority, especially did they stick at "ruling elders." This was the *pièce de resistance*, and the two week's struggle on this question would probably have ended in an open breach, had it not been for the experience and round-about common-sense of Henderson. He knew that the ideal and the real of human life, like the asymptotes of the hyperbola, are ever approaching, but never coinciding, and, by a few flexible words, such as the author of the solemn League and Covenant was fully master of, trimming without betraying, he made room for the spirit of compromise—and "ruling elders" were allowed to be of divine authority. This was a point gained for Presbyterianism, though for the present the duties of the office were left undefined. "Deaconesses" found no support, even from the Independents.

Parliament, having sequestered the benefices of scandalous and malignant ministers, especially in and about London, it became necessary to supply these vacant parishes. The plunderings and spoilings practiced by both armies in the north and west of England furnished abundance of applicants, and so there must be ordinations, and "ordination" must be discussed. A stormy debate of a fortnight followed, without any definite conclusion being reached. Independents and Presbyterians eyed each other with ill-concealed jealousy. Parliament urged action, and the Assembly tried to act, but though the doctrinal

part had been settled in April, it was not till Oct. that the Assembly was ready to ordain. The question, moreover, had got outside of the Assembly. The Scotch commissioners had prepared an outline of Presbyterianism and its workings in their own country. A copy of this pamphlet was put into the hands of each member of the Assembly. This was in Jan., 1644. Next month the "Dissenting Brethren" put forth their "Apologetic Narration"—a defense of themselves and of their system of government. This let loose all the imprisoned winds of controversy—in and out of the Assembly. Passion and prejudice blinded each party no less to the defects of its own system, than to the merits of the system of its opponents. Time, the wisest of all teachers, has taught us that there was too much good in both systems to be ignored, much less to be destroyed, by either party. "Ordinations," however, could now proceed, but during all the spring, summer, and autumn was heard the confused noise of battle between the Independents and Presbyterians in the Assembly, no less than the clangor of arms between the Royalists and Parliamentarians outside; for "ruling elders," "parish limits," "church censures," no less than ordination, had all in them the same element of debate, discord, and division, viz.: What is the church? The right of congregational ordination, says Lightfoot, "was managed with most heat and confusion of anything that had happened among us."

These questions of church government not only got outside of the Assembly and the Parliament, they got into the army. In September of this year Cromwell obtained an order from the Commons to have the toleration of the Independents referred to the "Committee of both Kingdoms." Oliver was an Independent, a member of Parliament, the hero of Marston Moor, and a prepondering weight in any scale into which he might throw himself. This committee, however, accomplished nothing, if we leave out of their report the expressed confidence that they could agree in everything except "in points of church government!"

The year 1644 wore out itself, but not this difference. The discussion ran into books—a very common controversial fuel in those days of heat. The Independents—Greenhill and Carter having joined them—being now seven, had put out forty pages to

state, explain, and defend their views. The Assembly answered with twice forty. Both papers go before Parliament, and after three years, are issued, by their authority, with this long title, "The Reasons presented by the Dissenting Brethren against certain Propositions concerning Presbyterian Government, together with the Answers of the Assembly of Divines to their reasons of dissent." In 1652 it gets a new title-page, but undergoes no other change, and, for brevity's sake, is now known and quoted as "The Grand Debate." Another year of debate, at intervals, on Church Government wore on, but nothing came of it but "A Copy of a Remonstrance." It is now the last of October, 1645. Of course to this remonstrance the Assembly has a counter-remonstrance, somewhat acrid, if not acrimonious. But another attempt at peace is made. The Committee of Accommodation is revived, meetings are held and papers read—the last meeting, in March, 1646, with more and longer papers than ever, but with no agreement and no compromise. Each party was still more observant of its opponent's wrongs than of its own. Jealousy made them alive to their own rights, and envy made them blind to the rights of their rivals. The atmosphere was too much heated for deliberation, much less for accommodation.

Thus far the debate on Church Government had been between parties who differed as to the question *where* the divine authority was lodged in the church; it was not a difference in kind, but rather in degree. Presbyterianism was a middle term between Prelacy and Independency, and where the State was not in question, had a decided congregational leaning. Independency was a middle term between Presbyterianism and Brownism, and when there was no State-Church to fear, wore a not unfriendly aspect toward Presbyterianism. But with reference to the State, the Presbyterians were High Church *jure divino*, and thus excited the ill-will of the Independents, the opposition of the Erastians, and the suspicions of the government.

As early as the beginning of 1644, when the power of pastors to excommunicate was under discussion, Erastianism showed itself. At that early period Selden already demurred, intimating that there was no such thing at all as excommunication. This question, therefore, in its various forms of a "pure sacrament," "scandalous sins," and "the exclusion of the igno-

rant," was before the Assembly and Parliament at near intervals all through 1644 and 1645, and during all the month of the next January even, they debated it. What sins are worthy of excommunication? and shall they be specified? No, says Herle. Gouge would instance "incest and such like." Nye would excommunicate for obstinacy, but opposed classifying sins. There was much heat in the debate, and many calls to order. Then, from what should the excommunication be? Some said from the table, others from preaching, and others, still, from praying. At this point a six weeks' debate on appeals to higher judicatories was interjected. Then came the report of the particulars of that ignorance and scandal for which persons may be excluded; and, still further, an order from the House of Commons "to set down what they mean by a competent knowledge and understanding concerning 'God the Father,'" etc. In June the House asks for a catalogue of scandalous sins. The list is furnished in part—and it is a picture of the times. In making it up we hear debates for days and weeks about "absence from parochial congregations," about "naked breasts," about "love locks," "drinking healths," "keeping pictures of Christ," "neglecting family worship," etc., etc.

We are not yet through with the question of excommunication, but for relief from "the strife of tongues," let us listen to the sheriffs of London, who are called in to the Assembly: "We are sent as messengers from the Lord Mayor and our court of Aldermen. A day of thanksgiving is set apart on Thursday next, and that both Houses do intend to meet at Christ Church [this was for a sermon as a sort of grace.] The court have invited both houses to a short dinner, and present the like request . . . at a place near unto the church" [probably Grocers' Hall]. The art of dining was not then unknown to the State, and it is pleasant to think, that some difficulties in Church, as well as in State, may be resolved by good cheer. Man is a dinner-giving animal, and those stern Puritans, and Covenanters, who were so mighty in fasting and praying, were not, we are glad to know, strangers to the humane and humanizing effects of eating salt together. The invitation was to "a short dinner," but it was accepted with thanks. Naseby had been fought on the 14th of June. This dinner was on the 17th, and in part celebrated that victory. It helped along the debate on church

government, for we find the Assembly ready to carry up "their humble advice" July 4, 1645, and for the next three months, with one or two intrusions of "scandalous sins," the Assembly is quietly, solemnly, and in much unanimity, occupied with the Confession of Faith.

But the Parliament was preparing new trouble for the Assembly. What with Coleman's Erastian sermon preached before the House of Commons July 30, and Whitelock's Erastian speech before the House in September, there seemed no refuge but in God. Oct. 8, 1645, the Assembly observed one of their characteristic, but not unusual, days of humiliation, "in this place, for a blessing on their work."

"*Ordered*—Five members of the Assembly: three for prayer, two for exhorting.

"Time to begin at nine, to end at four o'clock. For exhortation: Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Palmer: for prayer, Dr. Burgess, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Sedgewick."

It need not be said that the sermons were "to the times." In those earnest days there was no amateur preaching, praying, nor fasting.

Parliament, while gradually making concessions, insisted on its commissioners in each shire as a sort of court of appeal from pastors and elders, but the Assembly went quietly from their "fast" to their further work on the Confession, till into the opening months of 1646. The clergy said they could not yield their right to bar the table, and Parliament, in the flush of its victories, would not yield up its right to be supreme in the realm—there was a dead-lock; it was right against might. In January, 1646, Baillie is of the opinion that Parliament, because it subsists on London, may be starved into submission. He is bitter against "the court of commissioners in every shire," has most of the city and country clergy on his side, blames the Independents, the Erastians, and such lawyers as Evelyn, Whitelock, and Vane. "In the meantime, it mars us to set up anything, the anarchy continues, and the vilest sects daily increase." We are now well on in March, 1646. Presbyterianism is not yet set up, nor, judging from the 'temper of Parliament, likely to be; and now less likely, because, as England rises in power over her enemies at home, Scotch influence wanes,

and Scotch influence is ecclesiastical mainly, and Presbyterian exclusively.

At this juncture the Assembly rose in their action to a heroic stature, and the leader of the forlorn hope was Stephen Marshall, the preacher of Pym's funeral sermon, a memorably mild man, and, according to Baxter, the model Presbyterian. To avert the calamitous act of making civil officers the final judges of admission to the sacrament—an act to go speedily into effect—this meek-spirited man, "because some things in that ordinance did lie very heavy on his conscience, and the consciences of many of his brethren, moved that the Assembly would consider what is fit to be done." They appoint a committee, of which Marshall is to be chairman, "to make a humble address to Parliament by way of petition." The petition expressed much satisfaction with what Parliament has already done for the peace and reformation of the realm, but yet some things were wanting, and that "a pure sacrament was not possible under any system except the Presbyterian, which is *jure divino*." This was the crisis of the Assembly—it had now spoken its supreme word. All that went before were only steps up to this sublime height. Coleman's sermon, in which he had said to the Commons, "give us doctrine, and you take government," called out Gillespie's "*Brotherly Examination*," to be followed by Coleman's "*Brotherly Examination Re-examined*." Then Gillespie came with his Latin—"Nihil respondes," to which Coleman replies in the same spirit and dialect: "*Male dicis, Male dicis*." Gillespie once more: "*Male audis*," but Coleman is silent, takes sick in the midst of the debate, and dies before it is done. Rutherford adds his book, "The Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication," but the mild Marshall has said the last and the greatest word. It brings down the House of Commons by a committee to lay the charge of a breach of privilege at the door of the Assembly, and demands answer and purgation, but before they enter this arena the Assembly is fain to accept, with thanks, another invitation to another of the Lord Mayor's conciliatory dinners "with the two Houses of Parliament at Grocers' Hall, on Thursday next" (which is the 2d of April, 1646). This communion of salt, as we have already seen, is not an empty ceremony.

The Commons see in Presbyterianism "ten thousand arbi-

trary and unlimited judicatories," and in the past Parliaments, the preservers of religion and the conservers of its purity; and so, on the 30th of April, 1646, Evelyn, Fiennes, and others came into the Assembly with the famous nine questions on *jure divino* Presbyterianism, and with authority to enlarge on said questions, which they proceed to do, somewhat as follows—*Evelyn* (quite sarcastic): "The House is very sensible of your endeavors thus far. Do not now give all the world occasion to say that as you were willing to serve the Parliament awhile, so you were willing to have them serve you forever after. Parliament is not unwilling to put on Christ's yoke—his yoke is easy—if it is a galling yoke it is not his, and we (will not bear it?)" and so on. *Fiennes*, Nathaniel by name, was even more severe than, if not quite so sarcastic as, *Evelyn*: "The Assembly was called to advise so often as asked, but not to propound. It was never given to you to interpret the National Covenant—the volunteering of your advice was a breach of privilege. The Parliament doth not pretend to infallibility, and the Parliament supposes this Assembly doth not either. In matters of fact Parliament may be ignorant, but in matters of right none must imagine any dishonorable thing of Parliament. Those things are not the way of Englishmen, Christians, and ministers of Christ. We come to speak plainly to you, and plain English"—very plain, Nathaniel, but hardly without guile. *Mr. Brown* was full of definitions anent privilege, and instances of punishment for its violation. "*Jus divinum* is a difficult thing—it has much engaged Parliament. The Covenant is much pressed—but are we bound by the Covenant to follow the practice of Reformed Churches, in case it be against the fundamental law of the Kingdom? 'Commissioners' is not a new word; it hath been in the church since the conquest. It is a Popish doctrine to take from princes their divine power. One parish will judge one way (of sins), and another, another"—and *Mr. Brown* wants uniformity!

Sir Benj. Rudyard said: "*Jus divinum* is of a formidable and tremendous nature. We want clear, express Scripture, not far-fetched arguments. Much is said about the pattern in the Mount. I could never find in the New Testament (such a pattern?). The civil magistrate is a church officer in every Christian commonwealth," and so on. The committee with-

drew, leaving behind the nine questions—like so many evil spirits. The questions are read over in the Assembly several times—but this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting, and the Assembly will approach the matter through a day of humiliation. Two exhortations and three prayers—time from nine to four o'clock. All the members to attend, so Parliament ordered; absentees to be summoned by letter. Dr. Temple excused upon special occasion; Reynolds, sickness; Ley, to visit his people, "after four years' absence;" Spurstow, the same. Lord Wariston, in two words, gave the key-note to the discussion, before adjourning for the fast: (1) "Let us to the uttermost endeavor to exalt Christ as the only Lord over his church; and (2) Let us use all freedom in our debates." Cawdry "exhorted" from 1. Tim. i: 19. "The life of a Christian—a wayfare, a warfare, a seafare." Arrowsmith discoursed on Is. ix: 6: "Government upon his shoulder."

On Monday, May 4th, 1646, the Assembly took up the "nine questions." They found three ways in which Christ's will is set forth in Scripture—express precept, necessary consequence, and example. For upward of six weeks they labored at these "proofs" by their committee; but by settling the headship of Christ, as they did in July, while debating chap. xxx. of the Confession of Faith, they in effect decided the main question of Church Government—against the Erastians; and thus the Assembly, by one of those oblique movements which mask a defeat, while they mark a victory, answered the nine questions of the House of Commons, indirectly, indeed, but adversely and victoriously. The vote on the sufficiency of the proofs was, *yeas*, 52—Lightfoot alone dissenting—Coleman being in his grave since March 30; Simpson, Carter, Jr., Goodwin, and Nye—all Independents, but all voting *yea*. The main question being decided, the dependent ones were easily passed, but with diminishing numbers of voters—partly owing to the Independents "forbearing till they did see the scope," and partly to a generally declining interest.

For want of harmony between the Presbyterians and the Independents, matters again drag in the Assembly, and the politic Baillie tells us that he "put some of his good friends in the House of Commons to move the Assembly to lay aside

the nine questions, and finish the Confession and Catechisms, which are most necessary, and all are crying for;" it was so done. July 22, the day of Twisse's death, the order came, and the next six months of the Assembly are taken up mainly with the Confession and Catechism; and Church Government, as *jus divinum*, goes again into books and pamphlets. Gillespie dedicates and presents to the Assembly, receiving their thanks, "Aaron's Rod Blossoming; or, the Divine Ordinance of Church Government Vindicated." A little later sundry London ministers put out: "The Divine Right of Church Government." In December, Parliament again calls for the nine questions, but not pressing, and so the call is disregarded. Moreover, Parliament has in its hands full more than nine questions about getting well rid of their now somewhat superfluous "Scotch brethren," and getting possession of the King's person. The Confession of Faith having been completed in November, and the Assembly having resolved, Dec. 1, 1646, "that there shall be no alteration in chapter xxx. of 'Church Censures,'" this would seem to be their last word on Church Government. But it was not; for on Nov. 25, 1647, when the *Shorter Catechism* was sent up—it was resolved, that "something be said to the House of Commons, at the delivery of the Catechism, concerning *the queries*," and, as we learn from the "House Journal," the Assembly were directed to proceed with their answers, but "the logic of events" was fast answering all *jure divino* questions, whether of Church or State.

DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP.

The famous order of Parliament, under date of Oct. 12, 1643, which drew off the Assembly from the vindication of the XXXIX Articles, and put them upon a Church Government, "in nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad," in place of the present Church Government by archbishops, bishops, etc.; also asked for the advice of the Assembly, touching "the Directory of Worship, or Liturgy hereafter to be in the Church." A new church must have a new liturgy. But "Church Government" proved so absorbing in its interest, that the Assembly seems to have taken no steps in reference to a Directory till May 21, of the second year, when, on motion of Rutherford, the matter was pressed

upon them, and a few days after Mr. Palmer reported on it, and the debate began.

Strange as it may seem, considerable difference of opinion manifested itself on the question—whether any other person, except the minister, might read the Scriptures in public. This High-church difficulty was finally relieved by granting occasional permission to probationers. The Lord's Supper presented still graver questions. Should the communicants sit at the table, or in their pews? The Scotch were strenuous for the former; the Independents were equally strenuous for the latter. The extremes to which these things were then carried is illustrated by the satirical remark, that Sir Harry Vane emigrated to America that he might take the Communion standing. But a much more serious question was the minister's power to bar the table against ignorant and scandalous persons. A solid month was spent on this point. The Sacrament of Baptism occupied them about the same length of time. Respecting the Sabbath, some debate arose on the title—"The Lord's day,"—and the language, which finally got into the Directory, is a judicious mixture of both terms, so that the strict Sabbatarians and the Lord's Day people should have an equal footing. As to other "holy days," it was strongly resolved "that the Sabbath-day was the only standing holy day under the New Testament to be kept by all the churches of Christ." It was also discussed, whether "something should be expressed against parish feasts, such as rush-bearings, whitsun-ales, wakes, garlands, and other such like superstitious customs."

Dr. Burgess wanted something put in "concerning church members keeping themselves to their own congregations, because of the giddiness of the people in this kind." Palmer thought that, without some such order, "hundreds of people would come to no church at all, and that nothing could be more destructive to the right performance of family duties, than that one should go to one place, and another to another." Sedgwick interposed: (1) "That there be a good minister in every congregation, and (2) That there be sufficient church accommodations," neither of which objections Palmer thought ought to stand. These slight obstructions being removed, the Assembly proceeded to the chapter on marriage. The Directory,

in its nearly-completed form, was carried up to the House of Lords November 21, 1644,

But "marriage" was not so easily disposed of. Henderson wanted something put in on "espousals," and had high notions about marriage; it was "a covenant of God." Wilson regarded it as only "a civil contract." Palmer thought it "no part of the worship of God. It was no ordinance of the first table, nor peculiar to the church." Rutherford said, they had denied marriage to be a sacrament; it was valid, therefore, to deny its being part of God's worship. Burroughs: "I think it should be put out because, there being so much given to the minister, people will think it to be a part of God's worship." Goodwin agreed with Burroughs: "In the Old Testament, marriage was not appropriated to the priest," and grew so strong in his language that he was called to order. Bathurst and Dr. Temple held it to be a part of worship. The Earl of Pembroke would not meddle with the learned part; lore—Rabbinical and other—having been freely poured out by Lightfoot, Goodwin, and others, he "begged to take a care of the manner of doing it. I would be sorry any child of mine should be married but by a minister." The discussion had in it so much more heat than light, that the venerable Harris was compelled to say: "I look upon this day's work as a sad business. We can express nothing, do nothing, but one thing or other is cast into the way to hinder us;" and so it was recommended for to-morrow. The question did come up next day, and next week, and with added difficulties. Should marriage take place only by daylight? Marshall thought the penalties too severe, but held that, "The Lord had not appointed any set time." Should it be between eight and twelve? Gillespie feared trouble here—"the Papists give the reason, because that mass is before twelve o'clock." Ley: "You may limit it by daylight." Vines thinks "it may be done by candle-light, as well as by day-light, and under certain circumstances, in a chamber, as well as in a church." Calamy contended for a public solemnization, because "many think no necessity of a solemnization." This part of the Directory was finally drawn up December 30, 1644.

The chapter on "burial" gave rise to the same sort of discussions. The more advanced members of the Assembly feared

the Book of Common-Prayer—the further from it the better. Should there be exhortation at burial? Herle could not see that there was any worship at a funeral; if exhortation, why not “word and prayer?” “Why,” it was said, “have a Directory for men when buried, and not when born?” Whitaker: “I think a man stands in a general relation to all his people, and every man, in the providence of God, is to get his heart affected.” “May the minister, if present, exhort?” asked Marshall. To say he should be invited to be there as a minister, would press far that it is a ministerial work. Hill: “No necessity that the corpse should be carried into the church, it should be first buried.” Palmer: “I desire we should take away all superstition, but do not think a dumb show becomes Christians.” This debate on burial ended by not “inhibiting exhortation.”

The month of December was mainly taken up with “Psalmody,” “visitation of the sick,” “fasting,” and especially with the question, “whether private family fastings should be recognized?” The vote, whether this question should be entertained, was very close, twenty-one to eighteen. “Should a fast day be kept as the Sabbath?” was waived, as was also “the churching of women.” It was while thanksgiving and fasting were under discussion, that the Parliament and the Assembly resolved to keep the coming Christmas as a fast—Parliament having already made the preceding Christmas a common day by sitting on it. Thirty years ago Andover Seminary kept Christmas as a fast-day, but what descendants of those Puritans would now think of a fast on Christmas, or of not knowing when Easter fell? With the last day of the year 1644, the Directory of Worship—provision having been made for its translation into Welsh—was sent up, and on the same day the debate on excommunication was resumed, and so the Assembly, after lying in comparatively quiet waters, feeling only the ebb and flow of the tide, was suddenly carried out into the restless, raging sea, where it was tossed to and fro by fierce winds of controversy, and well-nigh foundered amid the huge and conflicting billows of state-craft and religious intolerance.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

This was, of course, the central theological work of the Assembly's labors, and as such, its origin and growth will always

draw to it the largest and most interested attention. It came early before the Assembly, as we learn from a letter of Baillie, under date of October, 1644, in which he says; "The Confession of Faith was referred to a committee, to be put in several of the best hands that are here." This committee is probably the one mentioned in the Minutes, August 20, 1644, which was "to prepare matter for a joint Confession of Faith." It consisted of Dr. Gouge, Mr. Gataker, Arrowsmith, Dr. Temple, Burroughs, Burges, Vines, Goodwin, and Dr. Hoyle, including the following additional names, asked for when the first report was made: Palmer, Newcommon, Herle, Reynolds, Wilson, Dr. Smith, Tuckney, Young, Ley, Sedgwick, and the Scotch Commissioners. In November, Baillie, touching again on the Confession, expresses a fear that it "will stick longer" than the Catechism, and "I think," says he, "we must either pass the Confession to another season, or, if God will help us, the heads of it being distributed among many able hands, it may, in a short time, be so drawn up, as the debate of it may cost little time." The committee above-named certainly corresponds with the description, "many able hands," and in April following he is more hopeful—the Confession is put in hand, progress is reported, and not so much debate is expected on it as on the Directory and Government. On the 12th of May, 1645, the report of the committee was read and debated. This, of course, was only "the matter" of a Confession, or rough draught; for later a committee was raised "for drawing up the Confession," and it was voted that "the first draught should be made by a committee of a few." This committee was formed from the other two, and, after several changes, consisted of Gataker, Harris, Tuckney, Vines, Reynolds, Dr. Hoyle, and Herle, with the assistance of the Scotch divines. "Government" is still on their hands for several months, but July 4, 1645, the Confession is brought up, and the sub-committee is ordered to report what is in their hands concerning "God" and concerning the "Scriptures." The work is now fairly under way, and "Reynolds, Herle, and Newcommon are desired to take care of the wording of the Confession of Faith, as it is voted in the Assembly from time to time, and report to the Assembly, when they think fit there should be any alteration in the words." They are, however, always, first to consult

with one or more of the Scotch Commissioners, before making report.

To facilitate the work, "the body of the Confession was divided to the three committees," the general committee having charge of the division into "heads." To the First Committee: "God and the Trinity" (the "Holy Scriptures" having already been reported), God's Decrees, Predestination, Election, etc., the Works of Creation and Providence, and Man's Fall; to the Second Committee: Sin, and the Punishment thereof; Free-will; the Covenant of Grace, Christ our Mediator; and to the Third Committee: Effectual Vocation, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification. This was on July 16, 1645. In November there was a further distribution. To the First Committee: Perseverance, Christian Liberty, the Church, and the Communion of Saints; to the Second Committee: Officers and Censurers of the Church, Councils or Synods, Sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; to the Third: the Law, Religion, Worship. A third distribution was made February 23, 1646; to the First Committee: the Christian Sabbath, the Civil Magistrate, Marriage, and Divorce; to the Second: Certainty of Salvation, Lies and Equivocation, and the State of the Dead after Death; and to the Third: the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, Life Eternal; and finally, in August, 1646, Faith, Repentance, and Good Works were put into the committee's hands. Most of the work was done in committee. When questions came before the Assembly, there was great disparity in the amount of time consumed in debate, some being disposed of very briefly, others taking up many days, and then to be committed and recommitted. Nor does the amount of time always seem to correspond with the gravity of the subject. "God and the Trinity" were before the Assembly only one day, and that a Wednesday—their "day of religion"—while "the Scriptures" occupied them from the 7th to the 22d of July.

The protestation taken by every member before he was admitted to a seat in the Assembly, and which was read every Monday morning during all the years of their sittings, contained these words: "I do solemnly promise and vow, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly I will maintain nothing in point of doctrine but what I believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God." To this they held; they had a zeal

for that Word. They gave it the first place in their Confession of Faith—the place of honor. And no part of their work does them more credit, than the loyalty and the constancy, with which they placed the Scriptures in the foreground; and the fidelity with which they strove to square with this word, all their labors in the four several departments: of Worship, Government, the Confession, and the Catechisms. The Word of God was their strong tower, whereunto they always fled for safety, and from which they ever went forth, armed with new weapons and fresh courage, to fight the battles of the Lord. We must ever revere them for their submission to Holy Writ, even when we know that they erred. Their errors were the errors of their age. It was an age mighty in the Scriptures, and many of those divines were mightiest among the mighty; but a better critical apparatus and a wider basis of comparison, have emancipated us from much of their bondage to the letter of Scripture, as well as to the spirit of their age. Few men, for example, outside of the Church of England, would be willing to say now, what the Assembly of divines said then, of the Nicene, Athanasian, and Apostles' creeds—"That they are thoroughly to be received and believed, for that they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture." It would be a work worthy of our age and church, to purge the margin of our standards of some of these inept Scripture proofs. We know that those who arranged the texts, both added to and took away, according to their wisdom.

The doctrinal interest of the Assembly centered on "the Decree." The debate on this and its affiliated and dependent doctrines—the Fall, Reprobation, the Covenant, the Mediatorship, Effectual Calling, etc.—continued from August 29, to the end of the year, but it culminated in the discussion of the extent of the Atonement; or, as it was stated by them, "Redemption of the Elect only." This one point was under debate during three entire days. The minuteness and sharpness of these disputations are best appreciated by looking at the following transcript from their Minutes:

"Debate on the report of the first committee of 'God's decree.'

"Debate upon the 'title.'

"Debate about the word 'counsel;' about those words 'most holy, wise;' and about those words, 'his own.'

"Debate about the word 'time;' about the word 'should.'

"Debate about the transposing," etc.

They did not despise, certainly did not neglect, to tithe even mint, anise and cummin. In the old formulas of Christ's birth, they found the virgin called "blessed," but, as Gillespie had taken the "saint" from Matthew, and some places in the New Testament, in printing the "Annotations on the Bible," because prelatial men made use of it, so the Assembly said, "'blessed' shall not stand"—Dr. Burgess dissenting. Words were things, and the very accidents of words were not overlooked.

Discussing the permission of man's fall brought up the question of one decree, or more. *Seaman* thought, to leave out the words, "in the same decree," would hinder them in a great debate. *Rutherford* believed that there was but *one* decree, "but doubted whether it was fit to express it in a Confession of Faith." *Whitaker* believed in one decree, and in saying so. *Dr. Gouge*: "I do not see how leaving out those words will cross that we aim at; I think it will go on roundly without it." *Seaman* saw all the odious doctrines of the Arminians in their distinguishing of the decrees, "but our divines say they are one and the same decree." *Gillespie* was for liberty: "leave out that word ('same') is it not a truth, and so every one may enjoy his own sense." *Reynolds* was opposed "to putting such scholastical things into a Confession of Faith," and *Calamy* agreed with Reynolds in leaving it out, though he endorsed the Prolocutor's book, which was strongly supralapsarian.

Next day was "the debate about redemption of the elect only, by Christ," opened by *Calamy*. "I am far from universal redemption in the Arminian sense. Christ did pay a price for all—absolute intention for the elect, conditional intention for the reprobate, in case they do believe. Christ did not only die sufficiently for all, but God did intend, in giving Christ, and Christ, in giving himself, did intend, to put all men in a state of salvation in case they do believe. *Palmer*: *De omni homine*? *Calamy*: *De adultis*. *Gillespie* wanted them to observe "the concatenation of the death of Christ with the decrees." *Calamy*: "In point of election, I am for special election." *Reynolds*: "The

Synod of Dort intended no more than to declare the sufficiency of the death of Christ. To be salvable is a benefit, and, therefore, belongs only to them that have interest in Christ."

The proposition was then stated more definitely: "That Christ did intend to redeem the elect only." Against this *Calamy* cited Jno. iii: 16—in proof of God's love to the world of elect, and reprobate, and not elect only; "also, Mark xvi: 15—"if the Covenant of Grace be to be preached to all, then Christ redeemed, in some sense, all." *Rutherford*: "This is only true if Christ died, in some sense, for all." "I deny this connection, because it holds as well in election and justification, as in redemption." *Calamy*: "We do not speak of application. It cannot be offered to Judas except he be salvable." *Rutherford*: "The promise of justification, no less than of redemption, is made to Judas." "The ground of this is to make all salvable, and so justifiable." *Seaman*: "He makes it absurd, but it is not; every man was *damnabilis*, so is every man *salvabilis*, and God, if he please, may choose him, justify him, sanctify him." *Wilkinson*: "Christ prayed not for the world." *Gillespie*: "the brother (*Calamy*) takes it for granted that by the world (Jno. iii: 16) is meant the whole world. Those that will say it, must needs deny the absolute reprobation. He does not distinguish between God's *voluntas decreti* and *mandati*. God's command doth not hold out God's intention." *Marshall*: "There is not only a command, but a promise; according to this there are two covenants to the elect, one general and the other special." *Calamy*: "The difference is not in the offer, but in the application." *Gillespie*: "I say it is most good sense to say, God so loved the elect, that whomsoever believeth," etc. *Lightfoot* understood "the world" as only opposed to the Jews. *Price*: "Prove that there is such a covenant with mankind. If so, why mention the children of the covenant?" *Vines* agreed that "the world" meant more than the elect. *Goodwin* favored a definite atonement. *Rutherford* interpreted Jno. iii: 16, of a particular, special love; it is an actual saving love, and, therefore, not a general love. *Harris'* objections strong on both sides: "I see more than I can answer. I doubt whether there be any such thing at all as a conditional decree; agree with *Lightfoot*, that 'the world' meant the Gentiles, 'but that love is the highest love that can be.'"

Here this "long and tough" debate ended, and Baillie's remark is—"yet thanks to God, all is gone right, according to our mind." It is clear enough, not only from what Gillespie and Rutherford said, but from the whole drift against Calamy, that the general view of the Assembly was *high* Calvinism, and such, beyond the shadow of a doubt, is the sense of our standards. Logically and historically, they stand for a limited atonement.* Nov. 3, a motion was debated about leaving out the words—"foreordained to everlasting death," and a year later Whitaker* moved their omission, but the Assembly resolved—"the words shall stand without alteration." From this time forward the interest of the Assembly slackened, though the discussion on the related questions ran on to the end of the year.

It is impossible to resist the conviction, that Milton had in his mind the Assembly wrestling with these questions, when he penned those lines:

"Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

For was not all "Smectymnus" in the Assembly? and Calamy, and Marshall, and his old preceptor, Young, in the very fiercest fray of these high questions?

Baptism, and "about the grace which is in it," proved quite vexatious, and occupied a good deal of time. Whitaker was the champion of opinions, which would now be considered conservative and churchly; while Palmer stood for the more modern views. Both tried to find the point of equilibrium between an *opus operatum* and a bare sign; but they moved from opposite poles.

Dec. 5, 1645, an order of haste having come from Parliament, the Assembly proceeded to revise the Confession; but for the next six months hardly anything was debated in the Assembly, save *jus divinum* and its entangling alliances. However, in June they proceeded to adopt the heads of the Con-

* [This statement is stronger than the facts. The Westminster Assembly carefully avoided the extremes of Calvinism.—H. B. SMITH.]

fession. In the course of a fortnight, the first ten were adopted, then came three weeks more of *jus divinum*; another order of haste from the Commons was followed by the adoption of xi. and xii; after several months of debate on Marriage and Divorce, Synods, etc., the heads on Perseverance, Assurance, and Saving Faith, and then the Law of God and Repentance. Sanctification was the last of the nineteen heads to be adopted—"assurance" having given rise to a great deal of debate. Sept. 21, Good Works; and on the same day also it was ordered, that "the several heads of the Confession of Faith shall be called by the name of chapters;"—and Sept. 25, 1646, Parliament having again urged haste, the first nineteen chapters were presented under the title: "To the honorable, the House of Commons, assembled in Parliament, the humble advice of the Assembly of Divines, now, by authority of Parliament, sitting at Westminster, concerning part of a Confession of Faith."

The rest of the Confession followed rapidly. Chapter xx, on Civil Rights, was, of course, a bone of contention—for a whole month, and when it was adopted, the last clause had to be laid over. Chapters xxi—xxiii, xxvii, xxviii, and xxiv, with the clause of wilful desertion in it; xxix, xxv, xxvi, and on Nov. 26, 1646, chapters xxx—xxxiii were adopted, and "the Confession of Faith was finished on this day, and by order of the Assembly, the Prolocutor gave thanks to the Committee that had taken so great pains in the perfecting of it." After a few verbal alterations, *e. g.* substituting "Christ" for "God" in three places in chapter xxiii, and a futile attempt to alter the chapter "of censures," it was resolved, Dec. 4 1646, that the whole Assembly should present the completed Confession to both Houses of Parliament. It was so done.

The Assembly went in a body. "They were called in—the Prolocutor informed the House that they had now finished the latter part of the Confession, and, for the more conveniency, had reduced both parts to one entire body, and desired humbly to present it, and, in conclusion, do further desire, that if either the thing do seem long, or that they have been long in perfecting it, that you would consider, that the business is matter of great weight and importance." On the 7th inst., the same ceremony of presentation and thanks was gone

through with in the House of Lords. On the occasion of their receiving the first nineteen chapters, the House ordered the Scripture proofs to be placed in the margin, "to confirm what had been offered," and after the whole Confession was in, the Assembly appointed Wilson, Byfield, and Gower to prepare these proofs, and have them entered in the margin of "books specially for the votes of the Assembly thereon." This collating and approving of texts was done in the Assembly, each member being enjoined to bring with him his printed copy for reference, while the Scripture proofs were under debate. A most venerable Bible-class! The same stones of stumbling appeared in the proofs that had appeared in the original discussions, *e. g.*, xx: 4; election, etc., but by the 5th of April, all the texts are in, and after a review of a few days more, are carried up to both Houses, April 29, 1647.

THE CATECHISMS.

There remained yet a Catechism, and to this the Assembly could now give their undivided attention. As we have already seen, a catechism was among the first things mentioned, as a means to the desired uniformity of religion in the three Kirks and Kingdoms; and was one of the four points in the Solemn League and Covenant. Nov. 21, 1644, Baillie reports it as already "drawn up," and a month later "as near agreed to, in private, so that when it comes in public, we expect little debate." Six months later, he speaks of it as in the hands of a committee and, in part, reported on, but if we except the naming of a committee (Aug. 20, 1645) to draw up the whole draught of the Catechism, we hear little of it till July 22, 1646, when an order from Parliament urges "haste in perfecting the Catechism and Confession, because of the great use there may be of them in the Kingdom." In September, the Assembly got to work on the Catechism, beginning apparently with Question 3 of our Larger Catechism, though their numbers do not run the same as ours, and go only up to Question 35. Being turned aside for two months by the rest of the Confession, when they resumed the Catechism, in November of 1646, the Scribe ceased to give the number of the question. They began, however, with: "Why is our Saviour called Christ?" (42d Question), but fell into difficulties as "to the method of proceeding," difficulties seemingly con-

nected with the headship of Christ, which ended in their taking up the Commandments, Dec. 1, 1646. They got as far as the fourth, when, on motion of Mr. Vines, *two catechisms* were resolved on—"one *more large*, and another *more brief*, with reference to the Confession of Faith (now finished), and to the matter of the Catechism already begun."

It is a trifling matter in itself, but why must we always print and say, the *Larger Catechism* and the *Shorter*, instead of the larger and smaller, or the longer and shorter? No loyal Presbyterian would ever think of not crossing these two comparisons, despite grammar and analogy. If any one should speak of the *Longer* Catechism, he would at once prove himself an alien in the Presbyterian commonwealth; and if he spoke to our Sunday-school children of the *Smaller* Catechism, his speech would bewray him, and his little hearers would look perplexed, if not amused. Perhaps it is because in those days "large" was the current equivalent for our "long," and what we, in the *lingua sacra*, still designate "the long prayer," they called "the large prayer." But in looking over the Assembly's Minutes, one is struck with the variety and the instability of the terms by which the two Catechisms were spoken of. The *Shorter* Catechism is called the little, the lesser, the small and the short—its name fluctuating to the last. The same is true of the *Larger* Catechism. But when presenting them to Parliament—their titles are "A Larger Catechism," and "A Shorter Catechism," and these titles the House of Commons scrupulously gave them; but the Lords seem to have been less careful, in fact, never caught the exact words, so as to adhere to them. Not so Scotland—the true home of the Catechism. Both in her Assembly and Parliament, their distinguishing titles are always correctly entered and spoken, and thence, in all probability, has come to us the correct application of the terms "Larger" and "Shorter."

THE LARGER CATECHISM.

It is worth our while to look in on the Assembly for a few minutes, and hear them discuss the report as to the method of catechizing. *Rutherford*—on objections—(1.) It is said the Apostles did not use such a way. I think they did. "Is then the Law of God of none effect?" is a sort of sample question from the Apostolic Catechism. (2.) It takes away the proper

work of the minister. Denied. "There is as much art in catechising as in anything in the world. It may be doubted, whether every minister do understand the most dextrous way of doing it." *Marshall* hesitated a little about adhering, too formally, to the bare question-and-answer method of the Catechism. *Bridge*: "Two ends of catechising: increase of knowledge and test of knowledge. For the first there must be explication of the terms of divinity—redemption, etc., must be first explained. For the test of their knowledge it is better that answers should be made by sentences than by *aye* and *no*." *Gillespie*: "This is a profitable discourse, which is the best way of catechising. I like the form—capital questions by themselves, and particular questions by *aye* and *no*. When we were lately in Scotland, we had occasion to speak of this way, and showed them the example of it, and they all liked it very well." *Dr. Gouge*: "Ministers are physicians; they must observe the patient." *Herle*: "I would have *aye* and *no* to be expressed, but not distinct. It should be the first word of the answer." *Seaman*: "There are two things before us: about a catechism, and about catechising. It is a little too much to prescribe to the minister this form or that." *Reynolds*: "We all agree that way which is most for ingenerating knowledge is to most to be used—but I do not see that this way before us is the best." *Delmy*: "A catechism is for propounding knowledge in the most familiar manner, and to find out the measure of the knowledge of the party. The experience of the Reformed churches is to be considered." *Palmer*: "You must consider others as well as children." This is enough.

Let us see how the Larger Catechism grew. The Scripture proofs on the Confession being finally completed, April 15, 1647, the Assembly at once proceeded with the Catechism, beginning with question and answer, but though not numbering them, it is obvious that they followed the order of the questions in their previous Catechism, as far as Question 42, and then on as far as Question 58 of our Larger Catechism. Here they are again confronted with the extent of the Atonement. The matter is referred to a special committee and the Scotch Commissioners, to report at a future day. The Assembly resume their work with effectual calling (Question 67), and passing by Question 76 (Repentance), reach 82, and then pass

over to Questions 154—196 in our present order, except 172 and 173. In April they had resolved to attend to nothing at the morning session, beginning at nine instead of ten o'clock, till the Catechism was finished. They seemed very urgent. In June they distributed the ten commandments to as many separate committees, besides increasing the number of the General Committee. In July they took up what now is included in Questions 61—64, but which was originally one question, and in a much harsher form, and aimed to soften it, viz.: *Ques.* "Are all thus saved by Christ, who live within the visible church and hear the Gospel?" *Answer.* "Although the visible church (which is a society made up of all such as, in all ages and places of the world, do profess the true religion and their children) do enjoy many special favors and privileges, whereby it is distinguished from other societies in the world, and the gospel when it cometh doth tender salvation by Christ to all, testifying that whosoever believeth on him shall be saved, and excludeth none that come unto him, yet none do or can truly come unto Christ, or are saved by him, but only the members of the invisible church, which is the whole number of the elect that have been, are, or shall be, gathered into one under Christ, their head." Questions 172—173 were answered at the same time, but there seems to be no notice of Question 76 till we come to the end of the discussion on the Commandments (Sept. 17, 1647,) when it is spoken of as amended. The Larger Catechism being completed October 15, 1647, was carried up by the whole Assembly, October 22, and received by both Houses with thanks.

THE SHORTER CATECHISM.

It was ordered, August 5, 1647, that "the Shorter Catechism shall be gone in hand with presently by a committee now to be chosen." This committee consisted of the Prolocutor (Herle), Palmer, Temple, Lightfoot, Green, and Delmy. The Larger Catechism being finished, the Shorter was all that remained. Mr. Tuckney seems to have had special charge of it, as he had had of the Larger. In a very few days it was brought before them, and the discussion on it began October 21st, but there are few marks in the Minutes of the order in which it was debated. November 8th it was resolved that the Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and Creed be added, and on the 15th the Cat-

echism was read to the Fourth Commandment, and ordered to be transcribed. The next day the remainder was reported, and ordered transcribed. The addition of the Creed raised some debate—Ney, Rayner, Greenhill, Wilson, and Valentine dissenting—any further debate of the matter, however, being cut short by a vote of twenty-three to twelve. On the same day the Committee on the Catechism was still further increased, and next day, which was the 19th of November, the words, “he descended into hell,” being, by a vote of nineteen to twelve, put into the margin, the Shorter Catechism was completed, and ordered to be “carried up by the whole Assembly,” which was duly done, to the Commons, November 25th, and to the Lords November 26th, and by both accepted, with thanks and commendation for the Assembly’s great pains, and with an order to print six hundred copies, and no more, for the use of the Houses and the Assembly of Divines, and “that they would affix the texts of the Scripture in the margin.”

Everything in the Assembly is now looking toward the end. The Commissioners of the Church of Scotland have all left; Henderson, a year ago last May, stopping at Newcastle to convert Charles from the divine right of bishops to the divine right of Presbytery, and since August 12, 1646, in his grave; and Gillespie, in July of the present year—Baillie and the Lord Chancellor having already left on Christmas of 1646. Rutherford alone is left. Upon a motion made by him, it was ordered that it be recorded on the scribe’s books: “The Assembly hath enjoyed the assistance of the honorable, reverend, and learned Commissioners of the Church of Scotland in the work of the Assembly; during all the time of the debating and perfecting of the four things mentioned in the Covenant, viz.: the Directory for Worship, the Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, and Catechism, some of the reverend and learned divines, Commissioners from the Church of Scotland, have been present in and assisting to this Assembly.” With this endorsement of the departed and the departing, and thanks from the Prolocutor, by order of the Assembly, and in their name, Samuel Rutherford took his leave November 9, 1647. The same day a committee of seventeen was appointed “to consider what the Assembly is to do when the Catechism is finished?” They were in danger of falling to pieces, not now

through dissension, but for want of something to do. There is a good deal of straggling, late-coming, and early-going, and no coming at all.

Before we dismiss this matter, let it be noted, that this venerable body was afflicted with the common malady of all deliberative bodies—non-attendance. Further on there really might be some excuse for such delinquency, since eight or nine years was a long session, even in the days of long Parliaments; but as early as March, 1645, Marshall moved “in regard to late-coming, which was a great loss of time,” and often delayed the organizing of the body for want of a quorum. And when they did come, their inattention was as derogatory as their tardiness, since we find it ordered, that the members of the Assembly do not bring any books or papers to read privately in the Assembly during its sittings; that they forbear ordinary going from one place to another in the Assembly; that in case any member has occasion to be out of his seat, that then he be uncovered. But absenteeism, tardiness, and inattention are not easily cured. They are chronic vices. May 26, 1645, forty-four members band together and bind themselves by a promise to be present every morning at nine o'clock; but already, in July, a numerous and weighty committee of fifteen members and four doctors of divinity—then not as plenty as now—on it, is appointed “to consider if the seldom-coming and going-away before adjournment,” to meet to-morrow, and report with all convenient speed. They report, debate, and give the names of the delinquents. It would be worth much to us, to know who of that grave body played truant during these high debates. They were not Dr. Gouge, Herle, Nye, Smith, Dr. Burgess, Calamy, Marshall, Sedgwick, Dr. Temple, White, Palmer, Guibon, Chambers, Cawdry, and Ash, seeing they were this police committee, and, moreover, we know them as zealous workers. Next week the names of the delinquents were sent to the Parliament; from this Mr. Woodcock, a young and reputable man, dissents; we know not why.

Things, however, seem not to mend, and after some six months, the Lords and Commons, who are now “hastening” the Confession of Faith, take the matter in hand. Henceforth, there is to be “a roll-call every morning at nine o'clock” (the former hour was ten, but business was becoming more press-

ing and we are glad to record that this spurt of zeal on the part of Parliament synchronizes with a good stent of work on the Assembly's part. We hear no further complaint for another six months, when the two Houses of Parliament issue a second order, which I do not find recorded in these minutes, but which was "to be duly executed in all its parts." After another half-year, for the disease seems semi-annually remittent, it is resolved "that the distribution of money for the time to come (we are now in December, 1646, and have been sitting three and a half years) shall be exactly according to the presence or absence of members from this day forward." This has a business look. Attempts were made to pass even something stronger, such as the weekly reading out of the names every Friday, after twelve o'clock, but clearly the *vis inertiae* was becoming very stable. "A Mr. Hodges went away, and was called back by the Prolocutor, and would not return," and no remedy, we judge, for such discourtesy; for the Assembly resolve, "no further question shall be put concerning the business." But the spirit of murdered time would not down, for November 15, 1647, it is resolved, that those who go away without leave, or before the rising of the Assembly, "they"—with an emphasis—shall be accounted as absent for the day; and the last numbered session, February, 1649, closes its Minutes of that day with the resolution, "that the £200 now to be distributed shall be according to the rule of the last distribution," which, we take to mean, no work, no pay—the *per diem* being four shillings. It seems small, but a trooper did his fighting for two shillings and six pence.

When "the truants" called us off, the Assembly had presented the Shorter Catechism, and returned "to affix the texts." In March "the Scriptures were read in full Assembly." April 12 "the proofs" of both Catechisms were ordered to be transcribed, and to be carried up on Friday morning, April 14, 1648. September 20, 1648, the Assembly requests Lord Manchester, to desire the Lords to urge the Commons "to hasten the Little Catechism." This is their last word on the Shorter Catechism. Their minutes grow more meagre from day to day. The Assembly has dwindled down to three days a week, with a good many *lacunæ* in its roll and sessions. February 1, 1649, there is no King since day before yesterday,

and no present business for the Assembly, but still "prayers for the Lords and Commons," at four shillings a day. February 8, "Mr. Carter, of London (he is an Independent), to pray;" there being, by vote of the Commons, no House of Lords since two days past, their lordships need no chaplain. The Assembly is now small enough "to adjourn to the scribe's chamber."

February 15, "Mr. Hardwick to pray next week."

February 22, 1649, "Mr. Johnson to pray."

This is session 1163, the last one numbered, and the Assembly thenceforth disappears in a committee for examining ministers. Zealous and accurate calculations have shown that it sat five years, six months, twenty-two days.

When the curtain again rises, there is neither crown nor crosier, House of Commons nor Assembly of Divines—but a soldier booted and spurred, and leaning heavily on his sabre—OLIVER CROMWELL, afterward Lord Protector.

Such then was the Westminster Assembly. A body of noble, learned, courageous, and God-fearing men—not inspired, and, neither by themselves nor others, regarded as infallible—wide differences, and, at times, sad divisions being among them. Moreover, they labored under certain grave disabilities. The State had called them, not to propound, but to advise, and necessarily sought to use them for political ends, and these feudal fetters limited them on all questions of church and state, questions of a most precarious nature, because of the perilous times—when the church was without a bishop, and the state without a king, and that in an age when kings, no less than bishops, were God's anointed, and royalists and prelatists constituted the mass of the people. But in all ideas of government, there was becoming manifest a drift toward freedom, at least away from authority. In polity, it looked toward Independency, and in theology, toward Arminianism; and along both lines toward a larger liberty of conscience and conduct.

The creed of the Assembly was, of course, retrospective and not prospective, since they had taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which were most surely believed among them. Confessions are necessarily conservative, because they are human, and not divine; the spirit of tolerance is all that we can expect, never the spirit of prophesy. Conser-

vatism, therefore, prevailed in their formulas, as it always does, and, as in historical movements, it always must, but it prevailed by concession, which is the coefficient of progress. To prevail in any other way, would be to stand still, when God's word is that the people "go forward." Such victories end in death.

Their work was a grand one in its aim and result, and yet was, in some sense, a failure. It was done on English soil, and by English hands, and yet was not an English product; nor was it ever accepted by the English people. In fact, it was an exotic. It did not take kindly to the climate then, nor has it since. Scotland is its habitat, as it was its home. Old England and New England, and all their descendants, have cast out high Calvinism and high Presbyterianism. But these men faithfully did their work. *Per aspera*, they attained *ad astra*. Because of these perils, caution and precaution—which are something of wisdom,—and charity—which is well-nigh all of wisdom—had the fuller sway, and by them, God gave the work of the Westminster divines a wider dominion than he has been pleased to give to any other Protestant Symbol, save the *Confessio Augustana*.

Art. II.—THEORIES OF LABOR REFORM AND SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT.

By REV. WM. A. HOLLIDAY, Belvidere, N. J.

SOCIETY may be regarded as distributed into three main classes. At one extreme we have all those who live upon their fellow men in a sense not creditable to themselves. The idle, the vicious, the criminal belong here. They are not in direct relation with the great branches of honest production. Their lot, consequently, is not so immediately affected by the fluctuations to which these are subject. The thrift of the community, of the country, is not their thrift, and its reverses are not their reverses. So far is this from being the case, that it may be most plausibly maintained that a bad year, as respects the general prosperity, is a good year for all who live and prey upon

the public—for all particularly, who work the vein of public charity.*

At the other extreme are those who possess some property,—the rich, the well-to-do. Having some store against an evil time, provided as the bees are for the winter, they, too, are not affected so distressfully by present straits. The question, what to eat, what to drink, what to put on, is not the immediate and pressing one in their lives.

Between these two classes is, however, one greater than either. It comprises all those who, not having accumulated means, are dependent for support upon the product of their labor from day to day. Not only must it be at once apparent how many are embraced by such a definition, but also how various and how immediate are the influences of the general condition of the times upon their condition. This great class—which for convenience we call the working-class, and the lower strata of which are composed of the honest and industrious poor—stands in immediate relation with the general prosperity or adversity. The index of the steam-gauge does not more truly or quickly show the increasing or lessening pressure, than does the situation of the working class indicate the favorable or unfavorable state of affairs at large. In a good year work is abundant and well paid. All trades have occupation, and in the home of the workman there is plenty; his table is sufficiently supplied, he and his children are well clothed and lodged. But in a bad year work is slack. Those who minister to the luxuries of society first find themselves in enforced idleness, and afterward even those who supply the necessities of life have less than usual to do. At once the home condition reveals the pressure. It is felt first and most severely by the lower strata, and then by those higher, until, in an unhappy progression, it has affected all. Comforts are curtailed, clothing scanty, food poorer and less abundant. Want, increasing want, follows.

* The unworthy take advantage of the larger provision which, at such times, the charitable, individuals and associations, make for the poor. We remember a report of a case occurring in New York in the winter of 1874-75. A gentleman asked a man, who had applied to him for aid, where he came from? He was from Pennsylvania, and had been in the city but a few days. "What brought you here?" he was asked. The *naïve* reply was: "My brother wrote me there was a good deal being done here for the poor, and I had better come and get my share."

Starvation and death may ensue. This, alas, is no fancy sketch. Owing to special causes, it is one not often, or in its extreme details, realized in our own land. But it has been realized again and again elsewhere. And there is every reason to believe, that what has often occurred in the great centres of population and of labor in the Old World will some time become an experience more and more common and distressing in the New. The special causes disappearing which have operated here in favor of labor, the truth will be better recognized and become more practical, that the condition of the working-man is one liable to vicissitude. For he lives upon his wages and has nothing else to live upon. These, at least, as things now are, are affected by the labor market—by considerations respecting the kind and amount of labor demanded and offered. Wages are often small and insufficient. They are liable to reduction. They may entirely cease. How then can the situation of the receiver of wages be anything but precarious? It is, it must be so.

In view of this fact emerges a question—one of the great questions of social science: Is there any prospect of improvement in the situation of the working-class? Or (since, as we have seen, this great class comprises them as its lower strata), may we hope for the bettering of the condition of the honest and industrious poor? To this question, alike in the broader and less comprehensive form, an affirmative reply is almost universally returned. There are some croaking spirits whose foresight, going to and fro like the raven over the watery waste, finds no resting place in the future. So far from holding out hopes of a better day, some of these—quite like the physical philosophers who rise from time to time to point out causes, the operation of which must inevitably one day produce the crash of matter and the wreck of worlds—demonstrate the existence of social forces, of principles and elements in the problem of existence, that can result only in social ruin, complete and terrible.

There is nothing hopeful, for instance, in those teachings which assume to demonstrate an inequality in the rate of increase respectively of population and food. Malthus held that population increased in geometrical, while food increased only in an arithmetical ratio. A quadruple population would have only a double supply of food. Ricardo elaborated the matter

still further. He assumed that the best lands are always first occupied, and hence, that the yield is always greatest at first. The poorer soils successively taken up for cultivation must give less and less returns. Inevitably, then, a day must be anticipated when population shall be in excess of food. It may be delayed. Late marriages, the wise regulation of reproduction, war, and pestilence, which thus become blessings in disguise, may postpone, but they cannot prevent. It is a dark picture, this progress of the world toward a day of universal famine. The fact that men shrink back, as they do,* from its principles and from the direct inferences from them is at least worth something in the way of presumption against the truth of such a scheme as this. It also shows that this is the last place to look for light, positive and cheering, on the subject of our discussion.

Nor can we say anything very different of the doctrine of evolution. It, of course, has its important bearings, according to its advocates, upon the future, as it has had in shaping the past. It should seem, at first sight, as if a principle which has operated as it is claimed to have done in the ages hitherto, the workings of which are seen in the ascending series of existence, beginning with the atom or cell and crowned with man, must be a beneficent one. Here is something beyond the old and vague doctrine of human progress, something more than the mere possibility of improvement. Here is a certain aspiration upward, a sort of "earnest expectation of the creature," a longing for and reaching out after a higher existence; and here, too, is an actual onward movement. This accounts not only for the phenomena of life in general, but especially for all that is useful and valuable in society. All has been produced by development. What then of good may not this mighty and fruitful principle yet have in reserve for the world in ages to come? We find, as a matter of fact, that the advocates of evolution do proclaim the regeneration of the world. It is to be brought about by the laws of life. Mr. Darwin has much to say of the improvement of human welfare; and it is a central idea in the thought of Herbert Spencer.

* It is interesting to know how working people themselves regard such views. A writer, of whom we shall make further mention, speaking of the French workmen, says: "Malthus recurs several times in these reports. He is one of the greatest terrors to the workmen."

But observe. There is a most important distinction between the improvement of the condition of society as a whole, and the improvement of the condition of all and each of its members. And the doctrine of evolution has no tenderness for individuals. Its course is precisely that of the Indian war-party, that, returning from its foray, brains on the way, and disembarasses itself of, the captives that lag and faint. Natural selection, survival of the fittest—these may be the watch-words to cheer an aristocracy of physical strength and mental power, but they are a *vae victis* to the struggling, to those overborne in the rude and fierce contest for existence. “When the principle of selection shall reign in our codes and in our manners without hindrance, without opposition secret or open, the multitude made up of the feeble-bodied, of the thriftless, and of the foolish, shall, little by little, disappear. If our descendants are among the elect they shall be rejoiced by the sight of human kind flourishing in beautiful bodies, with vigorous health, with muscular and intellectual force, all engaged in improving this terrestrial abode.”* All is going well, or would be, if only a foolish and mistaken charity did not interfere, and by its public legislation and its private efforts keep alive and carry along the unfortunates whom nature in its onward march would leave behind. We fancy that most men will judge that a method for improving the condition of the poor, the fundamental idea of which is that improvement consists in starving them out and killing them off, is not much better than none at all.†

* We quote from Professor Caro, who has ably treated Darwinism upon its moral and political sides. He is one of that band of French assailants, equally brilliant and strong, who have couched their lances and met the doctrine of evolution in full field, and to the revealing of many a weak joint in its harness. They have already been represented in this REVIEW.—(See p. 120, Jan., 1874.)

† Mr. M. D. Conway, in a recent lecture, gives an incident of his intercourse with Herbert Spencer. Being on a journey together in Scotland, they observed some lads running after a canal boat to beg pennies from the passengers. After running a mile or two, the feebler boys began to fall back, disposed to give up the pursuit. “Now” said Mr. Spencer, “in a moment or so you will see another principle called into exercise in the shape of pity.” And, in fact, adds Mr. Conway, Mr. Spencer *soon had the satisfaction* of seeing a handful of pennies thrown to the boys who had lagged. It seems to us that any such feeling of satisfaction was altogether wrong in an evolutionist philosopher. He certainly indulges no such satisfaction when that other principle comes into exercise on the large scale.—(See his *Introduction to Social Science*.)

There are others, schools and individuals,* whose prognostications are more or less of a pessimistic character. But most men are and have been optimistic. The forecast of most, ranging the future, brings back much more than the olive leaf of promise. The transition of the working classes from a precarious into an assured and settled situation, the improvement of the condition of the honest and industrious poor—here it has been ever felt, is scope for the exercise of hope. And that hope is here prevalent and profound, appears not only in the express declarations of it, but also is implied in all efforts, whether speculative or practical, to indicate the methods by which it may be realized and to bring about its realization. For men do not scheme and labor for that which they believe to be utterly in vain. Many schemes have been proposed, many theories have been advocated. It is here proposed to glance at some of the theories of Labor Reform and Social Improvement in which these hopes have taken shape.

The first theory to be mentioned is the *Agrarian*.† It starts with the postulate, that the source and origin of the evils of society, the prime and fontal evil, is the unequal distribution of property. Some have vast amounts, others have none. Hence the miseries and oppressions to which the poor are subject.

* Notably Mr. Ruskin. He holds that England at least is steadily going toward wreck and ruin. His trouble seems in part to be a sentimental one. It distresses him that this is an age of steam and manufacture. As a kind of life-raft which possibly may be of service when the flood comes, he has founded his society of the "Companions of the Company of St. George," the object of which is to buy and hold parcels of land which are to be cultivated or kept in common, as may seem best. It seems that the banishment of steam, the preservation and increase of pure water and green grass, and old-time modes of agriculture, have some intimate connection with those simple and sweet qualities, intellectual and moral, the disappearance of which is to bring about the threatened disaster.

† The name descends to us from the Roman history. But only the name. The so-called agrarian laws of Rome were certain propositions for the distribution of the public domain—*ager publicus*. The Romans were accustomed to take as public property a third of the land of conquered peoples. This was then disposed of in various ways—by sale, by lease, by allotment. This allotment, however, was merely one of use. The possession was not in fee simple, but was in the nature of tenancy, with obligation to pay a yearly rent. Naturally the right to occupancy of these lands became one of the elements in the strife between patricians and plebeians. The leveling ideas denoted in our days by agrarianism had no part in the discussion of reforms, that after all were never carried into effect.—See Becker's *Weltgeschichte*, vol. 3, pp. 10, 31, 200.

Agrarianism then is the scheme which proposes to remedy these inequalities, to right these wrongs, by a redistribution. Every man is to receive an equal share. Substantial justice shall thus be done, inasmuch as all men are equal and have equal rights to the possession of life and what makes life worth having. Old and tyrannical prescriptions and privileges shall be swept away. Class distinctions shall no longer exist. There shall be no rich, and there shall be no poor. The wants and woes of mankind will vanish. The halcyon days of the world—the golden age—will have come. It is not strange that some have been taken with the scheme; that at times bands of bold innovators, single speculative half-thinkers, have made the watchword of redistribution to be heard; that even some sympathy with the doctrine has at times pervaded the masses, manifesting itself in the disposition to regard poverty and its ills as a wrong which the poor suffer at the hands of their natural enemies, the rich. And it is not strange either, that ideas so crude, so revolutionary, so visionary, have had but little practical influence upon mankind.

It is hardly necessary to say that the assumption with which agrarianism starts is false. This is, that poverty and riches are causes; that they explain the various social conditions, because they have produced them and perpetuate them. It is much more in accordance with sound thinking to view them as effects. The evils of society lie back of the question, whether men are rich or poor. They spring from the operation of principles, of which wealth or poverty are attendant signs, more or less constant. The agrarian, after all, is only a quack who sets out to doctor the symptoms, and is ignorant of the real and underlying disease. And as his diagnosis is false, so is his proposed treatment wrong and immoral. This theory of the equal rights of men to possession of the good things of this life leaves out of view the correlative duty of deserving and gaining them. The real right is to possession of what can be honestly acquired. This is one of the original rights of man. The existence and exercise of it are not limited by considerations of how much the possessions of one exceed or fall short of the possessions of another. If there is a right of property at all, it must be a matter of principle, and not one of mere proportion. It follows that it is the agrarian himself, who, under cover of doing

justice, proposes to be guilty of stupendous injustice, to effect robbery, downright and wholesale, in taking from one man his goods, lawfully acquired and held—as the instinctive judgment and intuitive sense of all but a few sophisticated *doctrinaires* declare—and giving them to his neighbors, who have upon them not the shadow of a claim that will bear a rational test. Apart from all such considerations the scheme would never work practically. There would be endless quarrels as to the mode and agents of redistribution. The result would be far less than visionaries have imagined. They are guilty of the fallacy of division and composition. Because a rich man has this, that, and the other object of desire, they expect, under the new order of things, to have them too. They talk about a division, but really are dreaming of a transfer.* And the effect, so much less than enthusiasts imagine, would not be as beneficial as they suppose. It is a general law, that what costs men nothing never does them much good. Prizes in lotteries have rarely permanently enriched. It is the man who has been trained and schooled in gaining money that knows its worth, and that, as a rule, will make the best use of it. The same causes, moreover, which produced the original inequality, would soon operate to restore it.† Industry, shrewdness, forethought would again accumulate, as sloth, folly, and recklessness would disperse. The order-

* The story is told, that two apostles of the doctrine once presented their views to the head of the Rothschild house in Paris. He listened to their arguments and replied, in substance: "My good friends, I have no time to discuss the matter. I should be sorry, however, to have you go away feeling that I am willingly doing you a personal wrong. How much property do you suppose I hold?" "They say one hundred and fifty millions of francs." "And how many in France would be entitled to share if a distribution were made?" "Almost thirty millions." "Thirty into one hundred and fifty—five times. Here, my friend, is your share, and here is your's." And he bowed them out, the richer not only by their shares in the great Rothschild estate—five francs apiece—but also, let us hope, by some new ideas of the individual benefit that would accrue from the vaunted partition.

† A native of the Green Isle, whose own traits and circumstances made agrarian views peculiarly acceptable to him, was once descanting in glowing terms on the bright day when there should no longer be any rich or poor, but all should share alike. "But Pat," said a bystander, "you would soon idle and drink your share away, and be no better off than before." "Will thin," said Pat, "we'd have anither divoide." If there were no other argument against agrarianism, it is an sufficient one that it runs squarely against the facts of human nature, and would involve, not one, but another and another, and an infinite succession of "di vides."

ings of Divine Providence, blessing here and blighting there, lifting up one and casting down another, would make themselves apparent as of old. In short, agrarianism, false in its prime assumption, in its method, in its prognostications, is a reform against justice, against nature, against the Providence of God. There is and can be no hope for society, no real bettering of the condition of the poor here.

Another theory is the *Communistic*. We have to distinguish between communism in its political and in its social senses. Though often implicated in fact—as political are often also social agitators and reformers—they are logically separable and distinct. With the former we have nothing to do here. Communism places all goods in a common stock, to receive the common care, to be controlled by a common administration (sometimes democratic, sometimes representative), and to be used for the common support, benefit, and pleasure. It again has two forms. The first is the secular or rationalistic. In one subdivision of this—the fierce democratic—communism is more radical even than agrarianism, for while that would recognize some private right—right to one's share after distribution had been made—communism, as formulated by Proudhon, denies all. Its fundamental maxim is: Private property is public robbery. In another subdivision this form assumes a benevolent, philanthropic guise. The second form is the religious. It does not assume to plant itself upon absolute right and justice, but it puts forth the claim to superior enlightenment and advanced spirituality. Its way is the best—the true one—but it does not denounce as robbers those who think and practice differently. It resorts to the early Church* for ex-

* Acts ii : 44 ; iv : 32, 34, 35. But, as is well known, the best expositors find no communism here. " *They had all things common ; i. e., no one regarded his possessions as belonging absolutely to himself, but as a trust for the benefit of others also*"—(Alexander). So Lange. Meyer, who pronounces for a real community of goods, makes, nevertheless, the following points : 1. It existed only in Jerusalem. 2. It was not fixed by enactment, but was voluntary. 3. It was, however, general in the Jerusalem congregation in the fresh energy of its fraternal love. 4. It was not borrowed from the Essenes. 5. It arose naturally in analogy with the community of goods that existed between Christ and his Disciples, who had a common purse.—(See his *Handbuch über die Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 67, 68.) Of course, all this may be admitted without the concession that community of goods formed, or was intended to form, an integral feature in the life of the early church.

ample and law. It is this form which appears in by far the most of the attempts to make communism an established social order. These attempts constitute one of the most interesting of the episodic chapters in human history. Our own land has been, and still is, the scene of many of them. There are in the United States seventy-two communistic groups, embracing, however, only about five thousand souls.* The principal are the Shakers, the Rappists (near Pittsburgh), the Inspirationists of Amana (in Iowa), and the Oneida Community. These all have a religious character. The experiments of rationalistic communists in this country, such as that of Robert Owen, made at New Harmony, Indiana, in 1823, and that of Cabet, made at Nauvoo, Illinois, after the Mormons left it in 1850, soon and utterly failed.†

Some of these societies have been very successful in acquiring property—some of them being very rich. They have succeeded in rendering comparatively easy the physical condition of their members, in lightening the burden of labor. But in the nature of the case, they must produce only an average and inferior type of character. Their effort and result are to reduce everything to a dead level. They cannot draw out individuality. They give no scope for extended and varied careers. Even their success, such as it is, does not afford a presumption in favor of the communistic principle. This success is due to certain special elements, such as the personal influence of a beloved and trusted leader and teacher, the power of some particular doctrine or form of doctrine, etc. There has been some-

* Hepworth Dixon has dealt with the subject after the manner of a professional bookmaker in his *New America*. But we have now a work of far different character and value in Mr. Nordhoff's *Communistic Societies of the United States*, 1875.

† All these departures from the established order, whether they be of theory of practice, are often placed under the head of socialism. That is a still more general term than communism, for along with that it embraces agrarianism in its various modifications and other things beside. It is thus more or less vague.

Communists are socialists, but all socialists are not communists. The principal names in the history and literature of communistic socialism are those of Babeuf, Owen, St. Simon, Fourier, and Cabet. Consult the encyclopedias as to these. They represent mainly the rationalistic and secular side of communism—St. Simon, who undertook to found a new religion, being a *quasi* exception. J. H. Noyes, head of the Oneida Community, has written a book on American Socialism.

thing to give a special common interest, an *esprit de corps*, within narrow limits and among people of a peculiar type. The successes of religious, as well as the failures of secular communism, demonstrate that the principle would never work on the grand scale.

It is to be said of Communism also, that it runs against the facts of human nature. As already intimated, it conflicts with individuality, it represses freedom of development and of action. But men have different endowments and gifts, and they have an original right to the exercise of these. Every man has a right to his own vocation. And these differences of endowment, of vocation, demand, as they also result in, differences of outer lot and life. That system of society must be best which gives greatest scope for the exercise of human powers in their variety, and holds out to them the largest rewards. But passing this, the right to private property which communism ignores and denies is an original one. The sense of it is instinctive in our nature. There is really no argument possible with the man who denies it. To deny it is not to eradicate it. It will reassert itself. *Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret.* And once upon the slope, there is no stopping short of the bottom. If right does not exist in one direction it does not in another. If a man has no right to exclusive appropriation of a certain house, certain land, certain goods, if he stands to them in no special and exclusive relation, what right has he to appropriate to himself the company, the caresses of another being, to claim a special propriety in her? If properly his goods are not his, but society's, why not also his wife? Some communistic societies may not recoil, neither in doctrine nor practice, before this logic. But the mass of men will always hold that such progress is progress downward. They will judge, that while it is easy to criticize the institutions of society, it is hard to improve upon them. They will rally in support of these institutions. Property, the family—those who assail these shall always be accounted the enemies of human kind. In its true character then, communism, professing to be social improvement, is social destruction. It is really a revolt against society itself.

A third theory is that of *Governmental Aia*. It has two forms. The first is *Legislative Interference*. Its idea is that evils can be

removed, improved conditions be produced, simply by legislation. The poor are oppressed by the price of food. Now if the government will only regulate that, if it will only decree that so large a loaf shall be sold at such a price, that the price of beef shall be so much a pound, then the extortions of bakers and butchers shall be forestalled. Wages are often far too low. There should be a law passed and enforced, fixing them at a living rate. The hours of labor are too many. The law ought to regulate their number—say making it eight. And men should have the same pay for a day's work, whether it be a day of eight or ten hours. It is assumed that all these matters fall within the province of legislation and may be controlled by it. All that is needed is the passage and enforcement of the requisite statutes. These notions, it is true, are fostered by designing demagogism. There is, however, much real and dense ignorance. There are too many among us who seem to regard a legislative enactment, or the form of it, as a sovereign and specific force. Multitudes believe that when Congress passes a law, calling a piece of paper with a picture and a promise on it money, money it is, no matter how much of it may be in circulation, nor upon what it is based and what it represents. It is, of course, not for a moment to be denied, that government can do much for the poor and for the working classes. Its proper functions embrace much of direct benefit for them. All police and sanitary regulations belong here. Government can inspect tenement houses in which the poor are lodged, and require the owners of them to make the provisions required by cleanliness and decency. It can, either directly or by concession, provide a water supply and a system of sewerage. It can order the erection of fire-escapes. It can go into the market and punish the man who adulterates food, who offers for sale unwholesome meat and spoiled vegetables. It can oblige mill-owners to make their factories light and ventilate them properly. It can say that the tender child shall not be put to labor in the mine or mill, and that, until a certain age, he shall be sent to school. And it can provide and maintain, at public expense, a system of public instruction. Many things, and beneficent things, legislation can do. It, however, has its sphere. There are facts and principles which it cannot change. The cost of

food, for instance, depends upon its plenty, and not upon the caprice or exaction of baker and butcher. It varies with supply and demand, and law might just as well try to abolish the tides as to stay the ebb and flux of the great laws of supply and demand. So of wages. They are regulated by the market, by the kind and amount of labor sought and offered. Legislation cannot fix them. At most, it can only create difficulties and make mischief, playing exactly the part of the child that blows dust or thrusts a pin into the works of a watch. Legislation cannot make eight hours equal to ten. It cannot make eighty-seven cents in paper equal to one hundred in gold. Absurdities and contradictions do not come within the scope even of omnipotence. Mighty as is the ballot, it no more possesses the power now of making all the asses horses, than when the Greek philosopher first uttered the gibe. The theory of Legislative Interference, as a method of radical relief and social improvement, breaks down, then; it implies and requires a power which legislation does not possess; it proceeds upon mistake and ignorance as to the true province and force of law. It is a pope's-bull-against-the-comet theory.

Another form of the theory of Governmental Aid is *State or Municipal Employment*. Government, either as a matter of policy or of duty, is to provide work for all who desire it. The unoccupied classes have a claim upon it. And those actually engaged in its service are to receive liberal wages. The question, what private employers are paying for the same labor, is not a relevant one.* When we come to examine these claims, however, they melt away beneath our hands. It seems almost a platitude to say that the State ought to have its necessary work as well done as is that of private employers, and that it ought to cost no more. There is no reason in the nature of government or of its service which renders the labor, manual and clerical, which it requires, specially meritorious, and makes

* Every one can judge for himself whether these are abstractions of another age and other lands. Only a few days since the public journals reported the demand made by a large procession of workmen upon the mayor of one of our cities: "Work or Bread!" And the influence which the act of the Commissioner of Public Works in New York City, in reducing the wages of the city's workmen from \$2 to \$1 50 (the current price paid by private employers), had upon the last election there, has not been forgotten.

those who furnish it a privileged class. May the day speedily come when the servants of our government shall be selected, paid, held to the same responsibility, and dealt with in general, just as are the employés of any business corporation. As to the State furnishing work, it can properly furnish no more than it has. This, under a proper view of the functions of government, must always be a limited amount. It may, for a time, be artificially increased. Great schemes of public improvement may be entered upon, but experience demonstrates what sound political science pronounces. The system of "Internal Improvements," so popular in this country forty years ago, gave employment to vast numbers for a time, but is it an open question whether or not it was a wise one? We think not. The failure of many of the works, and the vast load of debt accumulated by the States, would seem to settle the matter. Napoleon the Third kept a host at work rebuilding and beautifying Paris, but it was at the expense of all France, and proved no inconsiderable element among the causes that have contributed to her humiliation. If these things be so in respect of undertakings that seem to be so clearly of a public nature, much more are they true in respect of any competition between the State and capitalists. The State is out of its province when it buys and builds factories and opens mines.* As truer views of the nature and functions of government are diffused among us, men will cease to look to the State for, or demand from it, aid which it cannot give.†

* Even the training of convicts to skilled labor, and the employment of them directly by the State and in competition with private manufacture, gives rise to some delicate questions.

† As we are informed, intelligent workmen are doing elsewhere. "Depuis 1862 et 1867, il y a sur un point un progrès sensible dans les aspirations des ouvriers parisiens; naguère ils comptaient plus qu'aujourd'hui sur l'assistance de l'état. Le rêve de beaucoup d'entre eux était d'avoir un gouvernement qui leur dût sa naissance et qui se fit l'initiateur des réformes qu'ils attendèrent. Souvent, dans les rapports des délégués de 1862, on voit réclamer l'intervention administrative pour la fixation de la journée de travail, pour l'exclusion des femmes des certaines professions, même pour la détermination des salaires. En 1873 presque tous les rapports établissent comme une sorte de dogme qu'il ne faut pas compter sur l'état, qu'il ne faut rien lui demander."—(Leroy-Beaulieu on *Les Aspirations des Ouvriers*.)

The next scheme for our consideration is that of *Defensive Combination*. It is right to call it so, even though it sometimes assumes an aggressive character. There are, of course, two elements in production—capital and labor; and as things now are, these elements are represented by distinct persons or classes in all production on the large scale. Now, the scheme before us sets out with the assumption, that between capital and labor, or between the distinct classes representing respectively capital and labor, there is a natural and necessary antagonism. The manufacturer always desires to make the cost of the production of his article as low as possible, in order to increase his margin of profit. He aims then to cut down every element of this cost. Labor is a large element. The manufacturer is hence always trying to get his labor at the very lowest rates, or, in other words, capital is always crowding labor. The position and resources of the capitalist give him the advantage over the workmen singly. They are at his mercy and subject to his oppression. How can they help themselves? The answer is, by combining. They have one thing to sell which the capitalist and manufacturer must have, *i. e.*, labor. If they are all agreed among themselves, if they will act together and upon a concerted plan, they can turn the tables, can make their own terms. This is the theory which has been and is so extensively acted upon. Not only are there local, state, and national organizations, but attempts have been made to arrive at international agreement. At every step the enemy is forestalled. A., for example, manufactures a certain article. He employs five hundred men, and pays an average rate to his workmen of two dollars per diem. His business becomes slack, and he announces that after a certain day he will pay only one dollar and ninety cents. His men refuse to accept the reduction. As he persists, when the day comes they all quit work, and his factory stands idle. He goes out into the town, where there are a good many workmen of the same trade, and offers them work. They, however, are all in league with his own late workmen. They are pledged to stand by these, and hence he gets no hands. He advertises throughout the State, but with the same result, and for the same reason. He scours the country at large; but there is a general combination covering the whole country. He sends finally across the sea. But the organization against him is

already there before him, and foreign workmen are pledged not to go into other lands and underbid their brethren there. The result is, that it remains what it was at the beginning—a contest between the manufacturer and his own men. Or, it would be so—a great advantage for the workmen—did the brethren of the trade content themselves with this general cry of “hands off!” This however they do not. The same organization which secures that these workmen shall maintain their part of the contest without adverse interference from their fellows, also insures them material aid. That the capitalist may not starve them into submission, they are helped, when their own funds are exhausted, from the treasuries of the local, state, or national combination. The theory is, that sooner or later the capitalist must yield. The laborer gets his rights, and labor is victorious over capital. When once this system of Defensive Combination is in being, it can, of course, be used aggressively. It is as efficient in forcing an increase of wages as in resisting a reduction; other matters can also be controlled, such as the number of apprentices that shall be admitted, etc. We have here then the whole philosophy of trades-unions and of strikes, as seen from the laborer's point of view. It will require considerable experience to convince him that, after all, he has not yet come into possession here of an instrument of sovereign power, a magic wand to conjure away all the difficulties and oppressions of his life. But truth shall prevail.

As to the assumption that lies at the base of all this movement, is it true that there is any such irreconcilable diversity of interests as is claimed? Are capital and labor natural enemies? We know that those who assert that they are not, who claim that at bottom the interests of both are identical, are charged with denying the existence of the very problem which is to be solved. Is this just, however? May we not meet it by the counter-charge, that they who put the question in this form: “How are the interests of capital and labor to be reconciled?”—themselves prejudge it just as really and decidedly, and take it for granted that these interests are antagonistic? May not there be a real conflict, founded upon not a real, but a supposed antagonism of interests? Men may go to war from mistake and misapprehension. Who does not believe that in our civil war the Southern States were fighting against their own high-

est interests? We do not deny the fact of conflict when we say that there should be none. There is a problem. It is how to reconcile the diverse views which labor and capital take of their respective interests. We have faith to believe that a Christian civilization shall solve the problem. It will do it on the same principles and by the same agencies on which a real reconciliation, a union of heart, is effected between a jarring husband and wife, who get along wretchedly together, but cannot live apart. Capital and labor are essential to one another. They are the two blades of the shears. If capital is not in use, labor is idle. If there is no labor, capital can undertake and accomplish nothing. When business is carried on on a large scale, and with great activity, there is most demand for labor, and it is best remunerated. And the larger gains workmen obtain from a business, the greater will be their interest in it, and the more valuable will they become. There is, as a rule, no trouble in flourishing times. And when dull and depressed times come, the workman who has shared in prosperity must not object to bearing his share of the burdens which these bring. Rights and obligations are reciprocal here, as elsewhere.

As to the actual working of this system, it is evident that it must be difficult to establish and maintain such elaborate and extensive machinery. It runs counter to self-love and the spirit of independence. Why should I and my family starve, or live on the pittance allowed by some union, when I might be at work earning something? Why should others decide for me that no bread is decidedly better than the half loaf? There is no greater tyranny than the junta which controls a trades-union.* The power passes into the hands of the designing. It comes to be exerted in the interest of the idle and inefficient rather than in that of the best workmen. Intelligent, skillful men, who are abundantly able to take care of themselves, must see this in time, and refuse to be led by the nose by a system which makes no account of differences, and hence bene-

* We knew of a case where printers were forbidden by their union to buy from merchants who should advertise in certain journals the proprietors of which refused to pay the union rates. Notwithstanding a decline in the cost of living, these rates were the same as when gold was at its highest premium during the war. We have known a union to pass a gracious resolution, *permitting* one of its members to fulfill a contract which he was already under legal obligation to perform. Not another member of the union had one cent's pecuniary interest in the matter.

fits most those of least desert. Again, manufacturers are provoked by dictation. They seek as far as possible to dispense with manual labor and to introduce machinery—a change which, while not permanently detrimental to labor, is so when made rapidly and generally. They organize in their turn against the labor organizations, and are often able to break them down. And finally, if irritated beyond endurance, they withdraw their capital, and the workmen find that they have only figured in a new version of the killing of the goose that laid the golden egg.

One thing more. We still hear a good deal about strikes. But a new view of them begins to dawn upon the workman's apprehension. They accomplish little in the end. In many cases workmen are obliged to accept the employers' terms after all. The loss of time and the using up of past savings have effected nothing; or if there is a slight gain apparently—a reduction of a few cents successfully resisted, or a like addition extorted—these losses of time and wastings of savings more than over-balance it. And as on the first opportunity employers are apt to reduce again, the victory itself is often a barren one. But what it never entered the striker's brain to conceive as a probable result, a strike often profits capital. The cessation of production gives the producer a pretense for raising the price of the stock on hand, and it prevents the loss of running when the margin of profit has disappeared. It is often money in pocket to a manufacturer or corporation to have factory or mine closed.* And we may hope that, with a conviction of their real inutility to labor, will spread a sounder knowledge of the character of strikes. They are artificial crises. They are attempts to manipulate the great natural principles of supply and demand in respect of labor. They are a mistake and an immorality. "Corners" in labor are no better than in other things. It is not risking much to predict, that the men of the trades, abandoning this scheme of Defensive Combination, will be found, in time to come, turning their hopes toward something else.† In fact, the advanced guard of the working host, like Xeno-

*Some readers may remember to have met with assertions that the great strikes in the coal region are not regarded by the companies as such terrible evils after all. We have seen suggestions of a yet more uncharitable nature.

† "Un heureux symptôme, c'est que la plupart des rapports sont très explicites ontres les grèves. Les ouvriers anglais ont fait de la grève une arme systématique

phon's Greeks who so rapturously hailed the sea, seems to itself already in full view of at least the way to peace and prosperity.

The new scheme is combination still, but combination in a different form and with different ends. Its real name is *Competitive Association*, though it bears often that of *Côopération*. We have heard considerable about the latter during the last few years, but few have any adequate notion of the magnificent aims which the scheme in its entirety contemplates and hopes one day to attain.

In order to benefit home industry, the French government adopted the plan of sending, at the public expense, representatives of the trades to the great international exhibitions. Such delegations were present at London in 1862, Paris in 1867, and Vienna in 1873.* They were to study such matters as would naturally interest and profit their respective branches, and were to make reports correspondingly. There are now three series of these reports. It is not strange that, departing from what is purely technical, they should embrace more and more matter relating to the situation, to the grievances, to the hopes and aims, of the working classes. The Vienna reports are specially valuable, because of their late date, great extent (two large quarto volumes, containing four or five thousand pages, and including a hundred different reports of delegates), and great freedom of speech. It is here that we may learn what are the aspirations of the workmen who hold a leading place in the industry of the world, and whose activity and boldness of thought are unsurpassed. Like all French thought, their views are at least exceedingly clear.†

In brief, then, the present theory still holds to the necessary antagonism between capital and labor, so long as these are rep-

qu'ils emploient d'une manière savante, à laquelle ils ont dû d'abord de grands succès, mais qui n'a pu les préserver, dans ces derniers temps, de nombreux et cruel revers."—*Leroy-Beaulieu*.

* The money has been appropriated to send a delegation to Philadelphia this year; but difficulties have arisen between the government and the workmen relative to the right of nomination. It is to be hoped that these will result in nothing more than delay in following a good precedent.

† Our knowledge of these reports is derived from an exceedingly interesting and valuable account of them by M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. It is entitled *Les Aspirations des Ouvriers*, and is the document already quoted. It is found in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 1, 1875.

resented by different parties. The only way effectually to compose the strife is to unite proprietor and laborer in one and the same person. One poor workman cannot do much toward gaining this end, but many together, and with the aid of time, can accomplish it. Let a number of workmen of the same trade organize themselves into an association. While working for capitalists on the best terms they can get, content for the time with a simple *modus vivendi*, let them lay aside and put in a common store a fraction of their wages.* These collective savings become, by and by, a capital. With this capital a "plant" *i. e.*, the requisite outfit of machinery and tools, is purchased and set up. The workmen-proprietors now work for themselves. They enter the market in competition with their former employers. All that went to these in the shape of interest and profits, now comes to the workmen over and above what they formerly received as wages. When one establishment has been operated successfully, its profits, or a part of them, afford capital for another. The whole of that branch gradually comes into the hands of the associated workmen. The same thing goes on in the other trades. Ultimately the capitalist is excluded. The system of salaries and wages is abolished. The emancipation of labor is complete and lasting. This, then, is the scheme upon which rest the hopes—this is the dream—of the workmen, who, pondering the subject of their own improvement, have become convinced of the futility of such other plans as have already been noticed. Is it more than a dream? Is it "the sea, the sea," or only a glowing mirage?

It is to be said, in the first place, that the coöperative idea is a good one within certain limits. As a mediating principle, for instance, to bring into harmony the conflicting views held by labor and capital, much may be hoped from it. It takes the shape here of a participation on the part of the workmen in the profits of a business. Thus it gives them a direct interest and stake in the economical and successful conduct of the business. But when it is sought to extend the idea and realize the plan already sketched, there are other elements of the problem that must be taken account of.

The raising of a capital is a vastly more difficult thing in

* In the experiments the sum has been fixed at ten cents a month.

fact than in theory. In the church we present the strongest motives to renewed men to give. We cipher out what vast sums a single cent a day given by each communicant would amount to ; and yet, somehow, these sums do not in fact roll up. It is true the scheme we discuss holds out the hope of great benefit. But then this benefit is confessedly distant. It may be years before any return can even be hoped for. The inducement to save is a weak one for a class that notoriously lives for the present. The mode of accumulating the capital, implies on the part of the workmen a degree of intelligence, of tenacity of purpose, of self-denial, which they do not possess.* But, passing this, there would be the risks of investment, of dishonest or reckless administration, of the dissipation and loss of the funds pending the attempted accumulation. When the time came to set up the new establishment, a foresight and experience, a knowledge of finance and of markets would be required, which workmen, on wages hitherto, would not possess and would have had no opportunity to acquire. It would be discovered that the capitalist had contributed to the success of the business something more than mere money. Then, suppose a long and dull season comes, a time of revulsion, when it is necessary to suspend or operate at a loss? If it were so difficult to get a working capital, would it be easy to provide the reserve fund necessary to float the establishment over into prosperous times? And, apart from such questions, how would it be possible equitably to adjust, in such a general partnership, the claims of varying skill, industry, and efficiency? And would not there be continual occasions of differences of view as to interest and policy? In some few and exceptionally favorable instances the scheme might work ; but it involves too much intelligence, too many and high moral qualities, too much of what the world calls good fortune, and Christians call the favoring Providence of God, to entitle it to be hailed as the successful solution of the labor problem, the mighty instrument

* Of actual undertakings among the trades in France, the report is: "Il ne semble pas que jusqu'ici toutes ces petites sociétés soient très prospères ; presque tous les rapports se plaignent de la froideur, de la négligence des ouvriers à s'affilier ou à payer leurs cotisations."

for bettering the condition of the honest and industrious poor. In short, it is a utopian scheme.*

The mention of the moral qualities required by such a scheme for its successful working, suggests that all the theories now noticed are, in their pure forms, or in their various modifications and combinations—of which there are many—subject to the same deadly criticism already made upon agrarianism. Like it, they all assume that the ills of the working man and of the poor are simply and solely in their circumstances, in their outward condition. These circumstances, this condition, are regarded wholly as causes. But, in truth, they are themselves largely effects. They are not a disease, but they are symptoms of disease. The prime and original trouble with men is not in their condition, but in their character. And all methods of improvement that busy themselves simply and solely with the condition and leave out of view the character, belong within the province of the quack, who doctors the symptoms but never touches the real disease.

There is a theory of social improvement which is not subject to this criticism. It is that of *Secular Morality*. Its doctrine is that the distresses of the poor and working classes are due to themselves, and not to the mere occasions that render them actual and apparent. These classes are largely unintelligent and unthinking; they are improvident, thriftless; they live for the present, and a poor and small present at that. They have habits that are idle, wasteful, bad. The remedy then is mainly in their own hands. The apostles of this doctrine preach honesty, industry, thrift, economy, temperance. They laud the night-school, the workingmen's lyceum, the temperance society, the savings-bank. We do not undervalue these instrumentalities. We do not ignore the present and worldly value of the natural qualities that render men good citizens, good husbands, fathers, employés. The commercial virtues, the domestic amiabilities, the *justitia civilis*, make the world vastly better than it would be without them. They form at least a sort of jury-mast, and enable society to keep under some sort

* One of the most striking as well as the most saddening features of this scheme, as expounded in the pages of M. Leroy-Beaulieu, is its intensely secular and materialistic character. It wholly ignores the spiritual nature and needs of man, and the existence and government of God.

of sail. But the theory that would make them everything exhibits profound ignorance of man and his needs. It is, indeed, a great advance to transfer the field of thought and effort, as respects the improvement of men, from what is without to what is within—from the material surroundings to the immaterial and moral nature. Even when upon the right road, it is possible, however, to stop too soon—to stop before the full truth has been attained.

As to the account given of the origin of the poverty and distress under which the classes we contemplate suffer, all must agree with it to a large extent. These do largely spring from want of intelligence, of economy, of foresight, from vicious habits. Earnings are squandered for objects of luxury, of vain display, for useless, for harmful gratification—as if an evil day could never come. How much goes out the pockets of the poor for tobacco and liquor! But, admitting all this, we want to supplement the explanation by the doctrine of Divine providence, according to the orderings of which even the greatest intelligence and prudence and virtue sometimes miscarry in their plans and efforts, and suffer reverse and fall into poverty.

But in practice the remedy proposed is inadequate. Here and there men may be gained by appeals to the natural reason, by the reasoning and inducements of Secular Morality. But the truth is, men in general are not, in such matters, governed and directed by reason. If all men did what they knew and saw to be right and profitable, there would be no trouble. Demonstrations, clear as light, of what self-love requires, the most pointed and powerful appeals to self-interest in its varied forms, do not, alas! avail. We urge the drunkard not to touch the baleful cup. We tell him he will be better and happier without it; that his wife, crushed in spirit, will regain something of the joyousness of those far distant, vanished days of early love; that his children, who now slink away in fear when he returns to his dwelling, will again run to meet and greet him and make his home resound with merry laughter. He knows it well as we; but still he pours the deadly potion down. It is fatal to the scheme of Secular Morality, that it affords no sufficient motive; for, in fact, its strongest motives fail.

And there is one thing—more damaging still—that must be said. There is a lack even greater than that of sufficient mo-

tive. It is the lack of actual, operative, transforming power. The trouble after all is with human nature itself. Out of the heart are the issues of life. To change man's condition, we must change man himself. What power does Secular Morality invoke that can work the change? Can human resolve and effort do it? Can one by his own power turn about, and having been accustomed to do evil, now do good? Yes—when the Ethiopian can change his skin, or the leopard his spots. The apostle of Secular Morality says to me: "Be virtuous, be virtuous." I reply: "Virtue, to be real and true, must be rooted in my heart. Virtuous acts and traits must spring from a pure moral nature. And where in your doctrine or scheme is the renewing power that can cleanse my nature, that can make pure the fountain of life? You bid me be virtuous; but make me so." Virtue! Grand word! Grand thing! But the virtue of the secular moralist is a drifting, deceptive hope. The virtue of a renewed, transformed manhood, of a regenerated society, must have its sheet anchor in spiritual realities that lie beyond the horizon of this lower world.

All these schemes are the devices of man. There remains a last one which towers above them all, preëminent in this, that it is divine. It is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It may seem weak, chimerical, utopian, as an instrument of social improvement; but the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and his weakness is stronger than men. We need not expound this Gospel here. Suffice it to say, that it and it alone brings to bear upon man adequate motives to start him upon an upward career; motives which derive their force from the tremendous realities of God and eternity; from the mighty and attracting power of a Divine Redeemer's pity and atoning death. And it, and it alone, presents a spiritual force adequate to the regeneration of the world. It not only says to men: "Be good!" but it makes those who accept it good. We believe in the Holy Ghost.

It is impossible now to set forth the many ways in which the gospel bears upon and promotes the improvement of society. But, at least, it may be said, that when its teachings are accepted and obeyed, employers shall be both just and generous, and employed shall be moderate, honest, faithful, and diligent. Greed of gain on one side, and rapacious demands on the other, shall be curbed. Intelligence, economy, temper-

ance, and thrift shall abound and flourish as Christian virtues. Brotherly love shall continue. The blessing of God shall rest upon labor. The great currents of industry shall acquire increasing volume and force. The circle of production and consumption shall widen and widen, and its blessings extend. And though, as we know on the best of authority, we shall always have the poor with us, Christian philanthropy shall render their lot less and less grievous. The rich and the poor shall meet together, conscious that the Lord is the maker of them all.

Hail, then, to the method which, unlike the Babel towers of human wisdom and effort that strive to reach the heaven by building from below, itself comes down, descending as did that glorious city which the apostle saw! Hail to the Gospel which, universal in its character, suited to man as man, is specially adapted to the poor, in that it not only holds out to their faith the compensation of a future life, but is the mightiest instrument in ameliorating and elevating their condition here!

Art. III.—CALVINISM AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

By THOMAS BALCH, Esq.

CALVINISM has been discussed so often, and in so many ways, and from such diverse standpoints, has been the theme of such acrimonious attack and of such loyal defense and eulogy, that it appears almost superfluous to add another to the numerous essays concerning it. But its regnant force as a political instrument, oftener recognized by publicists than by theologians, does not seem to have been examined with a care worthy of the vast effects it has wrought. The learned historian of the Reformation proposed to make this the subject of the crowning chapter of his last and profoundest work.* He died without having commenced what would have been a much needed and much valued contribution to political science, as well as to religious history, for it may be fairly asserted, that to the social mechanism, instituted by the great reformer, developed and modified by time and the experience of succeeding generations, we owe that form of political organization under which we live, commonly called Constitutional Republicanism. This species of government was wholly unknown to the ancients. As late as Montesquieu, that eminent publicist held that republicanism could flourish only in communities of limited territory, for at the time he wrote, the effects of Calvinism were but partially experienced, and Calvinism itself seemed almost perishing beneath a brutal and unsparing persecution. His rare judicial sagacity failed not, however, to discern that Protestantism, from its very nature,† ought to develop political independence.

Not in Europe, not until transplanted beyond the ocean,

* See preface to Mr. Cate's admirable translation of *The Reformation in the Time of Calvin*, by Merle d Aubigné. London, 1875.

† The opinions enunciated by Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, xxiv: 4, have been controverted by a distinguished Roman Catholic writer of our own day, Mr. de Parieu, who contends, *Principes de la Science Politique*, Paris, 1870, p. 16, that although it was asserted that Protestantism should have led to political freedom, "yet it has not attained this result generally, or to a considerable extent, as may be seen by an examination of the constitution of many of the Protestant States of modern Europe."

did the reformed religion yield its most beneficent fruits. The earliest attempts at colonization within the territory occupied by the revolting colonies were made by French Protestants on the banks of the river St. John. These attempts were unsuccessful, but from the day that the Huguenots, sent out by Coligny, put their feet upon the soil of the New World, it seems as though they took possession of it as the home of liberty of conscience and of political liberty.

It is the fashion, perhaps too much so, for historians to seek the solution of great events in purely material causes, and thus our separation from the mother country is laboriously traced to the legislation about taxes and imposts. But so momentous a change in the condition of a people must be ascribed rather to moral and political influences, long existing and rooted in its hearts and habits, chief among which was the Calvinism of a large part of the population. We propose, therefore, to trace in the following pages the political vicissitudes of the combat which that form of religious belief waged with imperial and pontifical absolutism in Europe, and the part it had in the creation of a new nation, whose mere existence is a living, disturbing force in the world's economy, and whose future is far beyond the ken of mortal vision.

The successive reformations of Christianity were the natural results of its development, and here we propose to examine more particularly the last of these phases, Calvinism, the effects of which were felt in France through the Huguenots, in Holland through the Anabaptists, in Scotland through the Presbyterians, and in England through the Non-Conformists and the Puritans. This examination will enable us to see why the agents of France in the English Colonies of America, such as DeKalb and Bon Vouloir, found in the religious principles of the colonists an element of disaffection toward the mother country, and why they counseled the French government to foster and cherish it, as it was the only force capable of arousing public opinion to such a degree as to produce a rupture with England at the first opportunity.*

* See, upon this subject, *La Vie de Thomas Jefferson*. By Cornelis De Witt. Paris, 1861.

A New Journey in North America. By the Abbé Robin. Philadelphia, 1782.

The religious perturbations set three different peoples in motion, and had a different character and result in each of them.

Among the Slaves, the movement of which John Huss was the leader, was rather national than religious. It resembled the last glimmers of the pile lit by the Council of Constance, in which the reformer perished (1415).*

The Reformation promoted by Luther, took its deepest roots among the Germans. It was also more thorough, while preserving an exclusively national character. The diatribes of Hans Sachs were in verses, scarcely understood except by the laboring classes of Franconia. The fiercest invectives of the chivalrous but unhappy Von Hütten were in the uncouth dialect of the day. It not only denied the authority of the Pope, but rejected that of Councils, then that of the Fathers, in order to bring itself face to face with the Holy Scripture. This manly and energetic monk, whose square and jovial face made him popular, exercised a commanding influence. The vigorous hatred with which he combated the Roman clergy, then owning one-third of the soil of Germany, drew around him all who suffered in fortune from this imposition, all who detested the alien occupants of their native land, all who revolted at the vices and disorders of the professed teachers of holiness. The war, which the German princes then had to maintain against the Catholic sovereigns and the allies of the Pope, ended in giving to Luther's Reformation that essentially Teutonic character which it ever afterward maintained.

In the Latin race, the most advanced of all in an intellectual point of view at that period—which to day still pretends to the empire of the world (*urbi et orbi*)—John Calvin organised a

"Intolerant Presbyterianism must have long ago sowed the seeds of hatred and discord between them and the mother country."

Presbyterianism and the Revolution. By the Rev. Thomas Smith. 1845.

The Real Origin of the Declaration of Independence. By the Rev. Thomas Smith. Columbia, 1847.

DeKalb's Correspondence, has lately been given to us by the industry and labor of Dr. Frederic Kapp, member of the German Imperial Parliament, in his genial and eloquent life of DeKalb.

* See *The Reformers and the Reformation*; *John Huss and the Council of Constance*. By Emile de Bonnechese. 2 vols. 12 mo, 3d edition. Paris, 1870. A very learned and interesting work.

transformation, the most thorough and most fruitful in political results. Born in France, at Noyon (in Picardy), in 1509, the new reformer, after having studied theology and subsequently law, published at Basle, when twenty-seven years of age, his *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*,* which he dedicated to the King of France. Driven from Geneva, and then recalled to that city, thenceforth he was all powerful there. He desired to reform alike morals and creeds, and himself furnished an example of the most austere morality.† His theocratic rule deprived the Genevese of some of the most innocent enjoyments of life; but owing to his vigorous impulse, Geneva acquired great importance in Europe.

Bolder in his reforms than Luther, he was also more thorough and systematic. He clearly comprehended that his doctrines would neither spread nor last if they were not condensed into a code. A summary of them, the Profession of Faith, in twenty-one articles,‡ was given to the world (Nov. 10. 1536),§ and we find the spirit of it, though not the letter, in many a political document of after days. According to this code, the pastors were to preach, to administer the sacraments, to examine candidates for the office of the ministry. Authority was in the hands of a synod or consistory, essentially democratic in its construction, for it was composed one-third of pastors and two-thirds of laymen.

Calvin perfectly understood the secret of the increasing strength of the disciples of Loyola. Like the founder of the order of Jesuits, he desired to place the new social condition

* Calvin writes Oct. 13, 1536, to his friend Farel, about a French edition which preceded that cited in the text. As far as known this French publication is lost. The copy in the library at Zurich seems to be a translation of it into Latin, and in a lengthy title-page is stated to be by Joanne Calvino, Novio dunensi autore, Basilie, MDXXXVI. The Amsterdam edition of Calvin's work from Shipper's Press, 1668, has a finely engraved portrait of the Reformer.

† This sternness of character had been early displayed. While at school his comrades had nicknamed him, "*the accusative case*."

‡ As to the real authorship. see *Merle d'Aubigné*, vi: 337, who examines the question, whether Calvin's draft was probably lost and Farel's adopted. But the two friends labored so much in common, and Calvin dominated Farel so much, that the document is generally considered to have been the work of Calvin.

§ D'Aubigne, citing *Registers of Council*.

upon the most absolute equality, operating under the control of the severest discipline. He retained the power of excommunication* for his church, and himself exercised authority over his followers with such rigid inflexibility, that it amounted almost to cruelty. When the man had disappeared, his principles survived him in the social organization which was his work. The equality of men was recognized and publicly professed; the most austere morality was practiced, and when the hour of agony or death arrived, their faith and discipline enabled the Calvinists to make the most heroic efforts, to endure the most frightful tortures, for the sake of conscience and political liberty.†

From Geneva this form of religion passed into France and through Alsace into Holland and Scotland. In Great Britain the two systems—a reform proceeding from the people, a reform directed by the government—reached the most complete development. In fact, the Anglican Church, with its archbishops, its different orders in the priesthood, its unchanged liturgy, its immense income, its universities, its institutions for learning or charity, hardly differed in anything from the outward organization of orthodox Romanism. The change consisted in the costume, a greater simplicity of worship, the marriage of the priests, the ejection of the Pope, the lands wrested from monks and transferred to royal favorites. The existence of the church was intimately connected with the existence of the monarchy, of which it was the most faithful, the most loyal support.

The Presbyterian Church of Scotland, on the contrary, developed the democratic tendencies which were the very essence of Calvinism. No distinction of rank or riches existed among the clergy. They were hardly separated from the faithful except in the execution of their spiritual duties. There was no delegation of the priesthood. Every Christian was fit for the

* D'Aubigne vi : 343.

† In August, 1870, the writer expressed similar views in a little volume published at Paris, entitled *Les Français en Amérique*. They were commented on by W. Lorimer, Regius Prof. of Public Law and the Law of Nations, in the University of Edinburgh, in his treatise on *The Institutes of Law*, 1872 (p. 301). I am not insensible to the honor of having my opinions discussed in so learned and authoritative a work, but I feel bound to suggest that any observations scarcely went so far as to say, that Calvin's system was the cause or model of the Constitution of Geneva.

sacred office who had true piety and a call from God. The ministers were poor, but it was because they "lived of the sacrifice." The power they exercised was purely moral, but in Scotland, as well as at Geneva, magistrates and nobles were more than once compelled to listen to the stern and energetic voices of their pastors.

Vox populi, vox Dei was henceforth the watchword of the peoples. It displaced the maxim of divine right. Upon the principles summed up in it, the States General relied when they pronounced (July 26, 1581) the deposition of Philip II, and created the Batavian Republic.

Some years previously Buchanan,* and later on, other British writers, expanding the views of St. Augustin and Calvin, maintained that nations had a conscience like individuals, that the Christian revelation ought to be the foundation of civil law, and that only where it was in default had the State a right to legislate and establish rules of action for itself; that whatever might be the form of government chosen by a people, republic, monarchy, or oligarchy, that government was only the machinery which the people employed to administer affairs, and that its continuance or its arrest depended solely upon the way in which it discharged the duty entrusted to it.

These are the principles which are found in the teachings of the primitive church, revived by Calvin, and which tended to nothing else than to overturn the ideas then admitted in the organization of empires, and to sap the foundation of the absolute power of sovereigns; and their antagonism, therefore, provoked violent persecutions of the dissenters of all sects and all classes.

This denial of human authority in the spiritual system, led to the denial of authority in the philosophical system—to Descartes and Spinoza.† The protest against royal prerogatives could not fail to produce, later on, declarations more or less akin to those of the States General and the American Colonies. It was not without reason that sovereigns considered Calvinism

* Buchanan's work, which had the greatest renown in England and in Scotland, *De jure regni apud Scotos*, was printed in 1579. The *Lex, Rex* of Rutherford, in 1644. *Pro populo angliae defensio*, by Milton, in 1651.

† *Benedicti Spinoza Opera*, i: 21, 24, Tauchintz, 1843.

the religion of rebels, and waged so bitter a warfare against it. "We must obey princes only in so far as we can do so without offending God."* "It furnished the nations," says Mignet,† "with a model and a method of righting themselves." In effect, it nourished the love of liberty and independence. "We must combat not only for the truth, but for liberty," writes Calvin. It kept alive in the hearts of his disciples that republican and anti-sacerdotal spirit,‡ which was to become all powerful in America, and which certainly has not uttered its last word in Europe.

Thus, by a singular coincidence, France gave to the world Calvin, the originator of ideas which she at first rejected, but in whose triumph she was to share, arms in hand, two and a half centuries later in America.

It was not so much the Catholic religion that the Pope upheld by promoting the crusades against the Albigenses and the Huguenots, by establishing the inquisition, by condemning the heresies of Luther and Calvin; it was his temporal power and his supremacy that he so fiercely defended by the terror of the secular arm, when spiritual thunders failed him. Nor was it in zeal for religion, but from a motive altogether political, that Francis I. caused the Vaudois to be massacred, and the Protestants to be burnt in France, while he sustained them in Germany against his rival, Charles the Fifth.§ His task was to keep down that leaven of liberalism which offended his despotism, and gave so much uneasiness to his successors. Catharine de Medicis by the St. Bartholomew massacre, Richelieu | by the siege of La Rochelle, and Louis XIV. by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, steadily endeavored to regain the abso-

* *Harmonie Evangélique.*

† *History of the Reformation at Geneva.*

‡ As poisons of the deadliest kind
Are to their own unhappy coasts confined;
So Presbytery and its pestilential zeal
Can flourish only in a Common Weal.

—Dryden, *Hind and Panther.*

§ Brantome relates, that the King, after reading Calvin's dedication, allowed an observation to escape him one day: "This novelty (said he) will overthrow all monarchy, human and divine."

| If this man had not had despotism in his heart, he would have had it in his head."—*Montesquieu, Spirit of Laws*, v: 10.

lute power which the Protestants denied them. They did not desire this "State within State," according to Richelieu's expression. Like the Catholic Philip in the Netherlands, they erected gibbets and stakes and scaffolds,* and under pretence of opposing the religious reformation, it was political reform that they hoped to stifle.

But the persecutions, banishments, tortures, and massacres ended in results entirely different from those for which their sanguinary authors had hoped. The popes, far from recovering that supremacy of which they were so jealous, beheld half of the Christian populations, formerly subject to the Holy See, escaping from their spiritual jurisdiction. Spain, bowed down beneath the cruel yoke of the inquisition and despotism, lost all social energy, all political life. She sank to rise no more. The Low Countries organized themselves into a republic. Two thirds of Germany became Protestant, and America, England, Germany, received into their bosoms some of the most skillful artisans, some of the noblest families of France,† banished by an act as unjust as it was impolitic, the Revocation of the EDICT OF NANTES.

Crushed forever, religious opposition disappeared from France. But its political and social work was resumed by the philosophy of the eighteenth century, which, freed from all religious restraint, engendered results terrible in quite another way. The example of America, in shaking off a royal yoke, was not without influence there, and the Protestants of the New World, saw that throne totter, from which Louis XIV. had issued orders against them for the dragonnades and exile.

One single state in Europe, a republic, Switzerland, found in

* "The odor of burning martyrs," they said, "was a sweet-smelling sacrifice to God." *Besa, Hist. Eccles.* i: 23. Some examples will be found in the *History of the Anabaptists* Amsterdam, 1669. The interview of William the Silent with the Mennonite envoys is an affecting episode.—P. 233.

† *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, by the Right Rev. Dr. Meade, Protestant Bishop, Philadelphia, 1857. Vol. i, art. xliii. See, also, *The Westover MSS.*, in the possession of Colonel Harrison, of Brandon, Virginia; *History of Virginia*, by Charles Campbell, Richmond, 1847; *America*, by Oldmixon, i: 727, London, 1741. Among the French names prominent in the war were Bayard, Gervais, Marion, the two Laurenses, John Jay, Elias Boudinot, the two Manigaults, Gadsden, Huger, Fontaine, Maury, De Frouville, Le Fevre, Benezet, etc.

the principles of a liberal constitution, as the United States of America afterward did, the solution of its religious quarrels. At first the Catholics had also taken up arms against the dissenters of Zwingle,* and had defeated them. But the conflict taught both parties the wisdom of a pacific solution, and they speedily agreed that each of the Cantons should be free to adopt the mode of faith which it preferred. Thus, only where political liberty existed could religious liberty be established without danger to the public peace.

To revert to the Reformation in England, which contributed at each successive phase a contingent, either Puritan, Covenanter, Cameronian, or Presbyterian, to the increasing emigration to the colonies. The declaration (March 30th) by which the deputies of the English clergy acknowledged the king to be the Defender of the Faith and the Head of the Church of England,

*Two works lately published make us much more thoroughly acquainted with the life, the actions, and the doctrines of Zwingle than heretofore. They are :

Zwingle Studien, by Doctor Herman Spærri, Leipzig, 1866.

Ulrich Zwingle, from unknown sources, by S. C. Moerihoffer, Leipzig, 1867.

Born in 1484, at Wildhaus, in the Canton of St. Gall, he was Vicar of Glaris at twenty-two years of age, where he remained twelve years. A year before Luther, he attacked the vices and abuses of the court of Rome, and his numerous adherents called him to the vicarage of Zurich in 1510. In 1524-5 he suppressed the celibacy of the priests and the mass, and was married. More logical and milder than Luther, he had not the same power of arousing the masses. He taught, with prophetic inspiration, that the moral, social, religious, and political difficulties would end in the separation from the Bishop of Rome of many of his subordinates ; that the constitution of the church ought to be congregational, and all its business transacted by the congregations themselves. These views were solemnly adopted at the Conference of 1523, as the foundation of the Helvetic Church. He differed with Luther in some points, especially respecting the Real Presence in the Eucharist, which Zwingle positively denied. He tried in vain to come to some understanding with the German reformer in the interview at Marburg. Berne adopted his doctrines in 1528, he says, "I hope to see them extend throughout all Switzerland." When the war broke out between the Catholics and Protestants, the Catholics were victorious at Cappel, 1531, and Zwingle was killed in the battle.

He published *Civitas Christiana—De falsa et vera Religione*.

"Religious and political matters were confounded in his mind," says D'Aubigne. "Christians and citizens were the same to him." This universal Christian citizenship, was the dominant idea of his life and his works. It was adopted by Grotius, and has been thus expressed by Tennyson :

"With the standards of the peoples, plunging through the thunder-storm,
Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled,
In the Parliament of Man, the federation of the world."

was the unexpected result of an amorous caprice of Henry VIII. for Anna Boleyn, and the refusal of the Pope to approve of the king's divorce from Katharine.* The people were wholly unprepared for this schism. The separation of England from Rome effected little else than the transfer of the authority of the church to the king, and her possessions to his favorites. Religious despotism was none the less complete for assuming a dissenting form and name. The Catholics resisted spoliation. They were hanged by hundreds. The continental Protestants believed they could find an asylum in the domains of Henry. They found only persecution. The governmental reformation had nothing in common with the teachings of the Lutherans, the Anabaptists, the Calvinists. It never lost the cruel fanaticism of the expeditions against the Vaudois in Italy, the Albigenses and Camisards in France, the Anabaptists in the Netherlands. Mary Tudor persecuted in the name of Catholicism. Elizabeth proscribed that sect. The Stuarts ferociously pursued the Non-Conformists, the Presbyterians, the Puritans, the Cameronians. The Tudors exercised absolute power as a matter of fact. The Stuarts pretended that it existed by right. James I. was the most audacious advocate of the doctrine of divine right. "No Bishop, no King," said he. He asserted that kings reigned by authority derived from God, and were therefore above human laws: that their decrees were of more force than parliamentary statutes; that they could disregard charters and conventions. Though the son of Marie Stuart, he furthered the severest enactments against the Catholics, using the Gunpowder Plot (1605) as a pretext for consigning them to a condition of abject political inferiority, from which they were not emancipated until within the last half century. The Puritans, while in power under Cromwell, were no more tolerant than their adversaries. The Protector waged a war of extermination in Ireland. He had no pity on the Scotch prisoners. "The Lord has delivered them into our hands." The officers and soldiers, their wives and children,

* It should not be overlooked, that the pope had originally granted a dispensation for King Henry's marriage with his brother's widow. The schism of the Anglican church dates from the subsequent refusal of the pope to consent to a divorce.—See W. Beach Lawrence, *Revue du Droit International*, 1870, p. 65; Froude, *Hist. of England*. i: 446, for details.

were transported to America and sold to the planters.* The restoration of the Stuarts brought about bloody reprisals. At last came the Revolution of 1688, which gave victory decidedly to the constitutional party. But the triumphs of the people's right was not effected without energetic protests, of which some, celebrated in history, such as the Solemn League and Covenant, the Declaration of Rights, express in precise and energetic language the claims and purposes of their authors. This Revolution of 1688 was like that of Holland, 1584—a momentous European event, and not merely an English conflict like that of 1648. The principles affirmed by it were transported to America, and persistently claimed by the colonists as their political heritage. Like the Genevese, they demanded their ancient *libertates, franchises, usus et consuetudines civitatis*.

In fact, these principles were carried in the New World to their full and logical development. While English statesmen were speaking of the omnipotence of parliament, and its right to tax the colonies without admitting their representatives to its bosom, the Calvinistic colonists were asserting "the prerogatives which they derived from Jesus Christ." We are authorized, they said, by the law of God, as by that of nature, to defend our religious liberty and our political rights. This liberty, these rights, are innate and indefeasible. They are inscribed in the code of eternal justice, and governments are established among men, not to encroach upon or undermine them, but to protect and maintain them among the governed. When a government fails in this duty, the people ought to over-

* A work ascribed to General Fairfax's Chaplain, *England's Recovery*, which there is every reason to believe was written by the General himself, gives the prices at which some of the captives were sold. Many of them were not destitute of merit. For instance, Colonel Ninian Beall, captured at the battle of Dunbar, was sent into Maryland, where he was soon appointed commander-in-chief of the troops of that colony. A victory which he gained over the "*Susquehannocks*" secured him the eulogies and thanks of the province, with extraordinary gifts and honors.

Historical Magazine of America, 1857; *Middle British Colonies*, by Lewis Evans, Philadelphia, 1755, pages 12 and 14; *Terra Maria*, by Ed. Neil, Philadelphia 1867, p. 193; Bacon's *Laws of Maryland*, contains the *Act of Gratitude*, 1659, to Ninian Beall and his wife Elizabeth. See, also, *Vie de Cromwell*, par Ragueneau, Paris, 1691; *Les Conspirations D'Angleterre*, Cologne, 1680.

throw it, and construct another conformable to their needs and their welfare.

A valiant Scotchman, the Reverend Mr. Craighead, had much to do with the spread of these ideas, and with giving "form and pressure" to the political principles inspired by the religious Reformation, which, later on, found their noblest and most complete expression in the Declaration of Independence.

On the 11th of November, 1743, just as Walpole's corrupt ministry was expiring, Mr. Craighead convened a meeting at Octorara, in Pennsylvania.* The congregation appealed to the rights which Jesus Christ has transmitted to us. They deposed King George II. because he "has none of the qualities which the Holy Scripture requires for governing this country." 'They' made a solemn covenant, which 'they' swore to with uplifted hands and drawn swords, according to the custom of our ancestors, and of soldiers ready to conquer or to die, "to protect our persons, our property, and our consciences against all attacks, and to defend the Gospel of Christ and the liberty of the nation against enemies within and without."

Shortly after this meeting was held at Octorara, this same Mr. Craighead removed to Mecklenburg County, in North Carolina. He died before the war began, but his work lived after him.

As soon as the news from Lexington arrived, meetings were held at Charlotte, the county-town (May, 1775), whereat the people, in view of their violated rights, and resolved for the struggle, directed three of its most respected and influential members, all Presbyterians, all graduates of Princeton College—the Reverend Hezekiah James Balch, Doctor Ephriam Brevard, and William Kennon—to propose resolutions † befitting

* *A Renewal of the Covenants, National and Solemn League, A Confession of Sins, and an Engagement to Duties, and a Testimony as they were carried on at Middle Octorara, Pennsylvania, November 11, 1743.* Psalm lxxvi: 11; Jeremiah 1: 5. This curious and very interesting pamphlet was reprinted at Philadelphia in 1748. It is quite probable that it was known to Mr. Jefferson, who says (*Autobiography*): "We rummaged everywhere to find the biblical formulas of the 'old Puritans.'" Franklin, his colleague in the committee, could not, as printer and politician, have been ignorant of its existence. The only copy which I have seen was said to have been brought from North Carolina.

† Two of them read thus: 'Whoever, directly or indirectly, shall have directed in any way whatsoever, or favored attacks as unlawful and serious as those which

the solemn occasion. This intrepid conduct greatly cheered the hearts of the patriotic party * and aided their cause.

Thus the English colonies in America were largely peopled by adherents of the Reformed faith, who fled from religious intolerance and political oppression, and who were animated by a profound dislike to the form of government which had driven them into exile. Here, in this immense country, lived a population of diverse origins, but united by the recollections of kindred wrongs and sufferings in the Old World, by common wants and interests and hopes in the New. The constant contests in which they engaged, either with a virgin soil covered with forests and swamps, or with the natives who were unwilling to be dispossessed, inured them to hardship, developed their inventive capacities and resources, and gave them that moral and physical vigor needed by new-born nations. Religion, divided into numerous sects, had the same body of doctrine in the Bible and Gospel, inculcated the same rules of life—the fear of God and the love of one's neighbor. The purity of morals was notable. It excited the surprise and admiration of the French officers. In their various journals and letters they mention the beauty, more often the innocence and unsullied conduct, of the American woman.† The laity entertained the same aspirations for freedom of conscience and political liberty. The pastors—rigid, pious, austere, simple in life, energetic in soul, strengthened by privations—set an example of duty to their flocks, and more than one proved on the field of battle,‡ that they knew how to defend their rights as Christian freemen.

Great Britain directs against us, is the enemy of this country, of America, and of all the indefeasible and inalienable rights of men.

"Secondly. We, the citizens of the County of Mecklenburg, break, from this time forward, the political bonds which attach us to the mother country; we free ourselves for the future from all dependence upon the crown of England, and reject all agreement, contract, or alliance with that nation, which has cruelly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington."—*American Archives* (4th Series), ii: 855 *The History of North Carolina*, by Wheeler, Foote, and Martin; *Field-Book of the Revolution*, by Lossing, ii: 617, and the numerous authorities therein cited.

* *Elbridge Gerry to Sam. Adams, Amer. Arch.*

† *Journal of Claude Blanchard*. Preface. Munsell, Albany, 1876. See, also, Chastellux and others.

‡ In the *American Archives* and *Revolutionary Records* are to be found the names of several clergymen who served as officers in the Continental army.

Art. IV.—HENRY STEPHENS' GREEK THESAURUS.

BY PROF. JACOB COOPER, LL.D., Rutgers College.

THE compilation of a dictionary is a work which belongs to the decadence of a language. For during the golden age of a literature, the intellectual activity exhibits itself in the expression of thought much more than in subtle disquisitions about the instrument by which this is effected. Such is the case necessarily, for the word must be spoken and the language take upon itself a fixed syntax, before the meaning, which is largely dependent upon the construction, can be unfolded. And since conception of great thoughts is far rarer than the ability to find words for their enunciation, such authors as feel that they have a mission to enlighten the world by new ideas, do not care to stop their higher calling to criticise the forms of speech which regulate themselves. For the winged words always come trooping to the wizard who can wield the wand of thought.

Examples in proof of this assertion are abundant. The purest, as well as the most vigorous English, is found in the authorized version of the Bible, in Shakespeare, and the contemporary writers. Yet, the Dictionary of Johnson, the first which was worthy of the name, dates nearly two centuries later. David sung and Isaiah prophesied more than two thousand years before Buxtorf and Gesenius explained the terms they employed. Sacontala and the Maha Bharata showed the subtle expression of the most artistic human language long before the Christian era; while we have not, even yet, a thoroughly reliable Sanscrit Lexicon. So Haroun Alraschid listened to that most marvelous and popular of all romances, "*The Thousand and One Nights*," while neither *Al Camoos*, *Goliuz*, nor *Freytag* is a satisfactory guide to the myriad shades of meaning which the flexible Arabic assumes.

This common experience of languages was also verified by the Greek. While this was properly a living tongue, instinct with expression in the mouths of Pericles and Menander, there does not seem to have been what we understand by a dictionary. Indeed, the method of instruction—the best no doubt that

ever was devised for attaining purity and strength of expression, by requiring the pupil to commit to memory passages from the best authors, rendered a dictionary superfluous. Hence so long as the language was spoken and taught exclusively by dictation, there was no call for a written vocabulary. Moreover, in the absence of printed books, and because of the great cost of manuscripts, the language must be kept alive by public speeches, by the recital of poetry, in a word, through oral communication and the power of memory. These things would make the existence of a lexicon difficult. For neither could the memory retain such a list of disconnected words, with their appropriate meanings attached, nor any person be willing to listen to the recital, always excepting the followers of that well-known person, whose only objection to the dictionary as a reading-book was, that it changed its subject rather too often.

Not only from the chronological position which a dictionary holds to the language it explains, but also from the peculiar methods of instruction among the Greeks, we are prepared for the discovery, that no vocabulary of this tongue was compiled until a late date, and none that was comprehensive until it had become practically a dead language. We find a Homeric Lexicon by Apollonius, who lived during the reign of Augustus; *Onomastica*, by Hephæstion, of Alexandria, who flourished A. D. 150; by Julius Pollux, of the same date; Herodianus, 160; Hesychius, *circa* 380. There were some special Lexicons, as Timæus to Plato, 250; Harpocration to the Ten Attic Orators, 350; others, also, by various authors on particular subjects—medical, legal, philosophical. The school founded at Alexandria produced a vast number of grammarians and scholiasts, *i. e.*, commentators on the classic authors. These were laborious and most painstaking critics in the minutiae of the language; and some of them are valuable, because they contain citations of important passages which, but for them, would have been lost, and illustrations of customs not otherwise understood. Many of these, in addition to their critical labors, attempted original authorship; but their efforts in this direction were mostly miserable failures. In fact, their minute examination of grammatical subtleties and dissection of the classic style either unfitted them for originality, or was the result of the native barrenness of genius. For they produced

nothing in the way of independent authorship that, had it perished, with their great library, by the the torch of the Moslem, could cause us much grief. And not only were their own thoughts jejune, but the greater part of their labors, in elucidating the authors of the Golden Age, have very much the effect of the dissector's knife on the human frame. For the beauty vanishes under the cutting and dismembering processes, and instead of a rounded form, full of marvelous symmetry, as the classic Greek exhibits, these hypercritics display the *dissecta membra*, in which their investigations leave those authors whom they have annotated only a huge mass of rubbish, which the man of true taste wishes buried out of his sight. Indeed, nothing could be conceived as a more doleful literary labor, than to be compelled to wade through the huge volumes of finical trifles with which they cumber the great masters of diction. One is reminded, while noticing the evident gusto with which a minute point is illustrated, and the painstaking zeal in solving a grammatical enigma, of the beau famous for the elegance of his necktie, who accounted for his success in tying the knot by the fact that he gave his whole soul to it.

From the Alexandrian school, its followers and imitators, little was to be expected in lexicography, because the classic authors were studied, not for their glorious thoughts, but as a sparring exercise of ingenuity, much like the metaphysical disputes of the schoolmen. For as they disputed most learnedly touching the number of angels who could stand on the point of a needle, these critics tried to see how many of themselves could balance on a point, which, like the cape of the seafaring man, may be aptly called *Point no Point*. But excess always brings reaction; and the few authors who attempted during the Dark Ages to illustrate the classic authors of Greece, were guided by higher motives than their predecessors. We now come to Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, 890; Suidas, 1000; and the Etymologicum Magnum-author, unknown-date but *circa* 1100. These are treasure houses of apt citation. More attention is paid to the meaning of words in their connection, and to the elucidation of the etymology and antiquities of the language. These works were afterward of great value, chiefly by furnishing materials for a more extensive dictionary; yet in themselves, are but a poor key for unlocking the hidden

treasures of the language. Besides the few works on lexicography, there is not much of real value left in the voluminous writers of the Byzantine period. Their prolific labors were mostly in the direction of ecclesiastical history, and in the interest of the partisan Greek Church: too often colored by their own narrow bigotry to be of much value to the unbiased historian. It was only after the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, when the refugees sought asylum in Western Europe, that their literary activity produced much fruit in the interests of their ancient literature. At this time, and aided greatly by the presence of these refugees at nearly all the literary centres, such as Venice, Rome, Florence, Padua, and Paris, the revival of literature began simultaneously. The Greek language had been almost unknown in Western Europe; which was doubtless owing to the bitter hostility between the churches of Rome and Constantinople. For, though Aristotle's works composed the warp and woof of scholastic philosophy, yet his doctrines were known through the roundabout way of translation from the Greek into the Arabic, a language unsuited to the Greek modes of thought, and from the Arabic into the Latin. But when the bigotry of the Byzantine recluse came in contact with the bigotry of the Roman monk, the fermentation of these two acids neutralized them both, and evoked a new life in literature. Greek learning became the rage among scholars. The Latins desired to see how their old friend, Aristotle, would look in his own dress. The exile Greek awakes to a zeal for his ancestral glory. Together they search the libraries from Athos to the Escorial. The dust is shaken from moth-eaten manuscripts, and the old authors allowed to speak for themselves.

Budæus makes a signal epoch in classical learning, by publishing his *Commentarii Linguae Græcæ*, in 1529. This was followed by *Constantini Lexicon*, published at Basle in 1562. Though very imperfect, this was so far in advance of all that preceded it, that it came at once into general use. This brings us down to the time of Henry Stephens' labors in the line of Greek Lexicography. Robert Stephens, his father, had been collecting materials for many years before his death, and these were employed by Henry, who gave to this book fifteen years of a life as full of work as that of any scholar who ever lived. He called his Lexicon a "*Thesaurus*;" and intended it (as

the name indicates, and as it has been subsequently employed in the lexicography of other languages) to be a complete store-house of all that is valuable in Greek literature. It was not intended to be the key to one author or class of authors, to one age or period of the language; but to all authors and periods. This great work was published in five vols. folio, in what seems to be two editions: one of 1572, and one called the "Olive edition," without date, but believed to have been in or about the year 1580. Neither edition has the place of publication designated; but it is pretty certain that the one of 1572 was printed at the Stephens' office in Paris; and the other, or "Olive edition," it is admitted, in so far as this is a new edition at all, was printed at Geneva. There has been a great deal written on the subject of these two so-called editions, and only the bearing which this had on the fortunes of the ill-fated author, could justify a reference to the perplexing matter here. True, there is a kind of literary history connected with the date and place of publication, the type, paper, binding, etc., of books, which is properly called bibliomania, and is a disease sufficiently prevalent to deserve notice. This deals not with the contents of a book so far as the author's meaning is concerned, but in the dress in which his thoughts are paraded before the world. If the book is of the *Editio Princeps*, it is a treasure, no matter how many errors it may contain which are corrected in subsequent issues. If it is not only a *Princeps*, but belongs to the era of *Incunabula*, it is invaluable. If it contain some hideous woodcuts, some head-and-tail pieces which look like nothing in heaven, or on earth, or under the earth, it is beyond all price. It is a joyous thought that there are so many harmless ways for men to make themselves happy; and if this passion for books, according to their form and not their matter, did not run into positive insanity, it might easily be pardoned. For if any sane man can find pleasure by investigating the contents of an *old clo'* dealer's shop in the Ghetto, shall he not enjoy it? For surely the tracing of the individual history of each garment in Rag Fair, would be quite as profitable as the immense erudition wasted in determining the precise origin and date of books. But because of the important bearing which the matter of the two editions had on Stephens' wretchedness and

poverty, the results of a protracted investigation in this uninviting field are given :

1st. There was a complete edition printed in 1572, at the office managed by some of the Stephens family in Paris. This was executed under the immediate inspection of Henry Stephens himself; who, in this, as in all his works, was author, editor, corrector, and proof-reader together; and who, though compelled by the terms of his father's will to be domiciled at Geneva, spent most of his time at Paris. 2d. The second, or "Olive" edition, without date or place of publication, was not an entire reprint, but only of certain parts, particularly the title-page, and a large number of references to the plagiarism of Scapula, whose abridgment of the *Lexicon*, published first in 1577, had greatly injured the sale of the original work. For since Stephens looked upon the *Thesaurus* as the great work of his life, he had embarked most of his patrimony and individual earnings in this enterprise, with the confident expectation of realizing a fortune. 3d. The second edition, so far as the matter of the *Thesaurus* itself is concerned, differs in nothing from the first. In fact there are only small parts which were reprinted; and these which were, may be interchanged with the pages of the first, while only a printer would discover the difference. 4th. This apparent second edition was issued to prevent encroachment on the author's rights; to give the appearance of extraordinary success in the rapid sale of the first; to permit the incorporation of several important additions, which were made in the form of appendices, and not, as they would naturally have been in a *bonâ fide* second edition, at their proper places in the body of the work; and, finally, to give an opportunity for complaint against Scapula for his wrong done, in abridging and appropriating the contents of the larger work.

This was the first and is, in fact, still the *Lexicon* of the Greek language. It is so much more complete than any other which has been published, that no comparison can be instituted. Hallam says: "In comprehensive and copious interpretation of words, it not only left every earlier dictionary far behind, but is still the single Greek *Lexicon*; one which some have ventured to abridge or enlarge, but none have presumed to supersede."—(*Lit. Europe*, vol. 1, p. 250.) And Passow, who must be considered as second only to Stephens himself as a

Greek Lexicographer, says: "The erudition, the judgment, the sagacity, and the clearness of style are displayed in an admirable manner, and it is for this cause that this work has deserved, in preference to so many others, to maintain constantly its position; and without having had to submit to any change, to be still, to this day, universally consulted by the learned. It is not then at all astonishing that the original edition of this work, which dates in 1572, and of which the number of copies must have been immense, has been regarded during 250 years as a book of prime necessity by every public library, and a source of regret to every Hellenist forced to be deprived of it."—(*Extract from a Notice of Thesaurus by Passow, in vol. 1, Thesaurus.*)

Such then was this work, as Henry Stephens left it. In the year 1577, Scapula, who had been employed by Stephens in the progress of the work, published an abridgment, which was equally sought, because of its greatly inferior cost and its convenience for use, being in one volume. In 1579 a second edition was called for. Scapula was made rich, while the deserving author of this great work was impoverished. No attempt, however, was made to rival the *Thesaurus*, nor to add to its comprehensiveness, for nearly 200 years. In 1745 Daniel Scott published, at London, a *Supplement*, in two vols., folio. But the execution of this work was not such as really to entitle it to be a part of *Thesaurus*. There was much additional matter, as might be expected, from the progress made in classical learning in that long period. But the arrangement was bad, so that the work made no epoch in Greek Lexicography. The first real attempt at a complete edition was by Valpy, London, 1815-25. There were immense additions made and incorporated in every part of the work. The order was changed from etymological to alphabetical. A large part of the best results of classical study in the Greek were embodied, save in the department of prosody. But the arrangement was very faulty. There was a great disproportion in the length of articles on words of equal importance, and much of the literary work was poorly executed. Every article accepted, from many contributors, was inserted as received, so that in some cases injustice was done to authors who had sent hints and suggestions, which they expected the editors would elaborate

before incorporation. Hence, despite the very great additions made, the work may be considered a failure. Passow, while admitting the immense additions, and the decided improvement by the change in the order of the words to alphabetical, still calls it, *rudis indigestaque moles*. The concurring judgments of many scholars, as to the unsatisfactory character of this edition, seem justified by the fact, that from the first it failed to meet the critical instincts of the age, and a new edition was called for in four years after the completion of the Valpy. This brings us to consider the Paris edition, of which the first part was issued in 1831, and the whole completed in 1865. Ambrose Didot, whose family has emulated the Stephens as printers, expressed a strong wish, some time before his death, that he could live to see an edition of this *Thesaurus* in its native France, worthy of the age, by embodying all the best results of Greek learning since 1572. This wish was seconded by his son, Ambrose Firmin Didot, a man of deep and varied learning, and especially well-known as a Greek scholar. This able man employed Carl B. Hase, who engaged two vigorous young scholars, De Sinner and Fix, to aid him in carrying on the work under the general supervision of A. F. Didot. This editor submitted a specimen of the proposed edition to the Academy of Inscriptions, and this body gave its approbation to the undertaking on the 29th of May, 1829. Thereupon M. Didot invited coöperation and suggestions from all the learned world. Probably no literary undertaking ever excited more general interest than this; and in response to the call of the Paris edition, offers of assistance came from nearly all the leading scholars of Europe outside of Britain. Either because of national pride in the Valpy edition, or from a feeling of unwillingness to aid in a foreign enterprise, little or no assistance was given from that side of the Channel. But from continental Europe, all the way from Denmark to Greece, proffers of aid of the most material kind were received in abundance. A few of these, taken from the publishers' notice found in the 1st vol., will be mentioned. Boissonade, Professor in the College of France, furnished more than a thousand new words for the first vol. and promised equal aid for the remaining. Cuvier promised to examine every article relating to Natural History, and did so, as far as the work progressed, while he remained able for

literary labor. Diez, of Königsberg, editor of *Hippocrates*, agreed to examine every word pertaining to Medicine. Geel, Keeper of the Library of Leyden University, furnished a copy of Stephens' edition, annotated with fifteen thousand manuscript articles by Hemsterhuys. Passow promised to furnish many new words, and to compose a treatise on Prosody: a department wholly neglected in the London edition. Struve, of Königsberg, furnished eleven hundred articles on the letter A alone. Besides these, Hermann, Jacobs, Lobeck, Van Lennep, and many others of France, Holland, and Germany; Peyron and Leopardi of Italy; Argyramnos, editor of a New Greek Lexicon, in Greece, promised help in various ways. And while many of those who promised aid at the outset, died before the work was completed, and some failed to redeem their promises, yet others of ability took their places. During the progress of the enterprise, the brothers Dindorf were secured as coadjutors in the editorial work. From such help combined, there was every reason to expect that this *Thesaurus* would embrace the choicest fruits of Greek learning up to the present time. Nor was this expectation falsified in the result. It is every way worthy of the original idea of Henry Stephens, so far as could be achieved by joint editorship without any master mind to direct. Doubtless if such a man as the first author could have been found to recast the whole in accordance with the demands of Greek scholarship in this age, the result would have been even more satisfactory than it is. But such a scholar will never again appear, because the various subjects which demand the attention of every man in this age of rapid movements, render such erudition as Stephens possessed in a single department altogether unattainable.

Some of the excellences of this work have been noticed while treating of the first edition. The last edition has all of the excellences, and is without many of its defects, particularly in its arrangement. It is alphabetical, and contains, in the proper place, all that was furnished by Stephens in appendices and separate treatises. It is also very complete in its prosody. As to the arrangement in the alphabetical, rather than the etymological order, this gives more advantage in point of convenience, than it detracts in scientific accuracy. Besides, those who are sufficiently learned to use an etymological lexicon,

scarcely need one, even if it were possible in the present state of comparative philology to construct such a work: which, to say the least, is highly questionable. For the recent researches in oriental languages, carried back to their Aryan roots, open up in etymology a new world of knowledge, and give us reason to think that what has been discovered is not much more, compared to the domain beyond, than Columbus touching at the Bahamas was for the land now known as America.

The great excellence of any dictionary, however, is clear, copious, and exact definition, fortified by apt citation of illustrative passages, and in this respect H. Stephens surpassed any and every lexicographer who has labored on any language; and if a dictionary contains this desideratum, which is the true requisite, defects in other matters may be pardoned. The knowledge which he brought to bear on his work was unique; such as no other man, not even a Greek in Plato's day, ever possessed. This knowledge consisted in a thorough comprehension of the contents and capacities of the language. He began the study of it in early childhood. He loved its sounds before he could utter them. In his own graphic words, he "made it the mistress of his affections; sacrificed all his personal estate, and reduced himself to utter poverty in its service. He devoted his youth, and wrote premature wrinkles on his brow. But though he exhausted all his energies in this chivalric devotion, yet his great love for his mistress made him forget all his toil. And when the labor of editing, correcting, and proof-reading were heavy as the stone of Sisyphus, the work itself was its own reward." So perfectly familiar was he with the authors in this language, that he had become in complete sympathy with all their modes of thought and expression. By this means he had an instinctive perception of their meaning. No man has ever approached him in thoroughness of grasp on the ideas of all Greek authors. He was truly the wise man, who, as Hobbes says, makes words his counters, not the fool who considers them the real coin. He was not a critic in the Alexandrian sense. He did not pay tithes in mint and anise and cumin. Hermann could have caught him tripping in his prosody, or Scaliger in his Latin diction; Wolf could have smelled an interpolation where there was none, or decided how much of the Iliad was sung by the Rhapsodist for a single

dinner, much better than he could do ; and Bentley, doubtless to his own satisfaction, could determine whether the bellowings of Phalaris' brazen bull, when the prisoners, roasted for the ferocious tyrant's amusement, roared through the red-hot throat, were the same in tone as those of the herds which lowed in the meadows of Cam. But Stephens knew more than they altogether ; he knew what an author meant by the use of each word employed. Critics may refine till weary about this or that shade of meaning in a particle, but a full sympathy with the author is a far better guide to his meaning. And it is a fact well known, that any scholar who uses this *Thesaurus*, will be more and more convinced that he has an unerring guide for the interpretation of his author, and will render unqualified homage to the well nigh infallible judgment of this lexicographer. Scaliger may smile patronizingly, or the *English Review** may sneer at Stephens' claim to accurate scholarship, but if a true test of ability be successful work, then may the latter well afford to be criticised. For, measured by this criterion, Scaliger and all others who have questioned H. Stephens' scholarship, are as much below him in reality, as they are above him in their own estimation.

In the clear comprehension of an author's meaning, H. Stephens was for classic Greek like Calvin in his comments on the Bible. Neither was in the strictest sense, which is perhaps the worst, a critic. Calvin never impresses a reader with his power, when dealing with questions of grammar in the interpretation of Greek and Hebrew. But he knows better what the sacred authors intended to say than any other uninspired writer. He impresses his readers continually with his immense grasp of what the spirit utters, and his clear conception of the connection between the different portions of revelation. Hence, his commentaries are a mine of biblical knowledge, which has furnished the capital stock of more than half of all that is valuable in subsequent interpreters. Even those would-be interpreters, who are so horrified at his doctrines, that they must needs enter a caveat lest they be suspected of sympathy, would, if made to disgorge all the life blood they have sucked from him, be poor shrunk leeches, transparent because

* *Quarterly Review*, No. 234.

they contained nothing. And many writers do not acknowledge their obligations because they do not know whence their information was derived. For, like Shakespeare's utterances, Calvin's interpretations have become common property.

H. Stephens, however, had one fault, he said to much. His citations are too long; his explanations more than sufficient. He never seemed to know when he had said enough. Hence the great bulk of his work, which rendered it unwieldy for use, and too expensive for many to purchase. His fault, it must be added, is aggravated in the Didot edition. For, in addition to the portentous size which Stephen's vast collection of references, citations, explanations, and remarks necessarily made it, the last editors fearing lest each of them should not get his due proportion of honor, must append their own names, and sprinkle every page with a host of arbitrary characters to designate what belongs to the original edition; and how, whence, and in what order the subsequent additions are made. This greatly increases the bulk, as well as disfigures the page, and renders it much more difficult to find the interpretation of a word—the end for which a dictionary is made.

This naturally leads to a consideration of the improvements which might be made, and the probability of any future edition. That improvements will be called for as classical learning is cultivated, there can be no doubt; and hence, an opinion touching the possibility to better this *Thesaurus* is offered only with reference to the present standpoint. That it is already too large cannot be doubted. Its unwieldy size, nine vols. folio, added to its great cost, render its employment necessarily rare; while its preëminent excellence recommends it to every Greek scholar. Hence, if it could be stripped of all reference to the several editors, if each one who has aided in its elaboration could be content to let his work speak for itself, and feel that his contribution to knowledge is its own reward, much would be gained in diminishing the bulk and cost, without in any degree lessening the value. If the amount of quotation, beyond what is indispensable for clear illustration, were omitted, so that the interpretation stop when the exact meaning of the word in its connection is given, very much more would be gained. And if this process of abridging could be carried far enough for the whole work to be embraced in one immense folio, a great end

would be attained. And it is believed that by the employment of such retrenchments as are noted above, everything of value could be preserved, and yet the size not exceed a volume of four times the bulk of the 6th London edition of *Liddell & Scott's Lexicon*.

This would make an unwieldy tome it is true, but then it would be one, and the cost need not exceed one-fourth the price of the Paris edition. It must be clear to every person that has occasion to consult lexicons much, that they must be in one volume. In fact, it has always proved well nigh fatal to the extensive employment of a dictionary, that it is in more than one. This reason alone gave Scapula's abridgment its immense success. For no person ever pretended that this was comparable to the *Thesaurus* in point of excellence; but the reduction to one volume rendering it convenient for use, and bringing it within moderate cost, caused it to almost supersede the larger work. The time spent in looking up a word is so much lost at best; and the increase of this loss by a lexicon of many volumes—the more the worse—occasioned by laying down one and taking up another, often the wrong one, despite the lettering on the back, is greater than can be afforded, except it be from sheer necessity. This does not hold with equal force in the case of encyclopedias, because their articles are long, and they are not so often consulted.

The lexicon in any language being a necessary evil, it is proper that this be reduced to its minimum, consistent with a clear understanding of the author read by its help. How then shall we best employ a lexicon so as to secure a vocabulary, is a pertinent question growing out of our subject. It is clear that in learning any language without a living teacher, recourse must be had to a dictionary of some sort, all the time, until a vocabulary is mastered. The *Chrestomathy*, or Reader, which, together with a judicious variety of selections from the best authors, contains a dictionary adapted to those extracts, facilitates very greatly the acquisition of words; so that, when the student leaves the manual the great labor of word-hunting is past. For, as no dictionary can be a complete guide to every usage of every word, without virtually embracing all the writings of the language, it follows that the student of any tongue must exercise his own judgment, must determine the meaning

of a word from its connection, and so, in effect, become a dictionary unto himself. No man ever became a proficient in any language without this independent method of investigation. The author must be made to explain himself. The great William Pitt, who was a first-rate classical scholar, was accustomed to read Thucydides rapidly, translating mentally as far as he was able; and when he came to a word which he could not make out, leave it untranslated, until, from the connection, the meaning became clear. Thus every man who would obtain an independent knowledge, so as to feel he has the mastery of a language, must practice the method of seeking the interpretation of a word as much as possible from the author himself. This, of course, contemplates the constant use of a lexicon up to a certain stage; that is, until a considerable vocabulary is mastered; and a recurrence to it in all subsequent time, when the meaning of an author cannot be discovered from the context, or a comparison of the usage in another place.

It would not seem proper to close this article without giving some account of the Stephens' family of printers, or at least of Robert and Henry, father and son, who were the most distinguished of them all. For this family did more for the advancement of learning than any other in any age. The family of Estienne, or, as it is anglicised, Stephens, is found at Paris first about the year 1500. Henry, the grandfather of the Greek lexicographer, was a successful printer and bookseller. He published extensively, but his books were not, except very few, in the direction of classical studies. Robert S., his son, takes the office in 1526. He adopted, as was the custom of the times with all private establishments and guilds, a motto for his office, which was an olive tree, with a scroll winding among the branches, and on this was inscribed: *Noli altum sapere* (Rom. xi: 20). Some of the branches of this tree are lopped off, and the whole motto referred to the figure employed by the apostle to show how the Jews were rejected from the stock of the true Israel, and the Gentiles grafted into their place. Looking at this tree was the figure of a venerable man, by which the apostle to the Gentiles was undoubtedly meant. Robert S. favored the Protestant Reformation, and was suspected and persecuted by the Catholics because of the character of his publications. For many of these were editions of the Old

Testament in Hebrew, and the New in Greek. These persecutions and annoyances to which he was perpetually subjected led him, notwithstanding the favor and protection of Francis I. King of France, to remove to Geneva, where he openly professed Protestantism. Before he removed, however, he published a Latin Thesaurus, which, like the greater work of his son for the Greek, has, with its various additions, been recognized as the only authoritative one of that language. Before his day the Latin Dictionary in common use was that of Calepio. This was a moderately extensive, but ill-arranged, work, containing materials of great value, but needing a master to reduce them to proper order. Such a person was found in Robert S., who undertook to print a new edition. But when he entered upon this work he found so many changes and corrections necessary, that he recast the whole. So radical were the changes, and so numerous the improvements, that it was in truth a new book; and while he made full acknowledgments for all the aid furnished him, he also felt justified in suppressing Calepio's name, and calling it "*Roberti Stephani Thesaurus Linguae Latinæ*."* Of this he issued three editions, the last in 1543. In 1549, Gesner published an edition, with corrections, though substantially the same work, under his own name, suppressing Stephens,' and without acknowledgment. Subsequently, in the edition of 1749, the name of Robert Stephens was restored to the title-page. This *Thesaurus* remained the standard, without change, till 1771, when Forcellini published a revised edition under the name, *Tatius Latinitatis Lexicon*. This work has been further edited by Facciolatti, and is known by his name; though it has received further corrections and enlargements from Furlanetti, Corradini, and De Vit. This work is, however, essentially the *Thesaurus Ling. Lat. Roberti Stephani*; so that these two, Robert and Henry S., are the real authors of the only *Thesauri* for the Latin and Greek languages, recognized as the final authority.

Before leaving Paris Robert S. printed an edition of the Greek Testament in folio, which is the most elegant ever issued; and is the basis of the English translation; † for the *Textus Receptus* of Elzevir differs in no material point from it.

* *Almeloveen Vit. H. S.*† *Quar. Rev.*, 234.

In going from Paris to Lyons, on horseback, in 1551, which proved to be his last journey from the former place, he divided the New Testament into verses, the same which are now used. An immense number of Greek classics, issued by him and by Henry were deemed so accurate and valuable, that they formed the basis of citation for grammars and lexicons, which referred to them by the page, and divisions of the page indicated by the letters A—E. This system of citation is still adhered to in some authors—*e. g.*, Plato. Robt. S. died at Geneva in 1559, leaving his business and the most of his fortune to Henry—born 1532, the second of this name and the greatest of the family—under the conditions that the press should remain at Geneva, and the son not relapse into Catholicism. Part of the family and the larger portion of the business, however, remained at Paris, and this caused Henry to vibrate between this place and Geneva, and to form the habit of wandering, which grew on him continually. Both father and son took great pride in the splendor of their editions. The former printed many school-books also, and such editions as were cheap and in usual demand, so that he grew rich by his business. The latter confined himself chiefly to magnificent editions of Greek authors, of which his *Plato* is the most conspicuous, and these, together with the great expense of his *Thesaurus*, injured him financially. But the greatest blow his fortune received was by the surreptitious abridgment of the *Thesaurus* by Scapula, who was employed by Stephens. The latter did the work and the former, as is often the case, reaped the reward of his labors. Henry S. never recovered from this injury. He tried to mend his fortunes by seeking pensions from kings and nobles as the reward of fulsome dedications of his books. He thus, in waiting on royalty, neglected his business; and with the ordinary fate of literary men who seek the patronage of the great, became wearied with waiting, and got nothing but fair promises. Repeated disappointments soured his temper; and this, added to great egotism, made him well nigh insufferable to his most intimate friends, as may be seen in the biography of Cassanbon, his son-in-law. He wandered about continually, finally lost his reason, and died in 1598, at a hospital in Lyons, far from home, away from friends, and without money! Even his funeral was desecrated by a Catholic mob, hounded on by

priests and monks. There is nothing more sad in literary history than the fate of Henry Stephens. The work which he did in a single year as editor, printer, proof-reader, publisher, was enough to fill an ordinary life, to give an author enduring fame, and secure him wealth. Yet he worked constantly at this rate from 1545 to 1580, was driven mad by pecuniary disappointment, and died in a hospital!

ART. V.—CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS.*

BY HENRY B. SMITH.

THE Italian philosopher, Giovanni Battista Vico, the founder of the modern philosophy of history, and one of the ablest and most comprehensive of the philosophers of the eighteenth century, develops, in his *Principles of the New Science*, a theory of civilization embracing what he calls the *Law of Returns*. Each age runs its appointed course and dies; and after a long period there will be a return of the same process. Though this cannot be called a final law of history (since it neglects too much the law of progress), yet it shows us one of its marked conditions. At different periods, widely sundered, we find

* *Apologetik. Wissenschaftliche Rechtfertigung des Christenthums.* Von J. H. A. Ebrard, Dr. Phil. et Theol. 2 Theile. Gütersloh, 1874-5.

System der christlichen Apologetik. Von Franz Delitzsch. Leipz., 1869.

Christliche Apologetik auf anthropologischer Grundlage. Von Christ. Ed. Baum. Stark. Erster Band [all published], Frankfurt a. M., 1872.

K. H. Sack, *Christliche Apologetik.* Hamburg, 1829. [Second edition, 1841.]

Von Drey, *Apologetik als wissenschaftliche Nachweisung des Christenthums in seiner Erscheinung.* Mainz, 3 Bde. 1844-1847. (Roman Catholic.)

Werner *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur*, 5 Bde. 1861-67. (Roman Catholic.)

Dr. Fr. Düsterdieck, *Der Begriff und die encyclopädische Stellung der Apologetik* two instructive articles in the *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie*, 1866. Dr. Düsterdieck is a Consistorial Counsellor in Hannover.

Theod. Christlieb, *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief.* Transl. by Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht, etc. New York, 1874.

Luthardt, *Apologetic Lectures.* Three series: *On the Fundamental, the Saving and the Moral Truths.* Transl. Edinb.

similar historic laws, though working under different conditions. The early literature of Christianity was apologetic. The same is true of the present literature of Christianity in almost all its departments. We, like the early church, live in an apologetic era. There is hardly an effective theological work, we might almost say, hardly any great Christian discourse, which does not take on an apologetic stamp.

I.

Apology, Christian Apologetics (not yet to define it more precisely), is essentially Vindication. It seeks to vindicate, and in vindicating to establish, the value and authority of the Christian faith. It begins, in fact, with the Scriptures, the epistles, and especially the discourses, of Paul. In Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and other Christian writers, it received more distinct form, proposing to defend Christianity against all gain-sayers. All that belongs to the proof of the Christian religion, and all that belongs to its defense, and all that belongs to its counter-attack against its foes, is a part of Apologetics. For Apologetics is not only apology, but onset. It cannot be content with repelling assault, it must assail in return, and dislodge its foes from their camp. It is war in its ultimatum—the breaking down of the strongholds of its foes. It cannot be content with anything else or less. And this must be so, from the nature of the case. The Christian faith, if anything, is everything. And hence, the ultimate object of Apologetics must be to show that Christianity is the absolute religion; that there is salvation in no other.

We sometimes think it strange—it almost alarms us—that Christianity should be so desperately assailed; but when we come to think about it, it is the most natural thing in the world. Evil will always attack good; error instinctively assails the truth; sin, by its very nature, is opposite and opposed to holiness. Incarnate Love was crucified between two thieves; and the church cannot expect to be better treated than its Head and Lord—it is surely enough for the servant that he be as his Master. Men who cannot find God in nature, cannot find God in the Bible. Men who deny the supernatural, must consider all religious faith a delusion. The secularist who looks at everything *sub specie mundi*, cannot see anything *sub specie aeterni*.

Even a heathen might *go on* and find God, but a materialist must *go back*, deny himself, in order to find him. As long as there are sin and unbelief, so long there will be attacks on Christianity; and there must needs be a defense also.

And this, too, is to be considered: that as knowledge grows, as science extends, as the boundaries of investigation and thought are enlarged, man's restless and inquisitive intellect will always be framing new theories about something or other, or about everything. And each infant Hercules must first fight it out with his nurse. Christianity has bred all the new aspirants for omniscience; and the young men and women wish to show that they are wiser and stronger than the authors of their being. This, too, is quite natural. Nor is it all wholly sinful. These sciences and philosophies and criticisms have a right to be; and if Christianity cannot make good its ground against them—where they oppose it—cannot approve itself as wiser, stronger, and better—it must so far forth give place to them. If it cannot appropriate all that is good and true in them (however *new* it may be), and still preserve its lordly sway, then it is *not* the wisest and best system for mankind, and will give place to what is better. But it has the prescriptive right of possession and favor; its roots are imbedded in the depths of the broad earth, and wind round among its ribbed rocks, and its branches wave high, overshadowing and fruitful, so that the nations of the earth lodge beneath them. And infidelity has got to dislodge them before it can even begin to build its own temple on and with the ruins. Neither the end of the world nor the end of Christianity seems to be very near yet; and there is still a fair chance that the world may end first.

The necessity and importance, now, of the diligent and specific study of Apologetics is seen in part just here, viz.: in this constant progress of the human race in knowledge and in aspiration; in the advance of the sciences and arts, of culture and civilization; in the successive and comprehensive schemes of philosophic speculation, wherein thoughtful men struggle with the grand problems of nature and of humanity, and try to solve them. What is the world? Whence is the world? For what is the world? Whence is man? What is man? and for what? What am I? *Whence, and for what?* These questions have stirred men's minds from the dawn of thought—elevating, perplexing

often confounding, yet always impelling them. In the darkness of the labyrinth which we call life, the groping hand has been ever in search of the clue no eye could see—feeling after God, if haply it might find him. What wonder if here many go astray, especially those whose eyes are blinded by reason of sin. What a marvel, that, in spite of every defeat, and of innumerable false lights, the same search is going on from age to age! A new question for every new generation! Yea, a new question for every new soul, struggling in the throes of its higher spiritual birth.

And every new science and every new philosophy—still dealing with the same old, old questions—views them in some new light. And hence the necessity of a renewed, an honest, a patient investigation.

It is true that the questions are ever essentially the same: for God and man and the universe remain essentially the same from age to age; and the questions are ultimately about them and their relations. It is true that the substance of faith and the formal nature of unbelief remain the same, and that sin is sin, and holiness is holiness only, and forever.

But it is not true that the form of the conflict, or its weapons, remain, or can remain, the same; these change with the changes of age and nations and philosophies, just as much and as surely as do the armaments of war.

Hence, Apologetics as a system must, to a certain extent, be reshaped, in each century, with each new class of opponents, so as to adapt Christianity to each new age, and to exhibit its inherent superiority over all that can be brought against it.

And this subject is forced upon us anew every day, not only in works of learning and philosophy, but also in the current popular literature. Many a popular lecturer owes a part of his success to his covert, when not open, attacks upon the Christian system. This shape of evil, this substance of infidelity, often realizes the great poet's apt description of its progenitor:

"If shape it might be called, which shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
Or substance might be called, that shadow seemed,
For each seemed either."

And the very fact, that infidelity is so subtle and so persuasive, is only another reason for studying it well and understanding its weapons and its arts.

II.

In discussing so wide a subject, there must, of course, be a selection of certain special points to meet the limits of an article in a Review. At present we propose to consider briefly the elements of the conflict—some of the different phases through which attack and defense have hitherto run, and a statement of the main topics embraced in a course of Christian Apologetics. And it will be found that there is in its career a kind of logical process—at any rate, such logic as there is in the development of a system of truth through and by antagonisms—which seems to be one of the laws of all terrestrial progress.

The term infidelity, in its most general usage, covers both skepticism and unbelief; it expresses both the state of doubt and the state of denial, which, though differing in some respects, are often passing over into each other. Doubt tends to denial; it is not always such. The state of doubt in respect to religious realities is different from, though often confounded with, that philosophical disposition which leads to inquiry and investigation; since the latter is chiefly intellectual, while the former is essentially moral, in its nature. When men come to doubt about or deny sin and judgment, the moral law and the moral law-giver, their moral perceptions are already obscured or benumbed. Infidelity consists in the doubt or denial of those moral and spiritual truths upon which moral judgment and personal accountability are dependent. Man is accountable for his belief just so far as any moral truth influences his judgment—just so far as his decisions have respect to sin or holiness.

In saying this, we would be far from asserting or implying that all objections to the Bible and Christianity are only signs of man's inborn and inbred corruption; that historical, philological, and even doctrinal criticisms, came only from a sinful unbelief; still less, that when reason and conscience speak, their utterances are all to be set down to the account of a godless rationalism. Far from it. There are undeniable difficulties in regard to history and science, which can be settled only by investigation. There are signs and wonders which would stagger any one, unless the need of them and their historic reality can be clearly evinced. Science has its lawful sphere.

Scripture may have been, and often has been, misinterpreted by believers, as well as by unbelievers. Even scientific believers have found more science in the Bible than it was ever intended to teach. There are some points in respect to which we have not now the means of ascertaining the exact truth. There are some difficulties which we may never be able fully to harmonize and explain. We are to prove (test, try) all things, even the Scriptures, and hold fast that which is good. It is pusillanimity, and not faith, which shirks the trial. Science and philosophy cannot be put down by mere traditions and denunciations. If the Christian system cannot establish its claims and authority in the view of reason and conscience (their rights being carefully scrutinized and adjusted), it will be in vain for church or pope to call upon the nations to believe in their own infallible authority, as settling all questions of right and wrong, truth and falsehood, for time and for eternity. In this great debate, human reason and conscience, as well as the permanent results of criticism and philosophy, must coincide with religious faith.

The Christian faith, on the other hand, having its ground and essence in the spiritual realm, appeals directly to man as a spiritual and religious being, as made for God, and in the image of God. And it especially addresses itself to man's sense of sin and need of redemption. It is, in its very nature, a redemptive system; all that is in Christ, in his relation to us, centres around and in the question of redemption from sin. If sin and punishment are denied, Christ and salvation must consistently be denied. And accordingly, we find in the whole history of Christianity, that here, in the last analysis, the battle has been fought in every believing and unbelieving soul, in all the ages of faith and all the epochs of infidelity. Any system of philosophy, any speculation, any tendency which weakens the sense of sin, also weakens the power of Christianity, and gives to infidelity an easier victory.

Still further, the Christian system is, in its very nature, a *supernatural* system—above nature in its origin, its processes, and its results; for it is from God, and it works for eternity. It works with and through the seen and temporal, but it works also above and beyond all that greets the eye of sense. It makes the spiritual and the eternal to be the *grana realities*, and the tangible

and temporal transient and shadowy in comparison. The supernatural element is not to be found—as some would have it—merely, or even chiefly, in the sphere of the will (for such a supernaturalism a mere naturalist need not deny)—but it is essentially found in those divine truths and realities (the most real of all that is) which come from God through a specific revelation, for the elevation and restoration of the lost race of man. And it is this supernatural element of the Christian faith which has always provoked the assaults of unbelief; for man, through the power of sin, is involved in spiritual darkness, as well as made subject to a distempered will.

Here, then, are the essential elements of the conflict of all ages. On the one hand, a supernatural and redeeming system centering in one Incarnate God; on the other hand, man, loving the sin inborn and inbred, and blind to the light which streams out from the heavenly places. The one rests ultimately in God, making the divine wisdom and glory, as they are the source, to be also the end, of all things; the other has its roots in human nature—as it now is—and makes man's needs the great impulse, and man's well-being the great end, of all our striving. The whole alphabet of the one—its Alpha and Omega—is God in Christ; the other uses the whole alphabet to syllable the desires of man, or express the facts of nature. The former echoes with the sharpest emphasis the wail of humanity, groaning under its body of sin and death, haunted by a sense of sin profounder than all our other experience, so that its cry is and must be: Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The latter feigns that sin is a negation, or a process of education, and repentance, and regeneration—purposes of man's will alone, and redemption a gradual progress in moral culture. Unbelief has on its side not only all our natural desires, but also their main bias, their partial and limited ends; while faith is obliged to contend against and overcome the natural man, its victory is the overcoming of the world, the flesh, and the devil, and these do not yield without violent throes and conflicts. The one finds in natural reason, in its laws and processes, the limits of all knowledge; the other is satisfied only when, in the darkness of nature, it can feel that it is touching the right hand of God, and that, though itself is blind as to the future, it is led by one who sees the end from the

beginning. As Wordsworth—that truly Christian poet—has well sung :

No ! let this age, high as it may, instal
In her esteem the thirst that wrought man's fall.
The universe is infinitely wide,
And conquering Reason, if self-glorified,
Can nowhere move, uncrossed by some new wall
Or gulf of mystery, which thou alone,
Imaginative Faith, canst overleap
In progress toward the fount of Love.

III.

The elements of the contest being thus given, on the one hand in the supernaturalism and redemptive grace of the Christian system ; and in the love of sin and the pride of reason on the other ; and these being the strongest of contestant agencies, it is not wonderful that we find the history of the church, yea, the very history of mankind, to be a record of this immortal battle in different and progressive stadia.* All the philosophical and religious systems of the ancient world, and every new system—physical and metaphysical—have enlisted in this, as yet ineffectual, warfare against the victorious progress of the Incarnate God. The battles of empires and of races are but mimic mock-fights, in comparison with this intenser conflict between the underlying and mightiest powers that sway the destiny of the race.

First of all, to rehearse these spiritual wars in a rapid outline : first of all, there was the subtlety of the Greek speculation, and the pride of the Hebrew legalism ; the cross was to the Jew a stumbling block, and to the Greek foolishness ; while to them that believed, it was the wisdom and power of God unto everlasting life. Against these foes the Christian literature of the

* Dr. Werner's *History of Apologetics*, cited at the head of the article, is the fullest general account, though based on Roman Catholic views. The last volume contains a more minute history of the English deistic works than is to be found elsewhere—on some points more complete than Leland. He is a voluminous writer, the author of the *History of Roman Catholic Theology in the Munich Geschichte und Wissenschaften*, of a *History of Arianism*, etc. The well-known smaller works of Bolton on the *Early Apologists*, and Farrar's *History of Free Thought*, as well as the sketches of the later *German Theology*, by Hagenbach, Schwarz (4th ed.), and Kahnis (new ed., 1875, in two volumes), must of course be consulted, as well as Buckle and kindred authors.

second century became to a large extent apologetic, and as such, both offensive and defensive. Against the Jew the object was to show that Jesus was indeed the promised Messiah, and that the law was not only abolished, but also fulfilled, in the Christian dispensation. Against the heathen there was a wider range of argument to refute their objections, that Christianity was a new religion, and that it was irreligious and immoral (*superstitio exitiabilis*—a detestable superstition), and that it claimed to be, what no heathen believed possible, a religion for all mankind. This last, for example, was one of the strong objections of Celsus; a pagan of the classic world could believe in a universal empire, but not in a universal religion. To meet these and similar objections, we have in the second century the admirable apologies of Justin Martyr, Tatian's Oration against the Greeks, the anonymous epistle to Diognetus (going often under the name of Justin, yet certainly not by him), one of the most admirable remains of early Christian literature, far surpassing the works of the so-called Apostolic Fathers. To these in the same century were added the writings of Athenagoras, of Theophilus of Antioch, and, in the latter part, the great names of Clement of Alexandria, and the fiery and struggling genius of Tertullian, who, in the name of Christ, conquered the Latin tongue,* and made it speak the words of faith.

But heathenism was not willing to part with its gods without a more desperate struggle. It gathered up all its resources for attack and for defense. In the city of Alexandria, Greek, Roman, and Jew all met; and there was framed out of this confluence an eclectic system, a New Platonic school, the object of which tried to show that Christianity lacked the elements needed to secure supremacy and universality. It was a movement wonderfully akin to some tendencies of our own times. Celsus, Porphyry, Proclus, Plotinus, and Julian are the prototypes of some Frenchmen and Germans, not to say Englishmen and

* Hooker speaks of Tertullian as "a sponge steeped in vinegar and gall." The remains of Celsus (A. D. 178) have been admirably restored by Dr. Keim of Zurich, in his *Celsus' Wahres Wort*, 1873, and compared with Lucian and Minucius Felix. *The Plea of Athenagoras*, admirably edited by Prof. March, of Lafayette College, is included in the *Douglass Series of Greek and Latin Writers*, vol. V. Of course, the hints here given of the history of Apologetics are meant to be only references

Americans of to-day. Celsus, for example, who has been much overrated, because the adamantine Origen replied to him, says, that in the Greek wisdom we have the true *logos*, the Messiah; that this fair world (*kosmos*) is the true Son of God; that Christianity leads to social disorders; and that the only way of keeping up law and nationality is by propping up the pillars of the old temples.* Porphyry, too, objects, that the Christian faith interrupted the historical continuity, and introduced barbarism. Finding how the personal power of Christ was silently and surely working (*e. g.*, Origen says, that He, unlike others, represents the sum and perfection of all the virtues), these pagan assailants looked about for an ideal man to set up in his stead, and brought forth Pythagoras, to whom distance lent enchantment; and Apollonius of Tyana, the juggling imposter, the best that heathenism could find, and quite as good as some of the objects of the fashionable worship of genius in these later days. Then, at last in Julian, the apostate, Julian, the emperor, the philosopher, and the priest, we have the union of all the resources of the ancient world against the growing forces of Christianity: the state against the church, philosophy against faith, the old culture against the new; the host of stars of the polytheistic canopy of night, in contrast and contest with the rising sun of the new and better day. Julian, with the zeal of a fanatic, attempted to revive the old pagan enthusiasm, representing heathenism as world-historical, and Christianity as a conventicle and a sect; and, if truth is to be

* On the difference between the early Greek and Latin Apologists, there is a striking statement by the late Dr. Hundeshagen, in an admirable address, as Pro-Rector, at the birth-day celebration of the Duke of Baden, in Bonn, Nov. 22, '60: "As the Greeks contended for the assailed cause of Christianity on rational grounds, with appeals to Socrates, Plato, and other coryphaei of philosophy, so did the Latins on grounds of right and justice, and with citations from the Roman laws. With the former, the salient thought held up against opponents is always the evidence for the *truth* of Christian doctrine; the latter make prominent the bearings of Christianity upon the injured rights of the individual and of society. 'All the early Latin apologists were *advocati*, versed in law. Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, and Ambrose, the former Proconsul of Aemilia and Liguria, had all of them been Roman *Causidici*, and teachers of legal eloquence; they were all men who received their special mental, as well as their general, character, not from the divisive and uncertain philosophy of the Greeks, but from a solid and firm training in the service of the Roman State.'

settled by mere tradition and numbers, he undoubtedly had the right of it. Christianity, too, he said, was but a mixture of Judaism and heathenism, retaining their worst elements; for example, taking from Judaism what Julian calls its atheism (*ἀθεΐας*), that is, its belief in *one* God; and also that adventurous faith which leaps the gulf between the finite and the infinite. But in vain did Julian prostitute all the power of the State to help the debased deities; in vain did he borrow from Christianity some of its benevolent institutions, and engraft them upon heathenism; in vain did he himself offer sacrifices as the Pontifex Maximus, and preach, and lead even an austere life; flames and an earthquake kept him from building the temple of Jerusalem, whereby he attempted to disprove the prophetic word; and he himself, with his expiring breath upon the plains of Persia, could only say, according to the tradition: "Thou has conquered, O Galilean!" The great victory over the whole eternal civilization, as well as over the speculations, of the ancient Greek and Roman world was now gained; and the cross inscribed upon the labarum of Constantine was the symbol of its victory; the cross, which meant only ignominy and torture, penetrated all literature and all history, and entered into every loving and believing heart, as the symbol of divine suffering and victorious love. And the greatness and completeness of the victory is seen in the simple fact, that for more than a thousand years the whole literature of the church was chiefly occupied with the shaping and systematizing of doctrines, and had but little to do with the avowed foes of Christian thought and the Christian faith. Augustine wrote his *De Civitate Dei* on the highest ground which human thought (outside the inspired prophecies) had yet reached as to the problem of human history; and Aquinas summed up the controversy in his work *De Vera Catholica Fide adversus Gentiles*, which alone would have made his name immortal, had he not himself eclipsed it by his *Summa*—undoubtedly one of the master works of theological authorship. On the eve of the Reformation, Boccaccio, indeed, had satirized the faith, and Machiavelli wrote upon the anti-national tendencies of the Christian system. Here and there was one who uttered some dissent on minor points: but the whole tone of thought and belief was on the side of the church. And herein was a part

of the secret of the power of Rome—the mystical Babylon. The papacy became despotic, corrupt, and anti-Christian, the reform, prepared for during more than a century, broke out simultaneously in all parts of Europe; and with the reform came a spirit of free action in all departments of life, and free inquiry in respect to the truths of the faith. The highest aim and success (so far as it went) of the mediæval church and theology, was to combine (in the realistic theory) the traditional dogmas of the church with the Greek, especially the Aristotelian philosophy: for Scholasticism is the marriage of the Aristotelian philosophy with the Christian dogma (as determined by consent and councils). The Reformation consisted, intellectually and spiritually, in the denial of the premises, viz.: in the position, that the dogmas of councils are not divine and immutable, and that the metaphysics (not so much the logic) of Aristotle does not contain all ultimate truth in its best form.

The essence of the skeptical spirit, which, after the Reformation had been adjusted in its political and religious relations, manifested itself in the different countries of Europe, may perhaps be said, in the most general and abstract formula of statement, to consist in exalting the subjective, the individual reason and will, against the objective, as found in the faith and the Scriptures of the church. The earth was made the centre, and the sun supposed to revolve around it—reversing the law of astronomy. The mediæval church feigned that itself was *theocentric*; the extreme reaction of the Reformation was *anthropocentric*—man's need and destiny being the one thing needful. The shape that this tendency has taken in the latest times is virtually *geocentric*—making this world and its supposed laws to determine destiny. The philosophic method of the latter tendency is called *inductive*—a powerful and sufficient method in its own sphere, but now assuming to govern the premises, as well as the mode, of inference. Every *method* presupposes certain facts, and can only dictate the inferences. It cannot limit either the facts of nature, or the phenomena of consciousness.

* Bacon and Descartes, though both of them believed in the Christian faith, are put at the head of the two great and opposite tendencies in which infidelity has since shown itself since

the Reformation, viz., the materialistic and the rationalistic or transcendental, in the bad sense of these words. But neither Bacon nor Descartes contemplated such results from their systems. Especially is it only by taking the lesser half of the Baconian system, that infidelity gains any countenance from him. He himself says, "that it is most certain, and approved by experience, that while light gusts may move men to Atheism, yet fuller draughts bring men back to religion," and in a striking passage in the *New Organon*, he says: "Only let mankind regain their rights over nature, assigned to them by the gift of God; and that power obtained, its exercise will be governed by right, reason, and true religion." It was only when his system was transferred to another soil, and brought under the formulas of infidelity, that it came to nourish skepticism.

The course of modern infidelity has been curiously determined by the comparative freedom of the different nations, and it has come to its height, it is well worthy of being carefully noted—not in those countries where political thought and speech are freest, but where they have been most restricted. Deism, Atheism, Pantheism are the three main forms represented respectively by England, France, and Germany. The movement began in England with Herbart, Hobbes, Collins, Tindal, Chubb, and Morgan, in the 16th and 17th centuries, (including Toland, who, however, held to a kind of material pantheism). And as far as the main and fundamental position of these free-thinkers are concerned, meeting them on their own grounds, fairly and fully, English Christianity showed itself fully equal to the task, as is seen in the works of Baxter, Cudworth, S. Clark, Waterland, Leland, and especially the immortal *Analogy* of Bishop Butler.*

This same movement, transferred to Germany, at first attained the form known by the name of rationalism, criticising the historic records of the faith, and setting up natural reason and ethics as the ultimate test and source of truth. Philosophic rationalism received its most consistent form through the criti-

* The great religious movement in England, under Whitfield and Wesley, in the last part of the century, completely broke the popularity of this deistic movement. Dr. Gillett's *God in Human Thought*, 2 vols., N. Y., Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1874, gives a comprehensive and able account of the whole English controversy, and of the services of Bishop Butler.

cism of Kant ; though he himself, with all his speculative insight, confessed the radical evil of human nature and a firm faith in the being of God.

In France the infidel movement was neither critical nor rationalistic—it became materialistic and revolutionary. The French monarchy had become a despotism ; the banishment and slaughter of the Huguenots had decimated the moral power of the nation ; a corrupt and persecuting Romanism was all the faith recognized. Rousseau pleaded for the rights and sympathies of nature ; Voltaire, though retaining faith in a God, ridiculed the Scriptures on the basis of a *philosophic portative*. D'Holbach, Diderot, D'Alembert, preached atheism in the *Encyclopédie*—(Diderot declaring that the height of religion was to have none at all): and the result was reached in the chaos, conflicts, and woes of the French Revolution, from which that fated land only recovered by accepting an imperial despotism, and restoring the Catholic clergy with new pomp ; so that now, ultramontane principles have the ascendancy in the successors of Bossuet and the old Catholic bishops, who contended so manfully for the Gallican liberties.

But it was reserved for Germany, in some of its more recent forms of philosophy and theology, to combine together all the phases and all the resources of infidelity, in the most learned, acute, and comprehensive assaults ever made upon the Christian faith—so that any other current infidelity in any other part of the world is but a feeble echo, so far as learning and speculation go, of what is found in these Teutonic schemes—while, at the same time, it is true, that the same land has furnished the most elaborate and thorough replies to the criticisms and hypotheses of those assailants of our faith. There is a striking resemblance in many points between the character of the attack on Christianity in this last form of it, and that which it assumed under the influence of the New-Platonic philosophy in ancient times—the same comprehensiveness of method and combination of weapons, and the same attempt to form a complete system for man by an eclectic process ; but yet the Germans show more thoroughness and destructiveness in both the historical and philosophical methods of conducting the argument, for infidelity must grow in skill to compete with a Christianity which has been growing in power for 1800 years.

Ever since the time of Leibnitz, the German philosophic movement has tended toward the construction of an universal system. The influence of Spinoza, with his pantheistic theory of one substance, and his demonstrative method applied to metaphysics, also had a very great influence, especially in the later German schools. Kant initiated a powerful tendency by his Criticism of the Pure Reason (directed in part against Hume's skepticism), and by his Criticism of the Practical Reason (conscience), on which he grounded his severely ethical and strongly theistic creed. He is the real philosophical father of strict ethical rationalism—that is, of the system which puts the prescripts of reason above the written word. At the same time, there was a host of scholars who were applying historical and philological criticism to the interpretation of Scripture in a way to undermine its infallible authority. Fichte followed Kant, retaining, however, chiefly his idealism in a subjective sense; he endeavored, in his earlier writings, to deduce the universe from the *Ego*, and substituted the moral order of the universe for God. Schelling, in his youthful enthusiasm, when magnetism was disclosing its wonders, announced, as a prophet, the theory of the identity of opposites, of the ideal and the real with pure intellectual vision descrying one common essence with the two poles, viz.: the spiritual and the material; in his later system, the Philosophy of Mythology, he plants himself upon more distinctive theistic and Christian ground. Hegel, with his more thorough and logical method, identified thought and being, and made the vast attempt of a logical development of the universe from pure being by an inherent law, the law of negation, confounding the movement of real being with the processes of logic. He makes spirit to be ultimate. By the law of negation, spirit is transformed into nature, and then comes back to itself in humanity; God becomes conscious in man. This is Hegel's theory, as expounded by the so-called left wing, of which Strauss is the most signal representative. Hegel himself, and many of his followers of the right wing, claim that his system is to be understood only as a philosophy of the Christian faith; that Hegelianism gives us, in the form of philosophy, the same fundamental truths which Christianity gives in the form of creeds. The later German tendencies are a reaction against such an abstract ideal-

ism, and, as developed by Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann, they avow pessimism as their creed, and make annihilation to be the chief boon for the race. Not to speak more particularly of the contemporaneous movements in France and England, we can now only refer to the alliance, in these three countries, of pantheism and materialism, in their most developed forms, and in a common attack upon the Christian creed and church.

This rapid historic sketch may suffice to show, that in all the periods of this great conflict, there has been a difference in the character, both of the assault and the defense. At first it was Christianity against Polytheism, Judaism, and the wisdom of the ancient schools. And here Christianity was vindicated as a positive revelation; and, as a result of the conflict, the old Catholic Church ruled in the East and the West. In the mediæval period, there was not only the subjugation of Northern Europe, but also the consolidation of the Christian system in the scholastic theology and the realistic philosophy. The Christian theory governed the world of thought and kept it in bonds. In the next stadium we have the separation of these elements, and the conflict of Christianity with all the forms of human research and speculation. It has come into conflict with deism, with rationalism in its various modes, with atheism and with pantheism; and now it is contending with atheism, and pantheism allied. And as the form of the conflict has changed, so has the mode of the defense. The *Analogy* of Bishop Butler, admirable as it is for its specific ends, does not meet the questions raised by Hegel and Baur, by Darwin and Spencer.

And not only are these comprehensive systems making their assaults upon the Christian faith, but each special science joins in the attack. Historical research is trying to undermine the basis of the biblical records. Strauss and Baur, and many critics of no special philosophical school, are endeavoring to disprove the authenticity of the Scriptures, especially of the Gospels and the Acts, and to explain the history of the Christian church as a process of natural development. Astronomy, palæontology, ethnography, and even the special physical sciences, are striving to construct a theory of the earth and the

heavens, of the origin and growth of all life, at war not only with the Scriptures, but with the very dictates of human reason as hitherto interpreted; denying all efficient and final causes, and making a blind, unconscious force to be that in which we live and move and have our being; so that Apologetics must embrace the whole of natural theology and much of moral science, as well as the so-called evidences of Christianity. Its sphere is necessarily wide, and ever widening. It must, in fact, taken in all its scope, lead to the conclusion, that Christianity is the one absolute system of truth for man; and that this is provable and proved by the facts of history, as well as by the nature of Christianity itself.

IV.

Ever since the time of Schleiermacher, Apologetics, as a system, has been taking on new forms in Germany, as shown in the works referred to at the head of this article, of which that of Sack was one of the earliest, and is not superseded even by that of Ebrard, the latest and, in many respects, the best, of these treatises.

Of these and other kindred works we may at some time give a fuller account, in order to illustrate the nature of Christian Apologetics, and to show its special need for the church of the present day. Meanwhile, we will only add, that it must be apparent, even from this review, that Christian Apologetics as a science derives its materials from a great variety of sources, and embraces within itself some departments of Christian theology hitherto kept distinct—such, for example, as natural theology and the evidences of Christianity (both of which are combined in the interesting volume entitled *Christian Apologetics*, by the late Dr. Hetherington of Scotland). Without proposing any final arrangement, we only add, in conclusion, that Christian Apologetics, as a science, has for its object to vindicate the divine authority of Christianity and its records, and to show that it is the highest and best system of truth for man. And in doing this, the materials of which it must make use may, perhaps, be best distributed in the following general scheme :

FIRST.—*Fundamental Apologetics*—Comprising the question; embraced in natural theology; the being and nature of God,

and his relation to us ; the spiritual and moral nature of man ; with an examination of the anti-Christian schemes of philosophy—materialistic, pantheistic, or mixed.

SECOND.—*Historical Apologetics*—Comprising the evidence of the divine origin and authority of the Christian faith.

THIRD.—*Philosophical Apologetics*—Taking its materials (1) from the Philosophy of Religion, proving by the history of religion and a comparison of its various forms, that Christianity is the one absolute religion ; (2) from the Philosophy of History, showing that Christianity is the key to the enigma of man's destiny ; (3) from the Nature (or philosophy) of Christianity itself, especially as compared with philosophy in general—making it evident that Christianity, as a system of truth, is higher and better than any scheme of philosophy—is the sum of wisdom for the human race.

Art. VI.—THE DECAY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

By EDWARD RIGGS, Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M., in Sivas, Asia Minor.

THE "Eastern Question" has come to be classed in many minds among the things hopelessly insoluble, and those who think at all about it, after floundering laboriously through a pile of theories, generally settle down to the conclusion, that the fault must be somewhere in the indomitable inertia and stolidity of oriental character. Without attempting to prove the incorrectness of this view, suffice it to state, that the trouble lies far to the west of the Bosphorus, and the mutual jealousy of the European states is all that prevents the collapse of the undermined structure. The trouble is not that the "sick man" will not die, but, being long since dead, like the dead king, who, in the old readers, used to frighten and yet fascinate us, he is painted and bolstered up by his cowardly attendants to deceive the people, and defer for a while the hazardous question of a successor. Perhaps there is no harm done by the transparent mockery, but when inquiries in regard to the state of Turkey, made in the British Parliament, are replied to by flimsy falsehoods and bombastic bunkum, it would seem to

be time for those who have good facilities for observing the truth, to share their conclusions with thinkers less favorably situated in this respect. Those travelers who consider themselves qualified to write on Turkey after a week's visit to Constantinople, should remember that they have seen but the gilded outside. It takes a residence of years in the interior of the country to be able to judge truly of the state of the country. The late discussion on Turkey in the British Parliament, and its echo in the London press, reminds one of the romantic and adulatory extravagances of Lamartine, whose estimate of the character of the Turks is a sample of the errors that learned historians may make, and is of a piece with his reverent mention of "Ethiopia, where lie concealed the fountains of the Nile." Perhaps humanity will be as much served in the course of modern investigation by revealing the sources of the melancholy state of affairs in the Turkish empire, as by opening up the head-waters of the Nile. It is as a slight contribution toward this enterprise that this article is undertaken. It is its purpose to illustrate, rather than describe, the present state of things in the empire, and thus rather hint at than determine the character of the changes required.

Before examining the present status of the empire, let us take a rapid glance at its origin, which may aid in the understanding of its decline. Eight centuries ago a horde of armed shepherds swept down from the steppes north and east of the Caspian Sea, and took possession of Turkestan. While conquering with a high hand, they were themselves conquered, and became ready adherents of the Mohammedan faith, of which they soon figured as the fiercest and most successful upholders and missionaries. Their conquests spread rapidly till the empire of the Seljookian Turks touched China on the East, and westward came to the gates of Bagdad. In taking possession of this city, they virtually brought to an end the power of the Caliphs, and while Togrul Bey, with humble mien, stood to hold the stirrup for the Prophet's successor to mount his horse, he, in fact, held him more a prisoner than Victor Immanuel holds Pius IX, to-day.

Strengthened by such acquisitions, the Turkish power rolled on till it reached the Mediterranean and the Bosphorus, and

making the Greek empire tremble, roused all Europe to plunge into the crusades.

Like all such immense empires acquired by the sword, the Seljookian empire soon fell to pieces; but, still proud of the name, survived in parts, one centre being at Iconium in Asia Minor. These Turks, brave and successful in war, were not less diligent and successful in the arts of peace, and it must be from the romantic story of their exploits in arms and arts that many moderns have formed a picture of character which they arbitrarily and erroneously consider a correct likeness of the modern Turk. Besides furnishing an asylum for science and literature, and forming a sort of connecting link between the Arabian and the European periods, they cultivated the æsthetic arts, and gave birth to a distinct style of architecture, which is not only recognized in the standard classifications, but of which the noble specimens still standing bear powerful testimony, and put to shame the awkward and puny efforts of their degenerate successors.

In course of time another wandering shepherd soldier strayed down from the East with a troop of followers, and early in the thirteenth century, having served the Sultan of Iconium some good turn, received from the latter a strip of territory in Central Asia Minor. This wild free-booter's son was Othman, the founder of the present dynasty, who gave his name to the Osmanli Turks. (The Arabic letter *th* is pronounced *s* in Turkish.)

The conquests and aggressions of the successive Sultans it is needless to relate. Suffice it to say, that after their power had reached its acme, and their territory stretched far and wide all around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, instead of falling to pieces, like its Seljookian predecessor, there began within it a more undemonstrative process of disintegration by moral corruption, which has gone on ever since, and has now reached such a point that it is beyond the power of political specifics to restore life to the decayed mass. National vitality has long since ceased to exist, and the very appearance of it would soon fade away, were it not that this would cause a vacuum in the political atmosphere; and it is to avoid the concussion of the opposing elements which would rush in to occupy the space, that this artificial and pestilential cloud is

kept hanging over the eastern horizon. That these statements are correct may be proved by an impartial examination of the existing state of things in the country. The few facts selected for presentation here may be classed under three heads, as they pertain to the *material*, *political*, and *religious* concerns of the country. These three classes, however, are so bound up in each other, that the merest allusions to them cannot be mutually exclusive.

I.—The condition of the *material* interests of the country has been illustrated to the world by the absolute prostration of that portion of the land lately visited by famine. Compare the results of this famine with those of the famine in India but a short time before. In the latter the vigorous arm of a live government, with a far-seeing policy, sustained the stricken portion of country, kept the people from scattering, and gave them the means to begin their work anew when the calamity was past. But how was it in Turkey? At first—yea, and almost to the last—obstinate denial of the fact of famine; and when they were practically driven from this, thousands of tax-paying peasants perished, or scattered as paupers through the land, while the officials were making out a formal statement of the case, and then haggling and quarreling over the question how the aid they had decided to give should be distributed. And when, in the meanwhile, benevolent foreigners had obtained from other lands, and were distributing thousands of dollars and saving thousands of lives, not only were their exertions unappreciated, but their motives were basely maligned, and their very laborious efforts were hampered in every way by jealous officials and greedy hirelings. The means used by these officials to meet the grave question, how to control a hungry populace, would be laughable, were they not ghastly and sickening in their results. In one city dependent on importations of grain, the city authorities suddenly issue an order to the merchants that they must no longer speculate in grain, but must sell at a stipulated price, so low as, under the circumstances, to be ruinous to their commercial interests. The city is at once jubilant over an abundance of grain, but alas, the granaries are soon emptied, and this short-sighted policy having killed the trade, not a merchant can be induced to invest a cent in grain, and so once more starvation stares the whole city in

the face. The disappointed officials piously roll up their eyes and murmur "*Kisinet*," but quickly lower them again to curse the people for being hungry, and the merchants for not feeding them gratuitously.

The means and methods of agriculture in use among the people are in keeping with these evidences of childishness. All antiquity and ignorance cannot outdo the awkwardness and inefficiency of the crooked stick, to which, under the name of plough, they adhere with stolid indifference to modern inventions, and with which they scratch the surface of the ground, and then mourn and wonder that they can reap not more on an average than four or five times the amount of the seed sown. In spite of the triumphant success of a dozen or so of threshing machines introduced in one part of the country, there is no manifestation of any general desire to substitute any thing modern for the venerable and laborious method of treading and scraping and grinding out the grain under the feet of cattle. In the midst of soils and climates capable of producing an abundance of vast varieties of produce, the peasants blindly follow in the foot-prints of their fathers, and sow and reap just one or two kinds of grain year after year, without change, while millions of acres lie waste and useless, either because the danger from robbers exposes crops at a distance from the village, or because it does not enter the brain of the laboring generation that it can be possible to cultivate more land than their fathers did. For similar reasons the houses of the farmers are all huddled close together in the village, making each a long walk to get to his fields.

The trade of the country is in a similarly prostrate and melancholy condition. The underlying principle and universal fact on which all business is carried on throughout the land, is that every man is, and must be, in debt. These debts, generally inherited or contracted early in life, are carried through long years as a heavy burden, the law allowing interest at the rate of twelve per cent., and are fruitful causes of quarrels and heart-burnings, and yet few seem to think it possible to exist without debt.

To still further vitiate and embarrass the structure reared on such a foundation, are the following facts and customs, viz.:

1. The system of fixed prices is unknown outside the capital,

where it has been almost forcibly introduced by foreigners, and only partially established. Consequently, every sale, large and small, is accompanied by a prolonged and usually vociferous process of haggling and disputing.

2. An absolute lack of mutual confidence is a sufficient reason for the above, and is a further difficulty in many directions. It is perfectly safe to say, that with the exception of a small number of individuals, who, with the spirit of evangelical Christianity, have imbibed a true respect for veracity, there is not a person in the Turkish Empire whose word can be relied upon. Falsehood is practiced in the family and absorbed by the new-born babe with its earliest ideas ; it is taught in the shop as an accomplishment ; is used by all classes, from the priest and the imam down to the lowest menial, without remorse or shame, and when discovered, is simply smiled at as a blunder.

3. Nothing is ever committed to writing if it can possibly be avoided. Thus arises endless misunderstandings and disputes. The cause of this is in part indolence and carelessness, but mainly,

4. The ignorance of the entire people as to the first principles of mercantile science. A vast majority of the people have no practical knowledge of reading, and a very small minority can write a word. Multitudes transact business involving thousands of dollars for years, without being able to do the simplest example in short division.

5. The lack of means of conveyance causes the little produce that is laboriously obtained from agriculture to be a drug on the local market, while imported articles are, by the same fact, put far beyond the reach of the poor peasantry.

6. Most of the interior retail trade is done by a class of peddlers or petty merchants, who dispose of their goods to the villagers for an equivalent in grain, and then transport the grain to the nearest market and sell it. Thus, in attempting to carry on two speculations at once, they are most likely to fail in one or both, or at least to make themselves dangerous and disagreeable to one or both classes of customers. These speculators, as well as the more permanent town traders, do a great portion of their business "on trust," and then fail to collect a large portion of their debts, thus injuring themselves and the public conscience at the same time.

7. The government, while possessing and circulating a beautiful coinage in both gold and silver, insist on issuing also a depreciated, and at the same time exceedingly clumsy, copper currency, which they nevertheless refuse to receive in return as customs, taxes, etc., Consequently, though not now like the Egyptian copper, worth only twenty-five per cent. of its face value, yet being in many parts of the country the only standard of values known to the common people, and this their standard being in itself a variable one, this kind of specie may be considered an unmitigated and wholly unnecessary nuisance, and a great incubus on trade.

Allusion has been already made to the lack of means of communication, This in itself must be adduced as an independent illustration of the prostration of the country. European Turkey, lying so near to civilized lands, and occupied so largely by non-Mussulmans, has been forced to yield to the advance of the iron horse, and a few skeleton lines of the proposed net work of railroads are already in operation. But even on these, the traveler from the west alternately scowls at the discomforts and smiles at the absurdities and incongruities with which they abound, and their greatest rate of speed, though to the natives a miracle of rapidity, is but a snail's pace beside that of our ordinary mail trains. Slight as is the progress in this division of the empire, it is far beyond anything in Asiatic Turkey. The current of enterprise from the west exhausts itself in the attempt to vivify Roumelia, and is drowned in the Bosphorus while trying to cross into Anatolia. It is true that two or three shore lines of railroads are in existence in Asia Minor, but their success as a money speculation is more than doubtful, their management is scandalous, and their construction the poorest class of contractor's work. A couple of years ago the government approved and adopted a grand scheme of railways, radiating from Sivas as an eastern centre, and connecting all parts of Asia Minor with the capital: and much money was expended in obtaining surveys and plans with the expectation of executing the work. But suddenly financial and other difficulties arose, the plan was dropped, the surveyors recalled and cashiered, and to this day not a rail has been laid. When it is remembered that Asiatic Turkey contained the only possibility of an overland route from Europe

to India, which shall successfully rival the sea route, it seems a mystery that it should as yet be almost absolutely without a railroad.

One would naturally suppose that in so old a country as this, and that without railroads, there must necessarily be good highways and carriage roads throughout the country. But, alas, in this land of contraries and disappointments, the great majority of most constantly used thoroughfares are the merest mountain bridle paths and meandering trails, shifting and disappearing with every storm, filled with stones and rocks on the mountains, and with mud on the plains, so that the few enterprising foreigners who have introduced private carriages are often dismayed by the difficulties and discouraged in their endeavors to get up a little public spirit in the matter. It may not be out of place here to remark, that the idea represented by the expression *public spirit*, is so entirely unknown that no one of the languages spoken in the land has any word or phrase to convey it. Every one for himself is the motto of the people, and it is strictly adhered to.

The above remarks in regard to the state of the roads are not absolutely universal in their application. There are a few good carriage roads in the land, and the wonder is, that, with these before their eyes, the government and people can be content to put up with the existing state of things. In fact, the government makes spasmodic attempts to accomplish something in the matter of road-making, but results appear to be discouraging to the promoters of the project. For years past on the main routes, as for example, that between Samsoon on the Black Sea, and Bagdad on the Tigris, there have been nominally, at a variety of points, engineers, with gangs of laborers engaged in laying a fine broad macadamized road, and the result is, that in the immediate vicinity of some of the largest towns on these routes, in the level spots, where road-building is easy, there are bits of good road, sometimes several miles in length. But these invariably come to an abrupt end, and the traveler's hopes are again dashed as he has to pick his way, once more amid stones and mud. In no instance, moreover, do these road-builders begin where there is real pressing need of a road, as across marshes or over mountains, but uniformly where passable roads already exist, and where the most show can be

made with the least expenditure of time and money. These contractors being responsible to the central government far away, do about as they please, and the very streets of the inland towns often have to be paved or repaired by commissioners appointed from Constantinople. The *modus operandi* of these contractors is an interesting study, and an illustration of the general subject in hand. They make their contracts in Constantinople with Constantinople prices of labor, etc., more or less in view, and with considerable flourish proceed to their destination. A few timely gifts suffice to secure for them the friendship of the local authorities. They then make a show of beginning their labors, but take things very easy. The inhabitants desirous of seeing the work done, but otherwise finding their presence rather irksome, appeal to the local authorities for an explanation of the delays. After being baffled and befooled for a long time, they finally discover, what should have been told them at once, that the engineers are not at all answerable to the local government. If not too much discouraged they carry their complaints to the capital, and if by good luck they obtain a favorable hearing, a committee of investigation is at once appointed to visit the spot and ascertain the facts. This visit the contractors have long been anticipating, and proceed at once to share liberally with the investigators the spoils of their neglected work, and thus succeed in convincing them that the work is all proceeding as it should, and a corresponding report is returned to the capital. This process may be repeated as often as the indignant can afford it.

A little of the money thus wasted would suffice to mend the worst places in the existing roads, bridge the streams, and afford facilities for wagon traffic throughout the empire. As it is, the best existing bridges in the country are of the durable workmanship of the wise old Seljookians, whose architectural monuments have been already mentioned, and as these crumble away they are at first patched up in a clumsy way, but finally left to the undisputed sway of the destroyer.

One energetic governor of the district of Amasia, who, a few years ago, attempted to lay out roads, build bridges, and institute various reforms, soon found his position involved so much friction as to make it too hot for him, and he is now an exile in America.

In view of the above facts, respecting the lack of the facilities for transportation and the abuse of government trusts, it is not surprising that the latent resources of the country are undeveloped, and its industries very limited in their sphere. The mines, in which the country is rich, are all government property, and are farmed to the highest bidder with ruinous stipulations which utterly discourage the investment of foreign funds. As a consequence, the great majority of them are unworked, and doubtless multitudes undiscovered even. The few that are worked are so ignorantly and carelessly managed as not to produce anything like their *quantum* of metal, and display a supreme contempt for modern methods and contrivances. One recently visited in the vicinity of Marsovan produces some beautiful ore, containing, beside a large percentage of lead, a small quantity of silver and gold, and yet this mine is said scarcely to pay its way. The charcoal blast furnaces are laboriously worked by hand, though an abundance of water in the neighboring hills waits to be brought down to do the work.

Despite the expensiveness of transportation, the iron used in the country is brought from Belgium or Russia, conveyed on the backs of mules or camels to the interior towns, and is there hammered out and burned up by ignorant blacksmiths, the very foundation of whose shops may be laid in rich iron ore. Mineral coal is supposed to exist in various parts of the empire, but who knows anything about it, or even attempted to get it into use?

Large quantities of copper are taken from the mines in the vicinity of Harpoot, and in the impure state, as first extracted from the ore, it is carried more than two hundred miles to Focat, simply because the refining furnace happens to be placed there, far from any copper mine, thus involving an immense expense every year for freight on useless slag.

It is well known that the manufactures of Turkey are confined to a small range, and make scarcely any progress in either quantity or quality. The exports of the country consist mainly of raw materials, and in amount fall far short of the imports of manufactured articles, so that the country would seem to be steadily becoming impoverished.

II.—It has been impossible thus far to avoid hints at the in-

capacity and real weakness of the government. This it is that must explain many of the misfortunes of the people. As has been stated, the jealousies of European governments allow the form and responsibilities of independent sovereignty to a ruler and people who have over and over again proved their incapacity for the discharge of such duties. The world is now a witness of a repetition, in the district of Herzegovina, of the scenes which wearied the patience of every one some years ago in Crete. An ignorant farming people, exasperated by long continued wrongs, rise in their weakness and commit the crime of rebellion—a crime in this case, simply because not authorized by rational probability of success. The government of course sends a military force to suppress it, and there follows a wearisome course of skirmishes and retreats, attended by ferocious atrocities. No one can know what the truth is, for the press in Constantinople is muzzled; and no one further off takes a sufficiently active interest in the affair to secure reliable news. The official reports daily announce that “the rebellion is at an end,” and the very next telegram, which they insert without apology for the open contradiction, tells of the “rebel force” collecting on a new base of operations etc. But it is not to depict the war that we allude to it, but rather to draw attention to its political significance and to its general influence on the country and government. Aside from its effect in loosening the allegiance of the neighboring subject provinces, the treasury finds this sort of wild rebel hunting a rather expensive amusement. While representing this affair as despicable in its proportions, the government still deem it necessary to call out a large portion of the reserve corps of the army, not only in the neighborhood, but throughout the country to its easternmost limits. Aside from the vast expense of transporting, victualing, and paying this army, the country feels a still deeper loss in the fact that a vast majority of these men are farmers, and are taken from their work at a season when their crops, if neglected, are lost. This damage cannot be reckoned in dollars and cents, but it must be remembered that it comes like a blight on a country just recovering from a terrible famine. It is small satisfaction to deprecate the folly of those poor ignorant peasants who have thrown away their lives in the vain attempt to establish their rights. And the ques-

tion will thrust itself on the mind, who is most in the wrong in this struggle? A candid and thorough investigation of this question would bring out facts which would not redound to the glory of the Turkish name. It is not many days since Lord Russell made the frank statement in England, in commenting on these troubles, that "it is hopeless to expect that the Turkish rulers can afford any security for the performance of good government." This is but too true. Were the central government perfectly devoted to the reformation of the country, the material they have to work through and with is wholly corrupt.

It is only a few years since the Turkish government began to imitate other nations in the custom of investigating and presenting to the public its financial status, by means of a budget. If there exists such a being as a Turkish patriot, his heart must sink within him as he contemplates this record of the hopeless condition of his country's credit. It is needless to go into particulars. Any one who can understand the hieroglyphics of the stock quotations in any European newspaper, can read there the steady and, of late, the rapid decline in the value of Turkish loans. And despite the rigid restrictions on the Turkish press, it is utterly impossible to keep out of the local papers the frequent repetition of the suggestive fact, that, in order to pay the interest on such and such debts, a new loan has just been negotiated for so and so much, with such and such parties. The last transaction of this kind was at an expense of eighteen per cent. per annum for interest and commission. Of course no capitalists could be found so mad as to put money into such a concern were it not for the political security of the European powers.

The attempts of the government at reform and retrenchment would be ludicrous in the extreme, were it not for the melancholy light which they cast on the threatening chasm on whose brink the country stands. Each newly appointed Grand Vizier begins by magnanimously reducing his own enormous salary, and ordering a proportional reduction throughout the long scales of the civil service. This appears at once unsatisfactory to the employees, which is not surprising; for example, in the case of the mounted policeman, who has to keep a horse, besides himself and family, out of a salary of eight dollars a month.

The new ruler soon finds he has aimed too high, and begins to qualify and make exceptions, which speedily eat the heart out of his ostentatious reform. So the country goes on getting more and more hopelessly in debt.

The Turkish army, often spoken of so highly, is always in arrears as regard pay, and is at best an army of conscripts, who would more often desert or mutiny if they did not fear the vengeance which would be taken on their homes. It is, indeed, by desertion from the army that the mountains throughout the Empire are kept stocked with brigands. It cannot be denied that this army at times has been distinguished for certain acts of bravery, but this has been the result of pride and stubbornness rather than of any superior courage or discipline. Those who have been long under training display considerable accuracy in their evolutions, but the clumsiness of the raw recruits hints at the amount of labor expended in drilling, and it actually often takes many weeks to drive it into the head of a new conscript what is meant by keeping step. The officers are often as ignorant as the men, and only fight for position and pay, without any true devotion to a noble cause.

The navy of Turkey, talked of to this day as one of the finest in the world, is doubtless very formidable in appearance, and an immense expense. It serves further as a pretty toy for His Superior Majesty, and gives color to his delusion of independent sovereignty; but there are hidden causes of weakness in it which will some day cause it to collapse like a bubble. The jealousy of the government and the cupidity of the aspiring Turkish engineers have well nigh driven English engineers out of the Turkish service, and the result is, that they might about as well have no engineers at all. Egregious blunders in the simplest manœuvres of changing position in the Bosphorus bode evil for the day when the fate of the empire may hang on the result of a naval battle. Another element of weakness is the total lack of experience of the seamen. Whatever be the supposed wisdom of the arrangement, the fact is, that the great bulk of the Turkish fleet is always to be found lying in the Bosphorus, scarcely disturbing their tranquillity once a year for the customary cruise of a few miles down into the Marmora, and that always in fair weather, so that multitudes of the so-called seamen never saw a wave of any size, nor felt

any thing but harbor winds. It is a historical fact, that the total destruction of the Turkish fleet, twenty years ago, in the harbor of Sinope, was due to the fact, that the whole force was prostrated with sea-sickness, and had to put into port on that account!

But it is in the local and provincial government that the empire shows its most hopeless weakness and corruption. It may be laid down as a universal fact, that in the Turkish courts justice is *never* rendered simply for justice's sake. It is impossible to convey to the mind of any one, who has not actually seen it, any idea of the utter prostitution of the very name of government in the provincial towns, or the bold effrontery with which the highest officers will shift their ground from one untenable falsehood to another in dodging the necessity of performing the plainest duties. The pretense that the government has removed the disabilities and disadvantages of the non-Moslem inhabitants is a woful falsehood, and the local government, in spite of the contrary position known to have been assumed by their superiors, to this day do not blush calmly to repeat and enforce the obsolete law, that the testimony of non-Moslems cannot be taken for any thing against that of the faithful! Since the writing of this article began, three Christian butchers in an neighboring town have been cast into a dungeon of the vilest description for the sole offense of refusing to furnish meat on the Sabbath. And when the Protestant preacher ventured to remonstrate with the local governor he was insulted, and upon answering rather too plainly, was seized with brutal violence and cast into the same prison. This is but one instance of cases that are constantly occurring, and the discouraging part of it is, that when appeals are made to higher authorities, the plaintiff finds himself at war with a league of shameless and intriguing officials, bound in self-defense to support and defend one another in all conceivable wickedness by any amount of falsehoods, and giving and receiving of bribes. Foreigners, though they have ambassadors at the capital, and consuls in every port, are never sure against insult and injustice from those petty officials, who cannot control their disposition to an insolent and indiscriminate exhibition of the little authority unworthily entrusted to them.

The reforms in administrative government adopted by the predecessor of the present Sultan,* though in form adopted throughout the country, utterly fail of accomplishing the ends aimed at, partially through the persistence of the Turks in adhering to former principles, despite being forced to adopt more civilized forms, and partly from the abasement and unworthiness of those in whose favor the changes were made. Moreover, these reforms exchanged for the simplicity of the ancient and barbarous regime, a complicated machinery of mixed councils and independent offices, which indefinitely elongates all processes, and offers innumerable opportunities for corruption and intrigue. These mixed councils, composed of Moslem and non-Moslem members, and intended to give the Christian populations a share of responsibility in the administration of government, or, at least, to put into their hands a check on their rulers, are practically a failure; for even the nominally Christian members are, almost without exception, induced by cupidity, fear, lack of self-respect, and general unfitness for self government, to retain their seats and salaries by yielding passive assent to all the machinations of their Turkish associates, and with closed eyes and placid countenances affix their seals to all papers offered to them. The limits of this article forbid further detail, though the materials are abundant and somehow almost force themselves in. The matter of collection of taxes must be alluded to, as it bears directly on the financial question. There are two methods of collecting the internal revenue, the respective abuses of which cause the government constantly to vacillate between them. These are, by farming, and by direct official collection. In the former, the producers are sold, as it were, into the power of unprincipled and grasping speculators, who use their power most unrighteously. The results of such abuses, when carried too far, are such revolts as those already alluded to in Herzegovina, etc. In the latter method, the collectors, careless of the results, will at one time receive bribes to favor the producers, and at another so neglect the business as to leave produce for days and weeks rotting in the rain and sun, because it must not be stored till it is measured and the tax collected. In either of these methods the taxes

* This was written before the recent change of Sultans. — EDITOR.

when collected have to pass through the hands of numerous grades of officers, and in each transfer suffer sad depletion, so that, when they finally reach the central treasury, they represent but a shadow of what was squeezed from the hard laboring producers. Honesty on the part of the middle-men in this one business would speedily throw the balance on the right side of the budget, and give Turkish loans a very different appearance in the stock market.

III.—When we turn to the contemplation of the social and religious condition of the people, we meet with even still more disheartening revelations, and here we begin to approach an explanation of the material and political prostration already described. Habits transmitted from a nomadic, tent-dwelling ancestry cause the people to live huddled together in narrow quarters, where filth, disease, and vice grow uncontrollable. Poverty and ignorance so rivet the chains of these habits, that even improved circumstances in these respects fail to correct them. The present age undoubtedly sees a wonderful waking up and reaching forth toward education; but even this is only a small movement as compared with the mass of the people. As is invariably the case in such degradation, the female portion of the community suffers most deeply. A man whose house is filled with congratulating neighbors on the occasion of the birth of a son, will feel insulted at the slightest allusion to the birth of a daughter. And an evangelical native preacher, who had enjoyed an educational and religious training of more than a half a dozen years, under missionaries, asked the writer a few weeks since, if it is "possible that any parent should love a daughter as well as a son!" A missionary, on asking a village woman why she did not learn to read, received the significant reply, "What can a *cow* learn?"

This state of things, which might be much more largely illustrated, points clearly to the degrading influence of false and sensual religion. The creed of Mohammed, though not violently forced upon all the subjugated adherents of an already enfeebled Christianity, still has had a powerful influence to debase the character of this religion. Under the garb of righteously evading oppression and tyranny on the part of the conquering Moslem, the crushed and cringing nominal Christians justified themselves in all manner of deception and fraud, which gradually crept into their religion and their character, till now falsehood

may be rightly deemed the prominent characteristic of both classes of the mingled population. Islamism it is which has enervated and degraded the race of Turks, said to have been once noted for bravery, honesty, and chastity, and with its own adherents has dragged down into something of its own pollution the degenerate Christianity about it. This it is, that by its fatal consequences forbids the increase of population in its dominions. In a land where marriage is universal and fecundity remarkable, it is a significant fact, that the population in many places is actually diminishing, and where it increases, does so at an almost imperceptible rate.

Islamism it is which palsies every effort at reform throughout the empire, and which forbids the hope of Turkey ever taking its stand properly among the civilized nations of the world. The celebrated oriental traveler, Vambéry, in his latest work, says, "Islamism is now engaged in a final struggle with western civilization, which must result in the success of the latter. For fifty years Christian missionaries have been laboring for the evangelization of the empire, and it is a cheering fact, that great results have been achieved, but all has been among the nominal Christians. This movement carried to completion may instil a vitality into these communities which shall enable them to survive the crash of the Turkish power when it comes. But to this day Islamism presents a solid front against the spirit and success of evangelical and enlightened progress. The conviction is inevitable, that until the power of Islamism is broken, the true reformation of this land is an impossibility. At whose door shall we lay the blame of cherishing such a viper? That the solution of the vexed question of the political status of Turkey involves grave difficulties cannot be denied. But those that are pleased to preserve the existing state of things as a barrier for themselves, against the encroachments of an already overgrown European power, ought to take into consideration the results of encouraging the continuance of a power at once so poisonous and so suicidal as that of the waning crescent. And to come nearer home, those who pray "Thy Kingdom come," and yet do little or nothing for the reformation of unevangelized lands, will do well to ponder the above facts, and judge whether these may not be, in the salvation of such a country as Turkey, a sphere for the investment of personal labor or money.

Art. VII.—THE AMERICAN STAMP ACT.

By Rev. FREDERIC VINTON, Librarian of Princeton College.

IN a summer's morning we have often seen the sun obscured, just after rising, by clouds which threaten immediate rain. After a few moments those clouds disperse, and a child may imagine a sunny day is to follow. But the farmer knows a storm is coming, and it never fails. The American Revolution of 1775 was heralded by the Stamp Act excitement of 1765. The revolution cannot be accounted for, without knowing what went before it at a distance of ten years.

When we learn that the Stamp Act merely required such colonists as had occasion to do certain familiar acts, to pay a small sum for a license, the opposition it encountered may seem astonishing. Those occasions were such as suits at law, transfers of real estate, passing notes of hand, making of wills, and contracting marriage. The present generation may hear with amazement, that so small a matter provoked universal resistance; that, in fact, it would have brought on the Revolution then, if the act had not been speedily repealed. We well remember, it may be said, when our present government imposed upon us just such a Stamp Act as this, and we never thought of resisting, burdensome as it was, and entirely a new thing to us. To abate this surprise, it is necessary to consider under what circumstances the American colonists had been living, and to observe what other things were contemporaneous with the Stamp Act, and showed its meaning.

The settlers at Plymouth in 1620, the emigrants to Boston in 1630, and those who came afterward and planted the whole Atlantic slope, came to find quiet homes and cheap land in a new continent. They were too few, and too poor, to be followed by the tax-gatherer, and they brought charters from the crown, permitting them to govern themselves. Neither they nor their children ever paid taxes to any European prince. When Catholic France, at war with England, assailed their coast with fleets, and hounded the savage upon their settlements, they cheerfully contributed men and money for their

own defense. With a manly pride they tore Louisbourg out of the teeth of the Bourbon, and gallantly they followed Wolfe, up the heights whence Quebec threatened their religion and freedom. More than their share of money, as well as men, as the mother country judged, had they furnished on these occasions, but nothing of this was taxation; *that* would not have been endured. Two or three times before the Stamp Act, it had been proposed in parliament to tax America, but the attempt had been prudently desisted from, even by William Pitt. It was in the days of peace that followed, when France had been driven from the new continent, that the project was initiated. America was now populous and rich, well able to pay a large revenue to the crown. Would she not do it? Might she not be forced? Why had not England demanded it, and enforced her claim before the colonists were strong enough to say no? The answers to these questions lie beneath the surface of history.

The origin of these colonies differed far from those of antiquity. A Greek or Roman colony was an enterprise set on foot by the parent state, to conquer, or to garrison a foreign country. The design was to provide homes for a superabundant population, or to hold in subjection a conquered people. But an English colony was a body of refugees, acting as individuals, expatriating *themselves* because of misgovernment at home. They forsook the land of bad laws and tyrannical rulers. Of course, they established new laws, and *meant to be independent* from the first. The Massachusetts men never meant to recognize the home government. When the New Englanders found the King disposed to bridle them, they accepted governors from him, resigning part of their autonomy, under charters which secured the rest. In like manner, New York and the other colonies received governors, judges, and other officers from the crown, but paid their salaries by vote of legislature, so as to hold them responsible to themselves. It is true that when the tyrannical Stuarts were gone, the colonists became reconciled to kings who meant them no harm, and all the while, blood and language and religion drew their affections out to the glorious land beyond the sea; so that for a hundred years they felt themselves one people with the parent state, and would have chosen to continue so. It was a renewal of misgovernment that alienated their affections once more. And

yet, those affections were now so strong, that tenyears of mismanagement were necessary, to make them see that Providence would have it so for its own end.

Inasmuch as in 1765, the English lawyers maintained the royal right to tax America, it might well be asked, why that right had never been exercised before, in the long interval since 1620. It was because, *in another way*, England was deriving a rich revenue from the colonies, which it was not worth while to imperil. Long before (in the thirteenth century) English kings and parliaments had made a law, that whatever was brought into England to sell, or carried from one part of the island to another, must go in English ships, built, owned, and manned by Englishmen. It is true these laws were not strictly enforced. But when, in the days of the commonwealth, it was seen that the Dutch were getting rich by trading with America, it was enacted that all English colonies should be reckoned part of the English coast. By the old law it followed, that nothing could be exported from America, except to British marts. That which we read of so much, as "The Navigation Act," was indeed passed in 1660, under Charles II.; but it was founded on the legislation of October 9, 1651. That law enacted that no commodity, colonial or other, should be imported into England, unless in vessels owned, commanded, and three-quarters manned by English subjects. Infraction of this law worked forfeiture of ship and cargo. The object was plainly avowed, "to make this kingdom a staple of the commodities of the plantations," and consequently of foreign goods wanted in the colonies. In other words, the British merchant was to make a profit out of everything bought or sold by the colonists. Whatever the American had to sell, must be sold to him. He only could sell to the foreign purchaser. Bancroft says, "the colonists could not export the chief products of their industry to any place but Great Britain, not even to Ireland; nor might any foreign ship enter a colonial harbor." In like manner, their manufactures were restricted and discouraged. "The colonists had land and sheep, but lest they should make woollen cloth, they might not use a ship, nor boat, nor carriage, nor pack-horse, to carry wool, or any manufacture of which wool forms a part, across the line of one province to another." To prevent the manufacture of iron, slitting mills, steel furnaces,

and plating forges worked by a tilt-hammer, were prohibited in the colonies as nuisances. "No less than twenty-nine laws," says Sabine, "restricted and bound down colonial industry. They forbade the use of waterfalls, the erection of machinery, of looms and spindles; they set the king's arrow on trees that rotted in the forest; they defined the limitless ocean as a pathway to such of the lands it embosoms as wore the English flag."

And now, was not all this enough to satisfy English greed? Is it possible that it could be thought safe to add direct taxation, laid upon a people thus burdened with disabilities? Nothing so effectually demonstrates the folly of English legislation at this period, as the fact, that the parliament could not see when they had gone to the verge of endurance. For the theory of English taxation was this: that the subject *gave* his money to the king, by his representative in parliament. It had long been an axiom that taxation and representation went together; so that taxation without representation would be robbery. Ireland was not taxed by the English parliament. It was allowed a parliament of its own. This was the ground on which the colonists refused the Stamp Act; they had not *voted* it; they were not admitted to a voice where it was voted. They inhabited a distant country, from whence they could not attend. It was answered, that the great majority of Englishmen were not represented in parliament; as if one injustice warranted another; and as if the swarming millions to which American population would soon ascend, were always to submit to an English oligarchy. It is an unspeakable wonder that great English lawyers, with Mansfield at their head, could argue for the Stamp Act. But English legislation was guided by precedent, and by colorable precedent and legal fiction anything could be justified. Such was the insulting pretence, that America was virtually represented in Middlesex. Englishmen had so long governed Americans as if they were an inferior race, that they mixed contumely with every part of their enactments. They discriminated in favor of English birth, wherever appointments were to be made; denied promotion to colonial officers of distinguished ability; and allowed a captain in the "regulars" to outrank a colonel in the "provincials." Long before this, they meditated introducing a hierarchy of churchmen, and

giving precedence to the established church. They actually created a nobility in Nova Scotia; they conferred legislative, executive, and judicial authority on the same persons; they planned to take away the New England charters; to consolidate British America by effacing old boundaries, and introducing aristocratic institutions everywhere. These things showed the *animus* of parliament. If taxation once began, who could say where it might end. Aware of colonial sensitiveness, it was resolved to proceed with extreme caution. The first step was to scatter an army of 10,000 men among the principal towns. At first these were to be paid from England. Then the colonists were enjoined to provide them with "salt, vinegar, and pepper." In time full rations would be secured. The navigation acts were to be enforced by a naval force hovering around the coast. Each commander might enrich himself by capturing offenders. But a more constant and reliable revenue was desired, and in September, 1763, preliminary steps were taken for extending to the colonies stamp duties already payable in Great Britain. George Grenville was then First Lord of the Treasury, but it is probable that Charles Jenkinson, First Secretary, drew the hateful act. The surprise and opposition which it encountered from Americans, then in England; from some English statesmen, and from some of his own secretaries, induced Grenville to postpone its introduction into parliament for a year, till America itself could be heard from. No sooner was it mentioned there, then it provoked animadversion. Holt's *New York Gazette*, of May 24, 1764, suggested that "the colonist might seek a change if taxed without his consent." Samuel Adams, in a paper adopted by the town of Boston, said, "If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced to the miserable state of tributary slaves? This annihilates our charter right to govern and tax ourselves." "The colonies," said a New York newspaper, "may submit to the impositions of ministerial power, but they will hate that power as tyrannical, and as soon as they are able, will throw it off." Thus ominous were the first mutterings of the distant storm. But the king's speech on opening parliament, January 10, 1765, spoke of the American question as one of "obedience to the laws, and respect for legislative authority."

On the sixth of February, 1765, Grenville formally proposed, in the House of Commons, the details of a Stamp Act for America, and made all offenses against it cognizable, not in common courts, but courts of admiralty. Instead of being heard by a jury of his countrymen, the offender should stand before a judge paid by the crown. The authority of Charles York, eminent as a lawyer, assured the house that parliament had supreme authority over the colonies, which, he said, were only great corporations. Meanwhile, an army of officials in America, assured them the objections came only from a few fanatics, and it was resolved to proceed. The act passed the more readily, because the nation was provoked by the bold spirit of some in America.

Nobody in England doubted that the Stamp Act would be executed. The idea that a scattered population, such as they esteemed the Americans, would set at naught the authority of parliament, was too monstrous to be entertained. Even Franklin, then in London, expected submission, and he nominated a friend of his as stamp master in Connecticut. The most annoying consequences would attend those colonists who should venture to dispense with stamps. "Marriages would be null; notes of hand valueless; ships at sea prizes to the first British captain that should encounter them; suits at law impossible; transfers of real estate invalid; inheritances irreclaimable." Grenville afterward said, "he did not foresee opposition to the measure, and would have staked his life on obedience."

The Stamp Act, passed in March, was to go into execution November first. James Otis proposed a congress of delegates from the provincial assemblies, to meet at New York, October 1st, "to consult together." It met as proposed, and the delegates refused to claim what was due as provided by their charters; they insisted on natural rights. They used a high and manly tone in their address to parliament, chiefly arising from the spirit and vigor of Gadsden and Rutledge, of North Carolina. Meanwhile, those who had ventured to accept the office of stamp-master, in any colony, fared so hardly from the resentment of their fellow citizens, that before November came not one of them but had resigned. The act fell dead, for want of some one to execute it. "From New Hampshire to the far south, November first began with the tolling of muffled bells;

minute guns were fired ; pennants hung at half-mast ; eulogies were pronounced on liberty, and its knell was rung." In New York, Colden, the Lieutenant-Governor, who held the stamps, retired within the fort, and got a detachment of marines from a man-of-war lying near. In the evening, a vast torchlight procession came down Broadway, bearing the Governor's image, and that of the devil, seized the Governor's carriage, and transported the images upon it about the town, and finally burned the whole before his eyes. The next day Colden surrendered the stamps to the city authorities.

But " something more [than popular convulsions] was needed to incline England to relent ; and the merchants of New York, coming together on the last day of October, unanimously bound themselves to send no new orders for goods or merchandise, to countermand all former orders, and not even to receive goods on commission, unless the Stamp Act were repealed. Thus a city, the chosen home of navigation, renounced all commerce ; a people who as yet had no manufactures, gave up every comfort from abroad, rather than continue trade at the peril of freedom. The lobbies of the House of Commons, when they debated what to do with America, were thronged with three hundred merchants, engaged in American trade, and representing four millions sterling of American indebtedness, anxious and trembling, waiting almost till the winter morning's return of light, and hoping for the repeal of the Stamp Act. The importation of British goods fell off immensely during the winter of 1765-66. The whole mercantile community sympathized in the agony of America." All eyes in parliament turned toward William Pitt, the favorite and veteran statesman, who had steadily opposed this legislation which proved so disastrous, because he denied, as America had done, the right to tax where there was no representation. Old and sick and swathed in flannels, he spoke with the dignity of wisdom and the energy of conscious power. He examined the various arguments for the act, and pronounced them baseless. " I rejoice," said he, " that America has resisted. If its millions of inhabitants had submitted, taxes would soon have been laid on Ireland. If ever this nation should have a tyrant for its king, six millions of Irishmen, so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would be fit instruments to

make slaves of the rest." "On this ground of the Stamp Act, while so many here think it a crying injustice, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her."

But, even while parliament saw the necessity for so doing, it could not bow its pride to acknowledge the *justice* of the American claim, and after protracted reaffirmations by the great lawyers and orators of the ground on which they had proceeded, a resolution passed that "parliament had the right to bind the colonies by taxes and impositions, *in all cases whatsoever*."

On the 13th February, 1766, Franklin was called to the bar of the Commons to give testimony as to the expediency of repealing the Stamp Act. "Do you think," said Grenville, "that the people of America would pay the stamp duty if it was moderated?" "No, never! they never will submit to it!" "May not a military force carry it into execution?" Franklin replied: "Suppose a military force sent into America; they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion; they may, indeed, make one." "But suppose the duty to be laid on the necessities of life." Franklin made the unexpected answer: "I do not know a single article imported into the northern colonies but what they can do without, or make for themselves."

On the 20th January, ministers settled the resolutions of repeal. Conway moved them in the house next day. After a night of speeches, the division took place, between one and two o'clock on the 22d. The lobbies were crowded with merchants anxious for the restoration of trade. Two hundred and seventy-five members voted for repeal, one hundred and sixty-seven for enforcing the act. The roof rang with cheers. Conway, as he came out, was hailed as a deliverer. Grenville was received with hisses. When Pitt appeared, the crowd pulled off their hats, and followed him home with benedictions.

The period during which the Stamp Act was actually in force was only four months. It is probable that not a single stamp was employed. The useless commodity was transported back

to London, where they are still preserved in immense bags, encumbering the office from whence they proceeded.

It is venturing little to assert, that if parliament had not yielded ; if it had resolved to enforce taxation in America ; if it had supported it by penalties in America, or by condemnations for treason in England, the revolution would have come ten years sooner than it did. But it might have failed. The ten years of perverseness which followed, on the part of the king and his ministers, were necessary to convince all men how incurable was their folly and their domineering spirit. They served to unite a far larger part of the colonial people in the idea and the purpose of securing their rights and protecting their children by the sword. They added to the population, the prosperity, and the resources of the colonists, gave them confidence in themselves and in each other, and prepared the powers of Europe to help a gallant and enterprising people against the haughty tyrant of the seas.

Art. VIII.—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States met in the Tabernacle Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., on Thursday, May 17, 1876, at 11 A.M., and was opened by a sermon by Rev. E. D. Morris, D.D., the Moderator of the previous Assembly, on the Past and Future of Presbyterianism.

Rev. Henry J. Van Dyke, D.D., of Brooklyn, was chosen Moderator, and presided over the Assembly in a manner which greatly assisted the progress of its business and the harmony of its proceedings. It is rare that any Assembly encounters so little to mar its concord, or hinder its efficiency, or hurry it into rash and hasty measures, which a "sober, second thought" is sure to deplore.

The proceedings of the Assembly are now so fully reported, first in the Assembly Journal, and then in the weekly journals of the Church, in which they are subjected to still further dis-

cussion, that there is no longer the occasion which formerly existed for that extended record and discussion of its acts, in this QUARTERLY, which once constituted a principal feature of the annual number for July. It is only in special cases, or with reference to peculiar topics, that any record or discussion is called for here, beyond that already set before our readers from within the Assembly or without it. Smooth was the current of debate and procedure in our late Assembly, and it ran so much in the groove of ordinary routine topics, that little remains for us to bring to the special attention of our readers. We will just note the proceedings in regard to correspondence and

FRATERNAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTHERN CHURCH, partly for the purpose of bringing the several votes together in continuous order, where they can easily be referred to hereafter, and partly for the purpose of interpreting their import. The whole subject was orderly in the hands of the Standing Committee on Correspondence. Dr. Talmage, under the dubious cover of a question of privilege, offered and advocated, with unwonted fervor of centennial eloquence, the following resolutions, which were introduced by reading the first, but not the last, part of the following telegram he had received from Dr. M. D. Hoge, in answer to one sent upon his own motion to Dr. B. M. Smith, Moderator of the Southern Assembly :

SAVANNAH, GA., May 24, 1876.

To Rev. T. De Witt Talmage :

Any spontaneous resolution of your Assembly will receive most respectful consideration. Dr. Robinson is committed to move to appoint delegates, if the word "present," etc., be stricken from your last year's resolution.

MOSES D. HOGE.

After reading the first sentence, Dr. Talmage moved the adoption of the following paper :

Whereas, All past attempts to establish fraternal relations between what is popularly called the General Assembly South, and what is popularly called the General Assembly North, have failed ; and

Whereas, We believe that, as in cases of individual dispute, no adjustment is effected by the rehearsal of the past, so the rehearsal of differences between great bodies of men can never bring amity ; and

Whereas, We sincerely regret the alienation of the past, and disapprove any words spoken in times of high excitement, which may be regarded as impugning the sound Presbyterianism and Christian character of the Southern brethren ; therefore,

Resolved, That we bury in one grave all misunderstandings and differences, and all expressions that have been interpreted as offensive between the two sections of the Presbyterian Church, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, stretch forth both hands of invitation, asking our Southern brethren to unite with us in fraternal relations.

Resolved, That we request the General Assembly, now in session in Savannah; on the receipt of this resolution, to send two delegates to our meeting in Brooklyn, telegraphing us of the departure of those brethren, and that, on the receipt of that telegram we immediately send two delegates to meet the Assembly in Savannah, so that neither the Northern nor Southern Assembly shall adjourn until the Church on earth and in heaven have begun a jubilee over the glorious consummation.

Dr. Talmage and his associates sought to prevent the reference of these resolutions to any committee, in order to put them forthwith through the Assembly by means of the momentary enthusiasm created by his ardent speech. The Assembly, however, under the judicious counsel of Drs. Van Dyke and Musgrave, declined to adopt this course, and referred them to the Committee on Correspondence, with instructions to report as soon as possible. The next morning, Dr. Prime, Chairman of the Committee on Correspondence, reported the following paper, which was adopted, with only one dissenting voice:

Whereas, This Assembly and the Assembly now in session in Savannah, Georgia, accept the same Form of Government and Directory of Worship, and are closely bound together by historical, as well as doctrinal and ecclesiastical, ties; and, whereas, these churches, one in faith, order, and labor, are called by the Great Head of the Church to united efforts for the extension of his kingdom throughout the country and the world; and as no adjustment of differences is accomplished by rehearsal of the past; therefore, with a view to the expression of the united and hearty wishes of this body, that at the earliest practicable moment we may see the establishment of correspondence with the other Assembly; we hereby

Resolve, That this Assembly reiterates its cordial desire to establish fraternal relations with that Assembly on terms of perfect equality and reciprocity as soon as it is agreeable to their brethren to respond to this assurance by a similar expression.

This was forthwith telegraphed, by order of the Assembly, to the Southern Assembly, at Savannah.

Dr. Prime, from the Committee on Correspondence, reported, on the last Monday of the session, as follows:

Brethren: The south wind blows pleasantly over us this morning, and to those of us who long to meet again, renders such a meeting possible, with honor to ourselves and glory to the Head of the Church. Our overture to our Southern brethren has met with a consideration becoming gentlemen and Christians. If it is met in the same spirit by us, the great question of reconciliation is settled, and the day of separation and sorrow and division is forever past, and generous and fraternal relations are again established. The Southern Assembly's action was unanimous,

and I trust that our response will be equally unanimous. With these words, let me report the following action of your committee: The Committee on Correspondence, having received from the Moderator, to whom it is addressed, the following communication from the Moderator of the General Assembly in session at Savannah, Ga., beg leave to report the message, and to recommend appropriate action. He then read the following telegram:

SAVANNAH, GA., May 27, 1876.

To Rev. H. J. Van Dyke, D.D. Moderator of General Assembly.

We are ready to enter most cordially into fraternal relations with your Assembly on any terms honorable to both parties. The Assembly has already, in answer to an overture from the Presbytery of St. Louis, spontaneously taken the following action:

Resolved. That the action of the Baltimore Conference, approved by the Assembly at St. Louis, explains, with sufficient clearness, the position of our Church, but inasmuch as it is represented by the overture that misapprehension exists in the minds of some of our people, as to the spirit of this action, in order to show our disposition to remove on our part all real or seeming hindrance to friendly feeling, the Assembly explicitly declares that, while condemning certain acts and deliverances of the Northern Assembly, no acts or deliverances of the Southern Presbyterian Assembly are to be construed or admitted as impugning in any way the Christian character or standing of the Northern General Assembly, or of the historical body or bodies of which it is the successor.

B. M. SMITH.

Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

Continuing, he said: The overture of this Assembly having been received by the General Assembly in the South with such a cordial expression of gratification, the committee recommend that the same resolution, declarative of the spirit in which this action is taken, be adopted by this Assembly, namely:

In order to show our disposition to remove on our part all real or seeming hindrance to friendly feeling, the Assembly explicitly declare that, while condemning certain acts and deliverances of the Southern Assembly, no acts or deliverances of the Northern Presbyterian Assemblies, or of the historical body or bodies of which it is the successor, are to be construed or admitted as impugning in any way the Christian character or standing of the Southern General Assembly.

S. IRENÆUS PRIME, *Chairman.*

The applause that greeted both the telegram and the resolution proposed by the committee having subsided, Judge Strong moved the adoption of the latter, from a conviction, he said, that it would lead to an early restoration of fraternal relations with the Southern Church—a consummation which his brethren had so long devoutly wished. Those of us, he continued, who, during the heat of the war were unwilling to retract anything we said, can now meet on the common platform without taking back what we have said, and what it would be wrong and unmanly to retract. This action of our Southern brethren indicates that they have stretched forth their hand in generous fellowship, and I am sure we can accept it in a corresponding spirit. I hope that it will lead to a complete reunion of the two divisions of our Church, and that the feeling of cordiality and good-will between them, will be more general and widespread than ever before. I move that the resolution be adopted, and I should like to see the action consummated by a unanimous, standing vote.

Dr. Fowler arose immediately, but, anticipating that he was about to repeat his argument for considerate deliberation, the delegates strove to silence him by loud and repeated cries of "Question! question!" Raising his voice above the din he finally made himself audible, and said:

Mr. Moderator : I am gratified beyond expression that my feeling of apprehension as to the result of this action is likely to be disappointed, and I join heartily with my brethren in that feeling of joyful cheer with which they have hailed the reply of our Southern brethren.

Dr. Musgrave said, that as the reply had come so unanimously from the Southern Assembly, he would move with all his heart the adoption of Dr. Prime's resolution.

Dr. Talmage then read the following telegrams addressed to himself, apparently with reference to the resolutions he had before offered to the Assembly :

SAVANNAH, May 27th.

We approve of your resolutions, with the exception of the passage about the impossibility of agreement in reviewing the past, and could have fraternal relations on the other grounds specified. [Signed] Stewart Robinson, John B. Adger, Benj. M. Smith, Wm. Arrow, M. D. Hoge."

SAVANNAH, May 27th.

If your Assembly had adopted the resolutions you reported to me, we would have established fraternal relations on those terms. M. D. HOGG.

[We suppose this to refer to the expression of regret and disapproval of past utterances to our Southern brethren contained in Dr. Talmage's resolutions.]

The motion to adopt the resolution was then put, and as every delegate rose to his feet to signify his approval, a burst of applause arose, died away, and arose again. The doxology was then sung by the whole Assembly while standing.

While we deeply sympathise with this solemn jubilation, we do not yet see evidence that it will certainly inaugurate fraternal correspondence. We hope it may. But we remember one no less enthusiastic at St. Louis two years ago, over the supposed return of Dr. Brooks to our church, which left matters just as it found them. We trust more has now been gained, and that we are on the threshold of restored fraternal relations. But we cannot be sure that this consummation is at hand, till we learn how our Southern brethren construe and intend to carry into effect the recent action of both bodies in the premises. It is proper to observe, however,

1. Our Assembly has simply reaffirmed its adherence to the position it took in 1870, when it sent delegates to the Southern Assembly, meeting at Louisville, Ky., proposing to them the opening of fraternal relations, and was repulsed with the charge of Cæsarism, and the demand that, as a condition precedent to fraternal correspondence, it disown some deliverances of preceding Assemblies touching the war, and in support of the United States government. We are ready and de-

sirous, and we have uniformly been, to enter in such relations on terms of "perfect equality and reciprocity," and on no other. Much as our church desires it, it is settled that we will not purchase it by any one-sided confessions or regrets over the doings of past Assemblies. As we offer no humiliations before them, so we ask none from them. The fraternal relations or reunion, whether they come now or hereafter, will, in our opinion, never be on any other basis. It is as strange as it is vain for any, South or North, to seek, by any device, or on any pretext, to labor for fraternal relations on any unequal footing. We hope that all parties will now understand this.

2. It does not yet certainly appear that our Southern brethren are ready to cease making this demand for some confession from us a pre-condition of union. We trust they are, and hope soon to see decisive evidence of it. But meanwhile, they assert the position of their Church to be adherence to the Baltimore platform, which expressly demands confessions of regret from us. Whether they merely assert this *in thesi*, or intend to insist upon it in practice, does not yet appear. The telegram from Dr. Stuart Robinson and others, as it now reads, is of uncertain construction. Whether it means that the past is, or is not, to be a hindrance to the opening of fraternal relations, unless some concessions are made by us, is not yet clear. Of course, all doubt will soon be dispelled by the tone of the Southern Presbyterian press, which, as we now write, has uttered no certain sound on the subject. It would not surprise us if there should be a difference of sentiment among them, running nearly along the line of division between the friends and opposers of representation in the Pan-Presbyterian Council. *

* The following which we now find in the *Presbyterian* of June 17th, seems to confirm this view:

The *North Carolina Presbyterian* accepts the action of the Northern and Southern General Assemblies as the end of all controversy. It says: "Neither Assembly can now go back of this solemn utterance. Corresponding delegates will, accordingly, we do not doubt, be appointed by both bodies when they shall meet again next May. We confidently believe that this consummation, so devoutly longed for by so many hearts throughout the South, as well as in the North, will be universally hailed as a special blessing from the Father of light."

The *Southwestern Presbyterian* seems to take a different view of the action of the Assemblies from the *North Carolina Presbyterian*. It says: "If the Northern

3. It is to be noted that the Southern Assembly is careful in communicating their welcome resolution on fraternal relations, to inform us that it had already been adopted in response to an overture from one of our Synods or Presbyteries. There is a manifest implication that such "spontaneous" action on the subject is more grateful to them, and less exposed to perplexing opposition, than any drawn forth under promptings or apparent pressure from the Northern Assembly.* This confirms the judgment of those in our body, who have, since our repulse in 1870, been of opinion that the attitude on our part most likely to further and hasten fraternal relations, is that which, while making manifest our desire for them, leaves it to our Southern brethren to initiate negotiations for them. This was the precise import of the resolution adopted by our Assembly, and telegraphed to Savannah; but which in our opinion was of far happier effect, as coming to the Southern Assembly after they had adopted their resolution, than if it had preceded and perhaps thus prevented or embarrassed it.

brethren feel that fraternal relations are 'an established fact,' they must have come to the conclusion that they have compelled or induced the Southern Church to abandon our position, while they have completely maintained their own. But the truth is, neither Assembly, in this courteous intercourse, has receded a particle from the position occupied last year. At the opening of the Assemblies next year, they will stand in precisely the same attitude in which they stood one year ago." We have since learned that the *Central* and the *Southwestern Presbyterian* take the latter view, while the *St. Louis Presbyterian* and the *Louisville Observer* take the former. So the Southern Presbyterian journals are about equally divided on this question.

* This is still more evident from the subsequent letter of Dr. Smith, Moderator of the Southern Assembly, to Dr. Van Dyke, Moderator of ours. This, after reciting the history in detail of the manner in which the action of the Southern Assembly in respect to this matter was brought about, proceeds as follows: "The whole object of this history is to make it clear that our *original action was adopted irrespective of your telegram* to me, which, though unofficially announced to the Committee of the Whole, was not officially brought before the Assembly for action till the paper of our Committee on Bills and Overtures had been adopted by a vote of eighty-three to six. The six offered, but withdrew a dissent. Your telegram was then officially presented, and after consideration by the Committee on Bills and Overtures, the reply sent you, embracing their former action, was adopted unanimously, and prayer offered in thanks to God for his great favor in bringing us in this and other important deliberations, to such unanimous conclusions, though not at first anticipated. May he bless this and all efforts to promote 'the things that make for peace,' and may he be with you and your Assembly in all your deliberations."

"Yours fraternally,

"B. M. SMITH."

4. We think it right to protest against a style of speaking which lumps together the Presbyterians of the country, North and South, as subjects of indiscriminate denunciation for perpetuating the breaches and animosities caused by the war, after the other principal bodies have healed them. We insist that, whoever may be obnoxious to such denunciation, it is not the Northern Church. We have, since 1870, signified in every possible way our desire for this result, and have made overtures for it; have declared the action of former New and Old School Assemblies of which our Southern brethren complained, null and void. But more than this has been demanded. Some expression of regret, or contrition even, amounting to a virtual condemnation of the course of those two bodies in the premises. This we have no power to do. We have no right to run our drag-net through the acts of those Assemblies, and to utter sentence of condemnation upon them, or any of them. If we enter upon such a task, it will lead to endless heartburnings, jealousies, and contentions, whose tendency must be toward ultimate disruption. Moreover, these are matters of history, which we cannot make or unmake. As such let them and their actors abide the judgment of posterity and of heaven. We stand where we have ever stood, ready to let by-gones be by-gones, and to receive our Southern brethren with open arms, in terms of perfect "equality and reciprocity," neither making nor asking humiliation nor confessions. There we have stood and trust we shall always stand. If fraternal relations are not consummated on this platform, those who prevent it, North or South, must bear the responsibility.

SUSTENTATION AND HOME MISSIONS

Occupied much of the attention of the Assembly, in a renewed attempt to secure an adjustment of their mutual relations, satisfactory to all parties. It was brought before the body in the regular annual report of the Board of Missions: in the very elaborate and able report of the special committee appointed by the previous Assembly to investigate the subject, a and report to this Assembly, presented by Dr. Bronson, its chairman; and in reports of each of the two committees, to which each of these were respectively referred. The result of the whole, after due debate upon the presentation of the subject made in these several reports, was to leave the subject

very much in the same position as before, with this single difference that, whereas, since the separate committee and the secretary in charge of Sustentation were abolished at St. Louis in 1874, and the whole matter put in charge of the Board of Missions, as a distinct department, to be conducted by that Board on its own proper principles, and sustained by a separate and distinct contribution from the churches in its behalf, the question has been raised in various quarters, whether it should continue to be a distinct department, thus conducted in its own methods and sustained by its own collections? This question is now put at rest, and the distinctive Sustentation department of the Board is insisted on with renewed and imperative emphasis. The Church does not mean to give up this great movement to provide for its pastors a living support, and to lift up its weaker churches to a condition of self-sustentation under regular and permanent pastors. In order to economize cost of administration, and harmonize its workings with the vast Home Missionary operations of our extended new settlements, the Assembly has made the experiment of placing it jointly with the evangelizing of new and frontier settlements under the care of the Board of Missions. But it has resolutely withstood every attempt to merge it indistinguishably in the missionary department. It insists upon an efficient administration of it upon its own basis and merits. It is making the experiment, whether this can be done under the Board of Missions, with its present executive and clerical force. The Assembly was on the verge of providing for this work its own special secretary, to whom the responsibility of conducting it efficiently should be allotted. It forebore, wisely we think, under the assurance given, and in the full confidence, that its will would be carried out by the able and trusted executive officers now in the Board, without any more specific arrangement. This confidence, we are sure, will not be disappointed, so as to lead to the necessity of committing this department to a distinct secretary in order to keep it in being. The vote on sustentation was,

That pastors be enjoined to impress the importance of this department upon the people and to take separate and distinct collections for its support.

The Board shall invite contributions from all our churches for sustentation, keeping a distinct account thereof, and only the amount given for this purpose shall be expended in sustentation work.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO TERM ELDERSHIP.

Overtures from the Presbyteries of Wooster and Blairsville, asking light as to the "position of existing sessions in churches which adopt the system of election of elders for a limited time, as provided for in the eighth section of chap. xiii, *Form of Government*, brought out the following deliverance from the Assembly ;

A constitutional rule must have power to effect whatever is necessary for its practicable operation. So soon, therefore, as any particular church under this new provision of the constitution shall determine, by a vote of its members in full communion, to elect elders for a limited time, and they shall be elected and set apart for their office, elders in office by virtue of an earlier appointment cease to be acting-elders in that particular church—otherwise, the session would not consist of three classes, as in such cases required.

This decision is probably just. Yet, if it relieves some churches from perplexity, it plunges others into it, insomuch that it will itself lay a foundation for serious complications. The following letter, just received from a highly esteemed pastor of an important church, discloses some of these, to the solution of which attention must speedily be given :

REV. L. H. ATWATER, D.D.

DEAR SIR : The General Assembly, as you have doubtless observed, has decided that churches which adopt the term eldership, put their life elders, previously elected, out of active service.

This decision is of importance to us, and I wish your advice. Three years ago our congregation elected *four additional elders* to serve for a term of years, Presbytery deferred action on that point, though it subsequently approved our book to date, in the usual form. This spring the elders elected for the short term, three years (the others for five), were re-elected without any other action on the part of our congregation—the understanding being, that under the new constitutional rule the course was lawful.

Now the question arises :

1. Under the new rule, was it right for us simply to continue the arrangement previously adopted, or ought we to have put the question squarely to the congregation, whether they would now adopt the term service ?

I suppose there are many churches having term elders, not precisely in accordance with the provisions of the new rule ; will it be necessary for them to square themselves precisely with it ?

2. Does the recent interpretation of the new rule set aside our life elders ? Our congregation did not adopt the term service by deliberate preference for life service ; it only voted to elect *additional* elders on the term principle.

3. Will the recent interpretation stand ? Can those elected for life be set aside without voluntary resignation ? Has the congregation all authority under the new rule, and the session none ?

You will readily see that our position is an unusual one. It is doubtful whether, on

a square vote, our people would adopt the term service instead of the life. We could get along peaceably at present if we could be left undisturbed, but of course we must conform to law.

REDUCED REPRESENTATION.

We quite agree with Dr. Adams, that the position in which the project for reducing the size of the Assembly is now left, is adapted to confuse the action of Presbyteries. The sending down to the Presbyteries of two alternative plans is pretty certain to insure the defeat of both, and if this be not sufficient, the reference of the subject to a committee to report to the next General Assembly, will serve very effectually to tide over the subject to another year. We do not, however, agree with him in the feeling, that no reduction is called for, or is less than a matter of imperative necessity. But it is far better to bear present inconveniences with patience a while longer than to rush into some rash, crude measure, under the spur of supposed necessity. We cannot assent to that plan which, retaining our present system in other respects, changes the unit from twenty-four and its fractions to fifty and its fractions. It would place the whole control of the church in the hands of a small minority of its ministers and people. Some inequalities there must be, and to them we cheerfully submit. But all such inequalities must have their bounds, or all order and justice are subverted. To give to three ministers, constituting one Presbytery, the same power as fifty in another, is to run the principle of Presbyterial representation into the ground. It sacrifices the very end and substance and inner spirit of Presbyterial and representative organization to its mere form and letter. Far more equitable and safe, in our judgment, is the other overture, which makes the number fifteen, to be increased when necessary, the unitary basis for one, and but one delegate to the Assembly, such delegates to be in equal numbers, ministers and elders, so far as the even numbers go, and in the case of any odd number, making the delegate a minister one year and an elder the next. This, or something like it, seems to be the only method of reduction not intolerably unequal, with direct Presbyterial representation, which has not been vetoed. Although there will be some liability to occasional confusion in the order of alternation of ministers and elders, perhaps it

is as free from difficulties as any scheme which accomplishes the object.

Possibly, however, every scheme of reduction is bound to fail, because so few are willing to forego any privilege of membership in the Assembly which they now possess. We observe that every year, during and after the meeting of the Assembly, the necessity of some reduction is almost universally felt, and schemes begin to be devised and discussed for accomplishing it. The discussion of them goes on, and objections to them are made and answered, until at length, before the next Assembly meets, it begins to be insisted on that the Assembly is none too large; no reduction in its size is needed; it makes a great moral impression by the sheer force of its numbers; in a word, the great majority will not abridge their present privileges of membership. Perhaps this is the predestined result of all schemes of reduction.

It is not to be denied, that, in a certain aspect, and for certain purposes, there is the advantage of a great moral impression in large numbers. This is true of the annual gatherings of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. It is an immense missionary mass-meeting of two or three days' duration, and is more prominently an enthusiastic than a deliberative, legislative, or judicial convocation. For such an unusual jubilation, almost every considerable city can bear a strain upon their hospitality for half a week—sustained themselves by the contagious enthusiasm of the occasion—which would be out of the question if continued half a month.

If, by any means, the length of the Assembly's sessions could be shortened from two weeks to one; or if the system should come into vogue, of Presbyteries bearing the expenses of their commissioners, we do not know but the continuance of the Assembly at its present size would be the easiest solution of the problem. As regards the possibility of shortening the Assembly's sessions, much has been already accomplished by the system of judicial commissions, which can hardly fail to be a permanent feature of our system. We are not sure that a judicious committee of expert parliamentarians might not devise ways of saving time in much of the routine business, and in the methods of disposing of the boards of the

Church, which might shorten the sessions of the Assembly. In such ways the difficulties of our present over-grown Assemblies might be mitigated without loss of their obvious advantages. But we are of opinion that, if the Assembly is not reduced, it will not be long before increasing numbers of the commissioners will attend either at their own or their Presbytery's charges.

ROMISH BAPTISM.

The Assembly of 1875, in answer to the question from the Presbytery of Genesee: "Should a convert from Romanism, applying for admission into the Presbyterian Church, be again baptized," answered unanimously, "That the decision be left to the judgment of each church session, guided by the principles governing the subject of baptism, as laid down in the standards of the Church." This did not satisfy the Synod of Missouri, which memorialized the last Assembly to declare such baptism invalid. Dr. W. L. Breckenridge supported the petition in an elaborate and protracted argument, after which the Assembly referred the whole subject to a special committee to report to the next Assembly. This action was wise. Certainly no new action ought to be taken on such a subject without a much more thorough discussion than there was either time or preparation for in the Assembly. The real discussion must take place in the church before the meeting of the next Assembly, if that body is to be prepared for it. It involves some of the profoundest questions and distinctions in theology and ecclesiology. He who thinks the case self-evident, or is settled forever by a flippant syllogism or two, made up of ambiguous terms and propositions, shows that he has not got below the surface of the subject. The fact that, in the past, Romish baptism was pronounced invalid by a decided majority in both the Old School and New School Assemblies, but against the earnest opposition of such professors and doctors of theology as Charles Hodge and H. B. Smith, and the general sentiment of Christendom, is evidence that it cannot safely be disposed of without careful and prayerful study. This it will, doubtless, receive in the year to come.

But certain collateral questions arise here, scarcely less important than the topic in chief. They respect the Assembly's function and prerogative in the premises, with the due scope and limits thereof. Locke found it a necessary pre-requisite

to learning the truth, to study and learn the measure of the instrument by which we learn it; that is—the human mind. Hence his immortal treatise on the Human Understanding. It is a part of the progress and normal development of all sensitive and intellectual organisms, to constantly advance in a knowledge of themselves, their powers, and functions. All living constitutions of human societies keep alive by an ever-advancing process of self-understanding and self-exposition. This is true of the constitutions of England and the United States. They are constantly defining themselves in judicial exposition. As fast as old questions are determined respecting the powers of the government in its different departments and officers, others come to the surface which press for adjudication. It is so in the church. It is still a vexed question, what is the province of the General Assembly, as respects propounding doctrinal dogmas, or terms of communion, not explicitly set forth in our standards; or, if it propound them, how far they have more than the mere moral force belonging to the declarations of such a body of men—how far, in short, they have authority which binds the church, and subjects non-compliance with them to church discipline and censure. This has nothing to do with the binding authority of the Assembly, in respect to the bounds of presbyteries and synods, the constitution and regulation of its own boards and officers, and the usual orders to inferior courts. Nor is it the question, whether it must interpret and apply the standards in all cases judicially brought before it. Of this there is no doubt. But the question is, whether it has authority to make declarations of doctrine or practice, which, without the constitutional sanction of presbyteries, have the binding force of law in the church? Take this very question: Would its declaration, that Romish baptism is invalid, and that sessions must require re-baptism in such cases, as a condition of admission to the Lord's table, be binding, like the prescription in regard to adult baptism, if unsanctioned by the presbyteries, so that non-compliance would subject to church discipline?

Take the requirements made by the O. S. Assembly, at Pittsburgh, in 1865, in regard to the conditions of the reception of Southern ministers and Christians to our own presbyteries and churches; were they binding like “constitutional rules?”

L. H. A.

Art. IX.—THE PHILOSOPHICAL METHOD IN THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF ENGLISH.

By THEODORE W. HUNT, Adjunct Professor of History in Princeton College.

IN a very instructive article upon "The German Gymnasium," in the January number of *The New Englander*, Doctor Keep makes the following pertinent statement as to the study of German: "No part of the plan of studies is more carefully elaborated than that according to which the native language is taught." "The department," he adds, by way of comparison, "is made more interesting and profitable to German youth than the study of the English language and literature in our schools and colleges." The substantial correctness of this comparison must be admitted. There is no question but that our institutions are seriously at fault in this particular, and that they are called upon by every consideration to place the study of English upon a better basis. The question, therefore, as to the position and nature of the difficulty, becomes a question of practical moment.

We have before us the catalogues of a large number of our colleges—enough, indeed, to justify us in making a general inference as to the precise position of this department. While noting the important fact, that some of our less prominent institutions are, as to this special study, in advance of those more widely known, we observe that the course mapped out in the various colleges, as to the time allotted it, the area it covers, and the results it contemplates, is substantially the same. It is true that different colleges professedly give distinction to separate divisions of the study. In many of them we note the absence of any attention to the primitive periods of our language. The substantial similarity of their courses is, however, a noticeable feature. Further than this, there is a general acknowledgment of the growing importance of the study in our systems of education. In some of the exhibits it is presented under the head of "Special Features." As far as we can gather, the department has its fair apportionment of time in our crowded curricula, and not a little zeal is manifested in the furtherance of its interests. What, then, is the diffi-

culty? We answer, that it lies mainly in the application of an erroneous *method* in its study and teaching. The remedy lies, therefore, in the immediate adoption of a better way. It is to this that we call attention.

By the term, "English," as used in the present connection, we mean the English department in its completeness. It may be said to include the three grand divisions of—

English Language.

English Literature.

English Composition and Criticism.

As to the expression, Philosophical Method, our meaning, we trust, will be sufficiently clear as we proceed.

Suffice it here to say, that, negatively, it is the reverse of the formal or verbal method. It stands opposed, moreover, to what might be called the textual method, as well as to the historical method, in the more superficial sense of that term. Positively, it is a method dealing mainly with principles, and in which facts are valuable only as the ground of large inductions. It enters into the foundations, causes, and governing laws of things, rather than being content to dwell among things external and minute. It is the Baconian method applied to English study. We shall examine this method as applied, in turn, to each of the three sub-divisions specified :

I. ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—The study of our language in the higher method would include what Earle calls "The Philology of the English Tongue." If we use the term philology as a preëminent scholar uses it, meaning "the grammatical study of the phenomena of single languages," then the knowledge of English grammar is all important, holding an essential place in the most advanced stages of linguistic study. If this be true, the method adopted is of vital moment. The formal study of grammar, as presented in our simple manuals, is one thing, and valuable in its place ; the grammatical study of linguistic phenomena is quite another. The difference between Brown and Latham is largely a difference of method. With the one, philology is reduced to the study of formal grammar ; with the other, grammar is but the basis on which philology builds a broader and better work. We have no objection to calling philology a study of the forms of language, a gram-

mathematical study, if the terms employed are made to assume their higher and not their lower meaning. Still further: this study has often been designated the study of words, and not unfrequently by way of reproach. Now it is in place to remark, that such a reproach is possible only upon the utter misconception of what is meant in reality by the study of words. Here, again, the difficulty is found to exist in the province of method. If English philology, or that of any tongue, is no advance upon the study of roots and affixes; if it be but the discovery and emphasis of forced distinctions; if, in fine, the study be purely verbal, then is such a reproach justified. This was the error of many of the older linguists, devoting their time, as has been said, to the "architecture," and not to the "chemistry," of words. . . . It must here be confessed, that far too many of our modern philologists are open to such criticism. They have either magnified the word above the thought behind it, or, in the line of pure speculation upon etymologies, transpositions, and combinations, have so passed beyond a discreet limit as to bring the whole department into opprobrium. If, however, our conception of what philology is is the higher one, and words are to us as they were to Bacon, "the footsteps and prints of reason," then will our definitions be significant. Whether we call it the study of grammatical forms, or words, or whatever be the phrase, the philosophic aspects will be prominent, and its relations as an educating study to all our work as thinkers will at once be discernible. Philology, in fine, is a science, and as such, is established, formulated, and applied as other sciences. In studying language, therefore, we investigate its origin, history, and structure; the principles that underlie it, and the processes by which it works. We study its capacity as a medium for the expression of our thought; its points of strength and weakness in this particular. We note the forms and reasons of its successive variations, its periods of progress and decline, and its varied relations to all that national and individual life, of which it is the best exponent. The study is thus, in the highest sense, scientific, and so far philosophic. It is thus that Farrar ably argues, with reference to its late assumption of a scientific form, that it is recent just because it is scientific, requiring time for the accumulation and comparison of facts. Müller and Maetzner in Europe, and

March and Whitney in America, appear before us, in their respective works, as philosophers and scientists in language.

2. ENGLISH LITERATURE. English Literature is the collected written expression of the English mind in English forms. The inherent value of such a study and its important bearings upon the entire mental life of the student need no discussion. It has been for a long time known and still is one of the well-grounded criticisms upon this study, as taught in our colleges, that it is presented in its lower aspects. By not a few, it is treated as polite literature only—the *Belles Lettres* of the French schools. The æsthetic element is thus dominant. Literature is but the embodiment of the beautiful. Form is made conspicuous above content; poetry tends to usurp the place of classical prose, while even in poetry itself the lighter forms of the lyric and the narrative prevail.

What may be called the historical method proper, is also prevalent, and though an advance upon the æsthetic is by no means satisfactory: it is the annalistic method. It furnishes us with the dates of different periods, presents entertaining biographical sketches of successive authors, with the times of the composition and publication of their various works. Such a literary survey would be similar to what is known in civil history as the chronological method. It follows the course of the centuries in regular order, making the temporal transitions mark the transition of thought. Still another method, and an objectionable one, is what we may call the textual or extreme critical method. It borders very closely upon the hyper-critical. It is essentially grammatical and verbal, rather than literary. It would make the language of Lear more important than the character, and an anachronism an unpardonable sin. Has not such an order of criticism already overreached itself in the interpretation of the drama to our collegiate classes?

The desirable method, then, is the philosophic one, in the application of which the best features of all the other methods are seen to appear in strict subordination. The mind and the emotions are addressed as superior to the taste; the limits of literary periods are determined by the course of thought, while criticism yields at every point to literary inspiration. The method is suggestive and analytic, rather than exhaustive—the

only method by which we can hope to reach any proper interpretation of the English mind. As a philosophy of literature it goes back to the sources and causes of literature. It discusses it as an art ; its inner relations to civil, social, and ecclesiastical history ; and explores beneath the surface of authorship, to what might be called the hidden literary life of writers. On the basis of such a method, barren and prolific epochs alike have their sufficient explanation. We are able now to account intelligently for the dearth of letters between Chaucer and Spenser. Why the drama should have flourished under Elizabeth, and the days of Dryden been the golden age of satire ; why English prose was perfected in the time of Anne, and lyric poetry followed the great revolutions in England and France, we know on logical grounds. Even in the survey of English poetry, where we confessedly aim to display the ornamental and gratify the taste, what student, of even comparative thoroughness, does not soon find himself in the higher realms of conscience, intellect, and will ? A full analysis of Hamlet, or of the contemplative mind of Wordsworth in the "Excursion," would form appropriate chapters in a work on mental science. Literature, we say, is an accomplishment—a kind of external finish to one whose mental culture has been derived elsewhere. Much of this popular sentiment has its basis in our vicious methods of literary teaching, so that students pass directly from our instructions to give it confirmation and currency. Literature has a soul, as well as a visible form, and to express the life of that informing spirit is the exalted work of the student. It is the constant presence of this high ideal that has made the volumes of Henry Morley master pieces in our libraries. The noble rank which Germany has held in the exposition of our literature has been due to a similar philosophic method ; while Bascom and others, in our own country, are doing a most valuable work in the same direction. The thorough study of English literature involves the study of *mind*. It is *psychological*.

Before passing on to the other division of English we remark, that the philosophic method of study, as applied to English language and literature, includes : (a) The study of their primitive periods. In other words, the philosophical study demands the full historical study. However diverse the earlier

and later periods may be from each other, they enter into the composition of the history. We are well aware of the important differences between the English of our day and that of pre-Elizabethan times, or between the English of Chaucer and the language of Anglo-Saxon days. We are also aware that one may be a creditable English scholar apart from a knowledge of such periods. Still, we hold that there can scarcely be a broad philosophic instruction in this department aside from such knowledge. This would appear essential as marking the line of true historic development from an inflected to an uninflected tongue, and in giving a comprehensive unity to instruction. Precisely so as to literature. We can scarcely begin with Chaucer, as is too often the case, and offer to the student a complete survey. Though he marks the beginning of our literature as national, he does not mark its absolute beginning. It is not essential to enter here into the antiquity of the word English, as applied to our people and writings. We need not agree with Mr. Freeman in his theory, that our literature has always been English, and nothing else. We contend for the study of the Pre-Chaucerian literature under its generally received names of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman, passing on through the medium of early English to the forms embodied in the national literature. Though it be called a preparatory era, it is essential, as such, to the intelligent understanding of subsequent developments. The philosophic method, both linguistic and literary, looks back of Chaucer to the "*Brut*," of Sagamon and the "*Paraphrase*" of Cædmon.

(c) It is further to be noted, that this higher method includes the study of comparative philology and literature. This radical idea of comparative study is, indeed, involved in the very term, philosophy. As far as philology is concerned, the remark of Goethe is here in place: "He who is not acquainted with other languages, is not acquainted with his own." The vital relation of grammar to philology is thus most important, in that, comparative grammar, as distinguished from descriptive, is the basis of comparative study. The history of the science discloses this, its foundations being laid in the comparative grammar of Bopp; its principles unfolded on the basis of a similar work by Pott, Humboldt, and Burnouf, while we find its present philosophic statement in the compar-

ative grammar of Helfenstein on the Teutonic languages. Such a method is especially called for in the interpretation of English. There is really no such thing as English philology, pure and simple. It cannot, like the German, be studied quite independently. Its compositeness makes its study comparative. Hence, the absolute need of a knowledge of the classical tongues and the leading dialects of southern Europe. The vexed question, as to the relative claims of these tongues upon the scholar of to-day, is not a question for the student of English. He must be conversant with them all.

So as to literature. There is such a thing as comparative literature. The student of English is to be versed in the history of general literature for the sake of the English. We allude, most especially, to the Italian, French, and German literatures, inasmuch, as each of these has had its separate sway in our historical progress, and is discernible even yet among us. In this department, as elsewhere, truth cannot be studied as isolated. "Comparison is the soul of progress."

3. ENGLISH COMPOSITION AND CRITICISM.—A point of vital importance, to be noted at the outset, is, that this part of English study is transitional between that of the language and the literature. By English composition we mean the study of those principles and methods which have been adopted by writers in transferring language into literature. Criticism may be defined as the application of such principles to the examination of literary productions.

Here, again, as in philology and letters, we discover the presence of the two methods of study—the lower and the higher; the pedantic and the philosophic.

On the lower method the study is narrowed down to the province of descriptive grammar and verbal criticism. Things technical and arbitrary take the precedence of all else. Though the structure of sentences, as De Quincey argues, might be regarded as the very foundation of excellence in writing, this method so dwells upon the laws of their construction and the varied forms in which they may be arranged, as quite to ignore the fact that they are but means to something higher. Even if discourse, in its fuller meaning, is under examination, the mechanism of it dominates over the inward spirit. The student has been taught to draw the distinctions so closely be-

tween narration and description, or persuasion and conviction, that his liberty is impaired at every point, lest he pass the rhetorical limits that have been prescribed. As intimated in a previous article in this REVIEW, we acknowledged that much of the present odium that attaches itself to this particular portion of English, has its sufficient origin just here, in the reign of the pedantic method. What the ambitious student is needing most of all, is the grand body of *principia*, underlying and determining all progress in expression. He needs the exposition of the leading laws and methods, without which all effort is arbitrary. If the forms of discourse are the particular subject of study, they will be those only which have their origin in the natural operation of the human mind, and serve to interpret to the student his own mental being.

If the qualities of style are under consideration, they will be seen to be the primal and essential ones, rather than the confusing categories of the schools. By such a method, moreover, the art of expression is exhibited in all its close relations to our culture, as educated men, alike in its dependence upon that culture for its mental material, and in its essential importance to that culture as the medium of its final utterance.

Its relations to the outer life of the world will also be interpreted, revealing the applicability of its governing laws to the daily intercourse of business and society, as well as to that of the college and the study. We are thus encouraged, as writers, to the habit of the close observation of men, how they speak and act, what may be gathered from their life that will be of service to us, and how the deliverances of our pen may be effective upon their character. So with the ethical aspects of this comprehensive art, which as yet, have never been properly interpreted and impressed. The art of expression is the art of self expression, and the moral element, after all, is the controlling element in the nature of man. In a word, such a method demands a profound and catholic teaching in distinction, from a superficial and restricted one. It sounds the deepest depths, and reaches out to all the forms of human experience. Intellect, feeling, will, conscience, and taste, all are assigned to their appropriate provinces and functions in the construction of discourse. How to reach and affect the mind, becomes the all absorbing inquiry. What are called the laws of discourse are

now seen to be but large inductions based upon the well-ascertained facts of our mental consciousness, and once again we are in the region of the psychological.

Is it not time in our collegiate teaching that we abandon the discussion of words and sentences, of forms and plans as such, and rise to that higher plane of philosophic instruction, on the basis of which we shall indoctrinate the student with salient principles, applicable always and everywhere, rather than place mere tools in his hands, and a technical manual to guide him in their use.

We are educators and not mechanics. Our urgent need in this direction is what a leading divine of our day has most happily termed "a Rational Rhetoric."

Reverting now to the three domains of the English department which have come before us, we remark. (a) That their philosophic teaching demands the acknowledgment of their vital relationship. The remark of the suggestive Bacon, "that the end of philosophy is the 'intuition of unity,'" is nowhere more applicable than here. As confirming this fact, we find, that the study of the English language leads us directly up to the study of the literature, while each in turn involves the study of the art of written expression. The philologist, the litterateur, and writer, are one and the same personality, under a three-fold manifestation. It is, in Miltonian phraseology, a "trinal unity," and just to that degree in which this unity is disowned, the method is unphilosophic and partial.

In the scheme of study already referred to as adopted in the German Gymnasium, this radical principle is distinctly mentioned. "The method" writes, the author, "by which the student is gradually and almost insensibly conducted to original German composition, is worthy of careful notice." The method to which he refers is that by which the written and oral expression of the student is inseparably connected with the study of the German language and the German authors. The three studies are one study working into, through, and for each other. We are glad to read in the register of one of our own institutions* "that there studies go hand in hand helping each other to a higher development."

*We refer to the university of California whose schedule of studies in the English department is by far the fullest and best arranged that we have seen.

The bond that subsists here is a family bond ; it is a blood relationship, and cannot with impunity be ignored. (b) We remark again, that such an order of study and teaching as that enjoined is the most practical one, in the character and permanence of its results. It is practical just because it is philosophical, teaching the student how to distinguish between things essential and non-essential, and how to subordinate facts and details to the accomplishment of exalted ends. It converts the department of philology from a fastidious study of words to the practical study of language as the medium of communication between man and man. English literature rises at once from the study of names and dates and the compilation of authorities, to the higher work of analyzing the human mind in representative authorship, and rendering to us for our personal guidance the elements of literary power. So as to English composition. "Nothing can be more frivolous" says Cousin, "than that rhetoric which pursues the form alone." Such a rhetoric is alike unphilosophic and useless. It is because, upon the better method, the form is subservient to the life beneath it, and precept gives place to principle, that it is a practical method. It *does something* for the student. It leaves a tangible product in his hands for judicious use and enjoyment. Now that he is the recipient of new ideas which he himself can develop and apply in fullest accordance with the nature of his need, he is thereby more of a man among men, and more potential in his work.

We insist that the graduates of our colleges should go forth to the varied vocations of life with just such a practical English culture. The clergymen and physician, the jurist and journalist ; the very man of business in the daily contact of trade, all are demanding such a teaching—a something given them applicable to the real experiences of life, as well as to the retirement of the schools.

Is it too much to say that the philosophic method of instruction, as distinct from the technical and formal, is one of the great needs of our American system of education in all its departments?

If we now ask the question, why such a method of studying English is not more generally adopted in our institutions, the answer is a plain one, and to a certain degree exonerates us

We have already seen that it is not from any general want of the knowledge of such a method or desire to apply it. The difficulty is this! The character of the preparatory English with which the great majority of our American students come to us is not such as to admit of anything more than a general historical culture.

This is far too true in most departments of study, as the experience of our leading professors indicates. In the English department it has a special application, inasmuch as it is comparatively new, and the tendency to a superficial method or total neglect is unusually strong. Here, then, we are brought once again to what may be called the most vital question before the educated mind of this land—the question of upper schools. It is not the question of post-graduate courses which is being agitated, and for which we are not as yet prepared, that is the main question. It is not even the question of collegiate courses, *per se*, but of pre-collegiate. If these be properly established and adjusted, the college will largely administer itself, and special schools appear among us when demanded by an advancing scholarship.

In a recent issue of one of our leading journals, we read, "In a land where education is so universally prized, it is remarkable that, even now, in our one hundredth year, there is no preparatory school of national reputation."

It refers, by way of comparison, to Harrow, Eton, and Rugby, in England. Whatever may be said of the truthfulness of this assertion, as it respects those schools among us, which are devoted to the interests of the ancient languages, the remark is literally true as to the study of English.

It is in this connection that President Porter, in his *American Colleges*, contends for the more general and careful study of English in unison with other branches, putting the student at once in a condition to become an intelligent recipient of collegiate instruction.

"The neglect of such culture," he writes, "in too many of the so-called classical schools of this country is inexcusable, and so long as this neglect continues, the colleges must suffer under reproaches which should not properly rest upon them." This is the precise point at which the difficulty lies, in that, despite our theories and honest resolves to the contrary, we are

obliged in a sense to do that work in the college which ought to have been done in the upper school. The higher institutions are thus completely in the hands of the lower. Students must be received as they come to us, and in proportion to the meagreness of the preparation, so will it be difficult to do any satisfactory work in the line of that advanced education for which the college as such exists. There is then but one remedy, and it is practicable.

It is the more thorough and comprehensive study of elementary English in our upper schools, whereby the work, at present necessitated in our first collegiate year, may be remanded to its proper place in the preparatory department, and the college professor begin at once upon the basis of such work, the application of the philosophic method. In addition to exercises in punctuation, orthography, English grammar, and declamation, we see no reason why the entering student should not come to us tolerably well acquainted with the main historical facts of our language and literature, as well as with a good amount of intelligent practice in the simpler forms of discourse. Excellent manuals in all these branches are now accessible, and the student coming with his facts is prepared to enter at once upon the study of those leading principles, to which such facts give origin.

What remains, therefore, but that our American colleges and classical schools assume a position in this matter, that will be in keeping with the high ideals of such institutions! Some of our presidents and leading educators are doing already a noble work in this direction. The movement, however, must be a well-understood, combined, and vigorous one. To secure such unity of action has been and is the great difficulty. We are free to say, however, that if such general coöperation cannot be secured, a few of our leading institutions should take high ground on this subject, and at all hazards maintain it. The first colleges of this country, educationally, if not numerically, are not to be those whose doors are widely open to an indiscriminate preparation, but those whose standards are high and ever higher, as the interests of a liberal culture demand, who, disdaining to enter into those petty inter-collegiate rivalries, which obtain far too largely among us, take, at length, into their own hands the jurisdiction of the schools, which supply them and determine their character.

One thing is evident: if the grand department of English in our colleges is ever to become what it ought to become—a prominent factor in the very highest culture—and if the method upon which we are teaching it is ever to rise to the scientific and practical, then must the lovers of English and higher education address themselves with becoming ardor to the work before them. If our methods are wrong, we are to correct them. If, being right, they cannot be applied, a way must be opened for their application. The teaching of English is applied philosophy. We submit that the model instructor in English and all other branches is a philosopher, and not a pedagogue or pedant, an expositor of generic and germinal principles and not an official censor of recitations.

It is to Plato and Socrates that we are to resort as examples, and not to Diogenes or Cato.

Art. X.—HOW A PASTOR WOULD MEET INFIDELITY.

By REV. EPHER WHITAKER, Southold, L. I.

THE present phases of infidelity in this country are mainly three, viz.: materialism, spiritualism, and secularism. We name them in the reverse order of their destructiveness to the souls of men in our own day and land.

Materialism proposes to convert star-dust into life and plants and animals and man by physical forces only; also to generate ideas of virtue, duty, right, and wrong, moral obligation, by external excitement of the senses and consequent impressions of the brain; to turn thought into material motion and the movements of matter into thought.

But it is needless to master all the details and consequences of the theories of Lamarck and Oken and Vogt, in order to understand their main positions as materialists. So with Comte, Mill, Spencer, as well as Hæckel, Büchner, Cope, Chapman, and others. And whoever accepts their doctrines must reject those of Moses, Isaiah, Paul, and John, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

One way of dealing with this phase of infidelity is to show that materialists do not agree as to the facts which their theories include. Take, for example, life and its origin. Some hold with the assertion of Lamarck, made at the beginning of this century, that "life is only a physical phenomenon." Others accept Spencer's *dictum*, that life is "the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations." We can understand that. For there is the stove with the self-regulating damper, and we can see the continuous adjustment of the internal relations of the fires to the external relations of the temperature. That, according to Spencer, is life.

Some maintain that "the evolution of life" includes its origin, and others attribute this to creation. Thus, Mr. Darwin speaks of "life with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms, or into one," but Dr. Chapman says there are "no vital forces which are not convertible into physical ones;" and Prof. Barker has undertaken to prove "the correlation of vital and physical forces," and he has undoubtedly proved the inadequacy of his own logic.

Some say that spontaneous generation takes place at the present time, and that the "mind is the impression of the brain derived from the external world through the medium of the senses," and "if a Newton could be developed from an ancient Briton, or his living representative, an Australian, an Australian could be developed from an ape." Others say, produce your ape developed into an Australian or ancient Briton. And not seeing him brought into view, they deny that mind is only impressions of the brain. They also reject the evidence adduced in support of spontaneous generation. They do not admit that the origin of a living being is parallel to the origin of a crystal. They say, with Prof. Tyndall, that notions of natural evolution "represent an absurdity too monstrous to be entertained by any sane mind."

On the other hand, Mr. Darwin avers that man does come through the monkey from some far remote animal greatly inferior to the monkey. While Mr. Wallace, another advocate of the theory of natural selection, declared that this will not account for the development of man, and appeals to the differences between savage men and the brutes in respect to their brains, their hair, their voices, and other features. He says he does not know how Mr. Huxley passes from those vital phenomena which consist only of movements of particles of matter to those other phenomena which we term thought, sensation, or consciousness."

Thus it is easy to set the materialists at war with each other, while we take little part in the contest.

There is another way of dealing with them, for they are generally over-rated, and their arrogance often passes for superiority. It may be sometimes well to show that they build their pyramid top downward ; that their generalizations are far too broad for their facts ; that their principles require them to keep close to their physics, and not to introduce, as they do, speculative and metaphysical elements into their work. And it is not a hard task to make it manifest, "that speculation is exceedingly dizzy and dim-eyed among the leaders of this phase of infidelity, and that nowhere else does logic more pitably limp and stumble than among them. For one illustration, see Huxley with his "*Physical Basis of Life*" in the light of Sterling's "*As Regards Protoplasm*."

It may be occasionally not amiss to point out that the various schools of nescience and false relativity carefully ignore what every sound and thoughtful mind well knows. For the tendency of materialism unceasingly is to deny that we know anything more than sensation gives us, and to affirm that soul and body are identical, or at least that mind is no more than a function of the body, and can not be known to have an independent existence and its own laws ; that it is impossible to know any one who "is a spirit, infinite, eternal, unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth ;" that it is unreasonable to worship the unknown and unknowable, to have any regard for it in our daily conduct, to cherish any hope or fear respecting it, or in respect to any existence of our own beyond the duration of our mortal bodies.

Now, in opposition to all this, it may be needful to show that we know our own minds as well as we know our own bodies or our own homes, or any other thing, and that we know the Creator and Ruler of the world, so far as his works manifest his existence and character, as well as we know the founder and ruler of any kingdom among men by his works.

The best way to deal with this phase of infidelity is to expose its narrowness, its ignorance, its self-conceit, and its baseness ; to emphasize that superior part of man which the materialists keep out of view, to appeal to the spiritual part, to magnify the moral powers, to explain the moral contrast between man and the brute creation ; to exalt the uniqueness and grandeur of his conscience ; the nobility of his desire for immortality ; the benign influence of the expectation of an eternity of holiness in the worship and service and love of the infinitely holy and benevolent God. The way to do this has been

shown by Dr. Henry B. Smith in his review of the "*New Faith of Strauss*." *

But there is a spiritualism, as well as a materialism, which avowedly or virtually rejects the Bible, and it is far more pervasive and destructive, because more attractive to the people.

There is a reason for the popular choice, according to the well-known utterances of Lord Bacon, namely: "I had rather believe all the fables of the legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind." Materialism is cold and repulsive. It is heartless and hopeless. Spiritualism affords scope for the aspirations of the imaginative, and gratifies the sentiment of the fanciful. It clasps the heart in bereavement, and directs the grief which materialism cannot even touch. When death invades the families of John W. Edmonds, Robert Dale Owen, the chief mourners, in their anguish, fly not for sympathy and support to the grim and desperate negative of "the dirt philosophy." They may be impelled to a false spiritualism, but to spiritualism of some kind they will go.

We must prevent men from going astray by teaching them that Christ is the resurrection and the life. He came from heaven to bring life and immortality to light through the gospel; the heart of the infinitely tender God is in him, so that he is touched with the feeling of our infirmities; his ear is open to the moan of the smitten one; he bears our griefs and carries our sorrows; he has atoned for our sins, and gone to prepare a place for us in his Father's house of many mansions; and all who trust him, even the thief who died upon the cross, pass by death immediately into paradise with the Lord. We must make known how this has been the safe and sweet haven of peace, through all the Christian ages, for the soul tossed by the storms and billows of this world, where we cannot say there is no more sea. We must intimate that God has revealed in his word all that divine wisdom and love deem needful for our use, in order to prepare us for an eternity of bliss, and that Christ holds in his own hand the keys of death and of the world unseen—that world without end, to which we hasten.

But our supreme peril comes from another quarter; and to name the most destructive phase of infidelity—for the want of a better word—we call it secularism. This brushes away all science, philosophy, religion, which hinders the gratification of lust. It is worldly, sensual, devilish. It appears in the form of the most delicate voluptuousness, and also in the form of the most besotted sensuality. If it seems to worship man more, it is only to make this inferior god more obedient

* See *Presbyterian Quarterly*, April 1874.

to the demands of its supreme deity, namely, pleasure. Perhaps, the most expressive symbols of its devotions are the dance and the wine-cup, the fast horse and the swift yacht, the Black Crook and the White Fawn. It scorns the word of God, and mocks the Most Holy One. It tramples upon his Sabbath, and is, indeed, too eager in the pursuit of voluptuousness and sensual indulgence to hear the warning: "Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting."

There never was a time when men were more enslaved to this present evil world than multitudes have been for these last years. Wonderful is their energy in the attainment of their low and transient objects! Prometheus chained to the rock was not more firmly held to it, than many of these men are bound fast to their business or their pleasure. Speak to them of immortal rest, or of sin, holiness, heaven, hell. They smile inwardly at your simplicity, perhaps; but more likely, with all the soul which they possess, they scorn you as a dreamer, a visionary.

From this phase of infidelity comes the greatest danger to that which is most excellent and holy.

It asks no scientific theories, no wise-drawn philosophies, to justify it. For it rejects the word of God and his claims to man's worship and service, just because it will satiate the lust of gluttony and drunkenness, the rage of impurity, the idolatry of covetousness, the arrogance of pride, the ambition of power, or the voluptuousness of fashion.

This madness for sordid and momentary gratifications degrades all that is most worthy in man; binds him down to selfishness; fits him, in this world—

"To roll with pleasure in a sensual sty;"

and, in the world to come, to share the hell of the lost soul who fared sumptuously every day in this life, but finds no alleviation of his pain in the place of torment.

There is no power on earth, and but one in heaven, that can do it. We must turn upon it the light and the heat of the Sun of righteousness. We must bring it under his omnipotent power, so that not only ice, but rock, will melt, and nothing be "hid from the heat" thereof. In a word, we must dissolve it in the almighty flames of divine love.

In this way we must stand up for God's word, and not conform to this world, but transform it into the likeness of the Perfect One, so that we may be able to say, "Now, thanks be unto God, which always

causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place. For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ in them that are saved, and in them that perish; to the one we are the savour of death unto death; and to the other the savour of life unto life."

Art. XI.—PALMER'S LIFE OF THORNWELL.

Whittet & Shepperson, of Richmond, Va., issue, in a style uniform with four elegant octavo volumes of his works previously published, *The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell, D.D., LL.D., ex-President of the South Carolina College, late Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina*, by B. M. PALMER, D. D., LL.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, La.

It is rare that any volume of biography is as fortunate as this, alike in its distinguished subject and author—and, therefore, as to its wealth of matter and felicity of style. Dr. Palmer, at once the admiring pupil, friend, and coadjutor of Dr. Thornwell, in intense sympathy with his spirit, doctrine, and policy in the great matters in which he became the foremost leader, was, if not his equal, *facile princeps* among all next below him. He has, therefore, in many important respects, succeeded to his leadership in the Southern Presbyterian Church, and in the great influence exerted by that body upon the public opinion and policy of the South. His pen is only less powerful than that of the subject whose life and traits it depicts in a manner so masterly and appreciative, so loving and reverent, that even his occasional exaggerations interest without offending. Dr. Palmer had a subject not unworthy of such laborious and enthusiastic delineation, not merely as a personal memorial of him, but on account of the great public interests which Dr. Thornwell touched and shaped and in ways as manifold as his gifts were versatile. For, whatever his infirmities, he was, every inch of him, a "public soul."

Born in 1812, in poverty and obscurity, his mother, who was a woman of strong mind and devoted piety, belonging to the Baptist Church, early imbued his mind with those Calvinistic principles of which he was through life an able expounder and champion. Early left an orphan, his extraordinary gifts were then discovered by gentlemen who bore the expenses of his education till his graduation at an early age, from the college of South Carolina, of which he afterward became a distinguished Professor and President.

Chief among these patrons was a Mr. Robbins, a lawyer of Cheraw, S. C., a gentleman of New England nativity and nurture, whose counsels, not less than his money, were of great value to young Thornwell. It is alike creditable to both, that Mr. Robbins found cause to chide Thornwell for the parsimony he practiced, in order to avoid being burdensome to his benefactor.

After graduation, he, like so many of our foremost men in every liberal profession in this country, obtained means for prosecuting his professional studies by teaching school. While teaching at Sumterville, S. C., and still undecided as to his profession, his mind became exercised in reference to personal religion, and he joined the Presbyterian Church. Although not without subsequent severe inward conflicts and seasons of spiritual darkness, he set his face toward the ministry. By intense study and improvement of every opportunity, visiting Andover and Harvard also for the purpose, he became well furnished for entrance upon his work. He was licensed to preach in November, 1834, and ordained and installed pastor of the Presbyterian church in Lancaster, S. C., June, 1835. In college, although rejected in his first application for admission to the junior class, he soon gained entrance, and was forthwith recognized as without equal or rival in the institution. His ministry, although in a humble sphere, was no less brilliant, and he was soon called from it to a professorship in the college.

The following prayer, offered and recorded on the day of his making a Christian profession, deserves notice :

“ O God ! I have to day made a public profession of my faith in the blessed Redeemer, and taken upon me the solemn covenant of the church. I would not impute to myself any merit on this account, as I have only done, and that, too, after a long delay, what was expressly enjoined on me in thy Holy Word. But, O God ! I feel myself a weak, fallen, depraved, and helpless creature, and utterly unable to do one righteous deed without thy gracious assistance. Wilt thou ; therefore, send upon me thy cheering spirit, to illumine for me the path of duty, and to uphold me when I grow weary ; to refresh me when I faint ; to support me against the violence of temptation and the blandishments of vice. Let me, I beseech thee, please thee in thought, word, and deed. Enable me to go on to perfection, support me in death, and finally save me in thy kingdom ; and to the glorious Three-in-One be ascribed all the praise. Amen.”—P. 95.

No part of this volume more charms us than those letters to his family and friends, which so clearly show that the above was the key-note of his life, while they exhibit his great tenderness and assiduity in winning all with whom he had to do to become partakers of the like precious faith.

With unimportant interruptions, his subsequent life-work was academic, first as Professor, then as President, of South Carolina College, and last as Professor of Theology in Columbia Theological Seminary. It is hardly necessary to say, that he achieved extraordinary success in all these departments. He was easily the peer of the very highest educators in the country, whether respect be had to his power of teaching, administering, governing *ad intra*, or of impressing the public *ad extra*, so as to attract students and resources to the institutions with which he was identified. He also early became an acknowledged leader in the O. S. Presbyterian Church, and the

acknowledged leader of the Southern part of it. He was often a member, once a Moderator, in her Assemblies, and always influential in them. We cannot bring under review his principal conflicts within the church, nor with Rationalism and Romanism outside of it, further than to say, that they are fully presented in the previous volumes of his works, and are ably summarized, as to Dr. Thornwell's side of them, by his biographer. We will only say that his antagonism was intense, and pronounced against what he conceived to be New School theology, and Princeton ecclesiology. It only needs to be said, by way of qualification to the estimate of his powers which we are about to give, that his marvelous dialectic keenness and astuteness, in our judgment, *sometimes* led him, especially when predisposed by some powerful bias, to a narrowness of view proportioned to its intensity; to see distinctions where there was no substantial difference, and to fail of seeing that in the adverse side which was most material to it. But this not infrequent "infirmity of noble minds" aside; we think that Dr. Thornwell had an assemblage of pre-eminent gifts, which we may look long and far to find paralleled. We say assemblage—we cannot go the length of Dr. Palmer in giving him a peerless rank in each several department, in philosophy, in metaphysics, in theology, in the pulpit, in ecclesiastical and deliberative bodies, as an advocate, or a public leader; but we can say, that in each of these departments he had few peers, and only the rarest superiors, while we do not call to mind among living or recent men, any one in whom, not merely some, but all these different kinds of eminence were so focalized. We are quite sure our readers will justify the length of the following quotation from Dr. Palmer's estimate of him as a preacher, and the sources of his pulpit power. Nothing could do more credit to, or better explain the magic, or rather the magnetic, influence of author and subject:

"The feature most remarkable in this prince of pulpit orators was the rare union of vigorous logic with strong emotion. He reasoned always, but never coldly. He did not present truth in what Bacon calls 'the dry light of the understanding;' clear, indeed, but without the heat which warms and frictions. Dr. Thornwell wove his argument in fire. His mind warmed with the friction of its own thoughts, and glowed with the rapidity of its own motion; and the speaker was borne along in what seemed to others a chariot of flame. One must have listened to him to form an adequate conception of what we mean. Filled with the sublimity of his theme, and feeling, in the depths of his soul, its transcendent importance, he could not preach the gospel of the grace of God with the coldness of a philosopher. As the flood of his discourse set in, one could perceive the grand swell from beneath the heaving tide of passionate emotion which rolled it on. Kindling with a secret inspiration, his manner lost its slight constraint; all angularity of gesture and awkwardness of posture suddenly disappeared; the spasmodic shaking of the head entirely ceased; his slender form dilated; his deep black eye lost its drooping expression; the soul came and looked forth, lighting it up with a strange brilliancy; his frail body rocked and trembled as under a divine afflatus, as though the impatient spirit would rend its tabernacle and fly forth to God and heaven upon the wings of his impassioned words; until his fiery eloquence, rising with the greatness of his conceptions, burst upon the

hearer in some grand climax, overwhelming in its majesty and resistless in its effect. In all this there was no declamation, no 'histrionic mummery,' no straining for effect, nothing approaching to rant. All was natural, the simple product of thought and feeling wonderfully combined. One saw the whirlwind as it rose and gathered up the waters of the sea; saw it in its headlong course, and in the bursting of its powers. However vehement his passion, it was justified by the thoughts which engendered it; and in all the storm of his eloquence, the genius of logic could be seen presiding over its elements and guiding its course. The hearer had just that sense of power which power gives when seen under a manner of restraint. The speaker's fulness was not exhausted; language only failed to convey what was left behind.

"But this picture will be incomplete if we fail to notice the magnificent diction which formed the vesture of his noble thoughts. 'It is,' says one, 'the plumage of the royal bird that bears him upward to the sun;' and Dr. Thornwell was far from being insensible to the power of language. In his early life it had been an affectionate study, and in later years it was his habit, before any great public effort to tone his style by reading a few pages from some master in composition. Sometimes it was a passage from Robert Hall, sometimes from Edward Gibbon, sometimes of Edmund Burke, sometimes of glorious old Milton; but oftener yet he drank from that old well of eloquence, Demosthenes for the Crown. His spoken style was, however, unquestionably the result of his life's study. His habits of close thinking exacted a choice of words. We think in language, however unconscious of the process. It is the only embodiment of thought, without which we cannot represent it to ourselves. Style, therefore, is not so much cut and fitted to the thought by artificial and secondary labor, as it is woven by the thought in the course of its own development. Hence, the precision which uniformly characterized Dr. Thornwell's style. He was, above other men, a close thinker—a thinker who had daily to think his thoughts aloud in the hearing of his pupils. The utmost exactness in language was required, moreover, in the studies of his department. The subtle spirit of philosophy could only be held as it was caught and imprisoned in the precise word which fitted it; and thus his whole career as a teacher was a training for himself as a master in style. In addition to all, his copious reading opened to him the entire vocabulary of his native tongue. 'Reading,' says Lord Bacon, 'makes a full man; writing, an exact man; and speaking, a ready man.' Dr. Thornwell was all three habitually, and through a long life. He read abundantly and in all directions, and acquired insensibly that copiousness which formed one of the attributes of his style. But it was the union of precision with fulness which distinguished his utterances. In the most rapid flow of his speech his diction was beyond impeachment. It was always the right word for the thought, and the whole vocabulary would not have furnished a substitute; while in the amplification of his thought, his mind, like a kaleidoscope, presented an endless variety of images, and the same combination never failed by repetition. To this precision and copiousness was added a certain richness of expression, a courtliness of style, which can only be explained by the majesty of the thought that disdained to appear in the dress of a clown.

"To understand Dr. Thornwell's power, these several elements must be combined: * his powerful logic, his passionate emotion, his majestic style, of which

* Rev. Nathaniel Hewitt, D. D., of Bridgeport, Connecticut, thus speaks of him, founding his eulogium upon a sermon published as early as 1843: "Howe, Owen, and Robert Hall reappear in

it may be said, as of Lord Brougham, that 'he wielded the club of Hercules entwined with roses!' This generation will never look upon his like again; a single century cannot afford to produce his equal. It may listen to much lucid exposition, much close and powerful reasoning, much tender and earnest appeal, much beautiful and varied imagery; but never from the lips of one man can it be stirred by vigor of argument fused by a seraph's glow, and pouring itself forth in strains which linger in the memory like the chant of angels. The regret has been expressed that his unwritten sermons had not been presented through the labors of a reporter. It is well the attempt was never made. What invented symbols could convey that kindling eye, those trembling and varied tones, the expressive attitude, the foreshadowing and typical gesture, the whole quivering frame, which made up in him the complement of the finished orator! The lightning's flash, the fleecy clouds embroidered on the sky, and the white crest of the ocean wave, surpass the painter's skill. The orator must live through tradition; and to meet this tradition we have described one of whom it may be said, as once of Ebenezer Erskine, 'He that never heard him, never heard the gospel in its majesty.'—pp. 548 52.

Dr. Thornwell died in July, 1862, in the fiftieth year of his age—having before suffered severe family bereavements, including the recent death of a bright and noble son in the Confederate army. He had achieved what is given to few men to do, who live their four-score years. We cannot bring this notice to a close without touching on another sphere in which he was prominent, especially near the close of his life, and which is signalized by his biographer, who eloquently defines his own as well as Dr. Thornwell's position—indeed, quite largely and representatively that of the Southern Church and people, who trusted no leaders and teachers more than these. We of course refer to the late civil war (anxiety about which in its early stages, Dr. Palmer thinks, hurried Dr. Thornwell's death) and its underlying causes—slavery, state-sovereignty, and secession—not only of the Southern States, but the Church. Upon this we shall be very brief.

Of state sovereignty, Dr. Palmer indicates his own doctrine when he says of South Carolina, in reference to the nullification struggle of 1832:

"She demanded that this tariff should be conformed to a revenue standard. Failing to secure this modification by Congressional legislation, she interposed her prerogative as a sovereign state to judge, in the last resort, on all questions affecting her own rights, restraining the general government from collecting this revenue within her limits."—p. 469.

He proceeds to deny, as he has done in still stronger terms in his late correspondence with Dr. Nelson, that "the tremendous hazard (of the war) was incurred in the interest and for the preservation of slavery. Indeed, this was never more than the *occasion* of the war, either North or South. It was a mere rallying cry on both sides, to marshal the hosts into the ranks—a concrete and tangible issue on which to concentrate the masses. The *cause* lay deeper, in the irreconcilable theories maintained as to the nature of the

him. The philosophical acumen of Howe, the gospel unction of Owen, and the rhetoric of Hall unite in this discourse; and, in my humble opinion, no sermon has been preached in our century, in my day, in any pulpit, equal to it."

government, in comparison with which all the interest and prosperity vested in the 'peculiar institution' were as dust in the balance."—p. 482. If all this be correct, our national government is impotent, and the Union "a rope of sand." The bringing of the government to this helpless condition of subjection to state sovereignty is still, if we may judge from this volume, the aspiration of an influential part of the Southern people. As to the *cause* and *occasion* of incurring the hazards of the late war, we think slavery sustained both relations to it. It was alike the efficient, final, and occasional cause, which alone was of power to impel to it, and the security and spread of which constituted the end professedly sought by it. State sovereignty, in fact, was scarcely more than *causa sine qua non*. The literature and documents of the times, including Dr. Palmer's famous thanksgiving sermon, are sufficient proof of this. Indeed, we had marked for quotation from this volume abundant and overwhelming confirmation of the substantial justice of the view given in the last number, of the causes of the secession of the Southern Church, and of the relation of Drs. Thornwell and Palmer to it. But we much prefer to leave them out of sight, in view of the more propitious outlook for fraternal relations, on equal terms, between us and the Southern Church. On such terms, but on no other, we now, as heretofore, ardently crave not only fraternal relations, but as soon as may be, organic union.

As reference has been made by Dr. Stanton, in the April number of this REVIEW, to a private statement of Dr. Thornwell on the African slave-trade, we think it right to quote his last public statement known to us on the subject.

"The great mass of the Southern people were content with the law (prohibiting the African slave-trade) as it stood. They were and are opposed to the trade, not because the traffic in slaves is immoral—but because the traffic with Africa is *not* a traffic in slaves, it is a system of kidnapping and man-stealing, which is as abhorrent to the South as it is to the North."—p. 595.

But we must stop. We earnestly hope that this volume may have a wide circulation in all parts of the country, and especially among Presbyterians, not only on account of those attractive features of it which we have noticed; but no less that they may have a true view of the thinking and policy of leading men of the South in regard to those matters, political and ecclesiastical, in which they differ from us. It is only as the two sections of the country thus know each other through the expositions of their respective leaders in church and state, that they can know how to deal with mutual differences wisely and well.—L. H. A.

Art. XII.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.**THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.**

The Ministry of the Word, by WM. M. TAYLOR, D.D., of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, is issued in neat style by Randolph. It comprises his Lectures on Preaching to Yale Theological Seminary, on the Lyman Beecher foundation, portions of which have been repeated in Princeton and Oberlin with great benefit and acceptance. We had the pleasure of hearing some of them. The elevated character of these we find, on reading the book, fully sustained through the course.

We have no hesitation in saying that no volume on homiletics or sacred rhetoric conveys, within an equal space, and in a style so clear and forcible, so much profitable instruction on the matter and manner, preparation and delivery of sermons.

It has the great advantage of coming from one who has no superior, and few peers, among us as a preacher of the gospel. He has the great advantage, too, of knowing himself, and the sources of his power. He also understands those sources of pulpit power, which are accessible to the average preacher as well as those which are specially so to the more gifted. He gives the ideal of effective preaching and the most facile method of reaching it. The comparative merits of topical and expository discourse, and the best methods of success in each, are well set forth.

The suggestions in regard to illustration and ornament are exceedingly just and valuable. His description of the manner in which he himself acquired the power of enriching his discourses with fresh metaphors and vivid illustrations, after having formed the habit in his early ministry of sermonizing without the help of such imagery, is worth the study of all preachers, young and old, whose discourses now shed only the dry light of logic, and show too much the pallor and thinness of cadaverous abstractions.

But while he emphasizes the due use of illustration, and the right method of attaining it, he reprobates the extravagance of those who devote themselves to "constructing ornament, instead of ornamenting construction;" and who substitute for the glorious ministration of the word a string of anecdotes or driveling tales, miscalled sermons.

Dr. Taylor's book is true to its title, "*The Ministry of the Word*." Whatever counsels or teachings he gives, it is not as any substitute for, or supplement to, the Word; but as a means of bringing out its living import into quickening and life-giving contact with the understandings, consciences, and hearts of men. It is from first to last an exhibition of the most effective ways and means of preaching the Word, and commending the truth to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

In the Vineyard: A Plea for Christian Work. By REV. E. F. BURR,

D. D., author of "Ecce Cœlum," etc. New York: T. N. Crowell, 744 Broadway.

Dr. Burr, although waiting in the quiet and seclusion of his rural study till a comparatively recent period, before entering on his career of authorship, has made up for this delay, not only by the fecundity, but by the substantial merits, of his publications. At first they were largely controversial and apologetic against some of the later forms of so-called scientific skepticism. Successive volumes of this description commanded wide attention, and exercised a salutary influence. His later works have been devoted to practical religion. The present volume is an excellent specimen of this class. Scriptural and evangelical in tone, it founds Christian practice upon its proper doctrinal basis. It sets forth the proper measure, method, and motives of the various kinds of Christian work. It is not tame or spiritless, but enlivened by that fresh and vivid style, which its author has successfully cultivated. Those duties the most common are urged in a style far from common-place. The book does not repel nor stupefy the reader with cant, monotony, or hum-drum. It kindles a lively interest by its glow and fervor—its fresh and sententious utterances. It forms a desirable addition to our current books on Christian service and work.

The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, have issued *The Family in its Civil and Churchly Aspects*, an Essay in Two Parts, by B. M. PALMER, D. D., a volume quite worthy of its distinguished author. The family is analyzed in all its parts and their mutual relations, while these are defined according to the scriptural platform. With especial force and discrimination the author unfolds the various exhibitions of conjugal, parental, filial, and servile duty, as these are presented in the Pauline epistles. This little volume has its own special place in the literature devoted to the most primitive and fundamental institution of human society. We find a depth and substance, and scriptural solidity in its inculcations which are greatly needed, but not often seen in books of this kind. Many hostile influences now threaten and assail the family, and subverting that divine order in its organization and working, which make it "the chief remnant of Paradise," surviving the wreck of the Fall, turn it into a miniature pandemonium, or moral pest-house. Too often they are coming to overthrow it altogether, till society becomes a mere waste of hotels, boarding-houses, and places of prostitution, where God no longer "sitteth in solitary in families," on which he commandeth his blessing, even life forevermore.

We even think the portions of this book devoted to servants and masters are well worthy of study by all who occupy those relations, whether under the form of voluntary or involuntary servitude. Those in the former relation need to have its divine duties and privileges set forth quite as much as the latter. From ignorance or neglect of these, multitudes are now suffering immeasurable loss for this life and the life to come.

We do not overlook the fact, that Dr. Palmer emphasizes the obligations of obedience and fidelity in the case of bond-servants. So far forth he simply follows the word of God. We note, still further, that he does not appear to

regard it as an abnormal state, to be borne with where it exists only till preparation can be made for emancipation as the normal state. But he rather treats it as if it were the normal condition of human society. We regard it otherwise. And just here, we find that root of the difference between the North and a large portion of the South, out of which most other antagonisms have grown. It is not in the question, whether slave holding is necessarily and always a sin, but whether it is the normal order, and ought to be conserved and extended. We do not find this expressly asserted, but the whole argument is constructed as if this were so (as Dr. Palmer elsewhere maintains), and we observe no intimations to the contrary. While Dr. Palmer finds in Christianity a balm for what he styles this "lowest and coldest of human relationship;" we do not see that he looks to its abolition, or preparation for such abolition, or any proper remedy or palliative. While we note this feature, we do not mean that the interest and value of the work are thus impaired.

We have before us an *Outline of the Historical Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion*, by ALEXANDER MACKNIGHT, Professor of Theology, Halifax, Nova Scotia, filling a large and closely packed octavo pamphlet of nearly eighty pages. It presents the argument from history, and the undoubted facts, which no skeptical assaults have been able to break the force of or disprove. It shows the absurdity of the mythical, materialistic, and other recent forms of sceptical antagonism. It closes with a well-wrought demonstration of the possibility, credibility, and doctrinal relations of miracles. It is a solid and judicious brochure in apologetics.

Randolph, of New York, and the Presbyterian Publishing Committee, Richmond, Va., issue a monogram by REV. DR. WM. S. PLUMER, entitled *The Person and Sinless Character of our Lord Jesus Christ*. The author maintains that Christ, although temptable through his humanity, was both sinless and impeccable through his divine personality. He fortifies his position by cogent arguments. If by impeccability we understand that which consists in and is ensured by holy dispositions, perfect and unchanging, we do not see how his position can be successfully assailed.

Report of the Union Conference held in 1875, at Bonn. Edited by DR. FR. HEINRICH REUSCH. Translated by Rev. SAMUEL BUEL, D.D. New York: Whittaker. The above Conference held at Bonn, on the movement of Dr. von Döllinger, has its chief interest in the question, whether the Eastern (Russian) Church and the Old Catholics and the English and American Episcopal Churches can unite on one doctrinal platform. Many good people seem to think that if the Western (and Anglican) Church would only give up the present form of the Nicene Creed as to the procession of the Holy Ghost, that the main difficulty would be out of the way. Accordingly, this Conference at Bonn prepared a series of propositions about the Holy Ghost, from the writings of John of Damascus, the last real theologian of the Greek Church, who lived in the ninth century. They seemed to think that if theologians could agree in these, they could in everything else. And this is

about the way that the matter now stands. Theologically, the Western Church has the logical advantage. Its doctrine of the Holy Ghost is more clearly and fully developed than in that of the Greek Church. But, beside this, there are deeper differences in respect to doctrine, and especially in respect to rituals, which are left wholly untouched. All the leading evangelical divines of Germany wisely kept away from this Conference; for it was expressly avowed that the dogma of Episcopal or Apostolical succession was at the basis of the whole scheme. Consequently, all who deny this—that is, all the Protestant Churches, with the exception of a part of the Anglican—are just left out of the account. If anybody expects a reunion of Christendom on this basis, we think he is likely to be disappointed.

The Doctrine of Retribution. Eight Lectures Preached before the University of Oxford, 1875, on the Bampton Foundation. By Rev. WM. JACKSON, M.A., F.S.A. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. The author is already well known to the theological public by his critical and philosophical essays on Natural Theology. The present work is, in fact, a part of the same discussion. Its object is to vindicate the doctrine of retribution as taught in the Scriptures, against the attacks of unbelievers. His general method resembles that of Bishop Butler in his *Analogy*, with adaptations to the objections and difficulties of the present time. The author shows harmony, originality, and force of thought; but, as in his former work, there is a certain lack of method. His vindication, however, of the doctrine of retribution is sufficient and cogent. The work will repay serious study.

Scribner, Armstrong & Co. have published Vol. VI. of the *Holy Bible, according to the Authorized Version* (A. D. 1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter. It includes Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets, and is therefore among the most valuable volumes of the Commentary, as giving light where light is most needed. Each book has an Introduction, Commentary, and Critical Notes. The Commentary for Ezekiel is by G. Currey, D.D., Master of the Charterhouse; that on Daniel is by the late H. J. Rose, B.D., Archdeacon of Bedford, and J. M. Fuller, M.A., Vicar of Bexley; on Hosea, by E. Huxtable, M.A., Prebendary of Wells; on Joel, by F. Meyrick, M.A., Prebendary of Lincoln; on Amos, by R. Gandell, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic, Oxford; on Obadiah, by Prebendary Meyrick; on Jonah, by Prebendary Huxtable; on Micah, by the late Samuel Clark, M.A., Rector of Eaton Bishop; Nahum, by Professor Gandell; Habakkuk, by the editor; Zephaniah, by Prof Gandell; Haggai, by W. Drake, M.A., Hon. Canon of Worcester; Zechariah and Malachi, by Canon Drake.

PHILOSOPHY.

Principia or Basis of Social Science. Being a Survey of the Subject from the Moral and Theological, yet Liberal and Progressive, Standpoint. By R. J. WRIGHT. Second Edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. Of the first edition of this original work we gave some account in a former

number. It deals with some of the highest problems of thought and fact, in a philosophical yet reverent spirit. With the main object of the work—as we understand it, that Social Science must be based upon, or at least agree with, Christian truth—we heartily concur. We also concur in the idea, implied when not expressed, that Society is to be reconstructed by, and not outside of, still less in opposition to, Christian truths and principles. The problem is intricate and wide. For its full solution the world is not yet ready. But it is one which weighs on every thoughtful mind. And this work, though we may not accept all its teachings, may help us in thinking about the question, and, in the main, leads in the right way.

Scribner, Armstrong & Co. bring out a very valuable, though not original, work, entitled *Plato's Best Thoughts. Compiled from Prof. Jowett's Translation of the Dialogues of Plato.* By Rev. C. H. A. BULKLEY, A.M., Professor in Faith Training School, Boston. It will afford aid to those who desire a synoptical view of the ideas and modes of thought of this great originator of the supersensuous philosophy, but are not able, without difficulty, to master the original Greek text, or even to devote the time requisite for mastering the four large volumes of Prof. Jowett's translation. It will also prove a good introduction to this translation and analysis of Plato's works. It will thus be a welcome addition to our resources and instruments for the study of Philosophy.

Chips from a German Workshp, Vol. IV., by F. MAX MUELLER, is issued by Scribner, Armstrong & Co. It consists of various lectures, essays, critiques, and controversial papers, chiefly, but not exclusively, on the Science of Language. It contains his great missionary lecture, in which he maintains that the really powerful religions among men are marked, like Christianity, by their spirit of propagandism; also a rejoinder to a critique it called forth on the "Vitality of Brahmanism." One of the most racy as well as learned papers is that on the "migration of fables," which shows the virtual identity in meaning and substance of many that have appeared and reappeared in varying forms in successive ages, and among the most diverse nations. Indeed, whatever else may be at fault, even in his most profound, weighty, and learned discussions, he is never dull nor feeble. He is everywhere strong, buoyant, sparkling. He never tires his readers nor himself, but, moving with the tread of a giant, carries them along by his mighty momentum. He touches nothing, however remote or incidental, upon which his most casual remarks do not command attention and stimulate thought. The general reader is quite as sure to be enchained by most of the papers as the comparative philologist.

Among his side suggestions is that in his Inaugural at Oxford, on academic fellowships, and their use and abuse, which deserves notice, as we are beginning to introduce the system into this country. Let us see to it that we gain its benefits and avoid the evils of its abuse. What these respectively are appears on pages 7, 8, 9. But the great strength of the book lies in its linguistic or philological discussions. One principal doctrine, which he vindi-

cates with great earnestness and power, is that "there is hardly any language which is not at the same time *isolating, combinatory, and inflectional*," although the proportion of these respective features varies greatly in different languages.

But his great contention in this volume is, that language furnishes a complete refutation of the Darwinian or evolution theory of the origin of man. We think his position impregnable, that articulate speech is an endowment of man never developed out of any thing found in mere animals. There is no *à priori* or *à posteriori* evidence of any such development, or of the slightest rational probability of it. Articulate speech is something more than the mere animal sounds out of which it is made. It is these sounds, shaped, toned, combined by reason, so that they become reason's voice and indispensable instrument, for its own exercise and development, for due communication with other minds, and for that treasuring up and transmitting of the intellectual achievements of the past which secures human progress in the future—a progress that uplifts man to an impassable height above the brutes. Says our author (p. 222):

"That the natural sciences, too, should have felt the electric shock of our new science is not surprising, considering that man is the crown of nature, the apex to which all other forces of nature point and tend. But that which makes man is language—*homo animal rationale, quia orationale*, as Hobbes said. Buffon called the plant a sleeping animal; living philosophers speak of the animal as dumb man. Both, however, forget that the plant would cease to be a plant if it awoke, and that the brute would cease to be a brute the moment it began to speak. There is, no doubt, in language a transition from the material to the spiritual; the raw material of language belongs to nature, but the form of language, that which really makes language, belongs to the spirit. Were it possible to trace human language *directly* back to natural sounds, to interjections, or imitations, the question, whether the science of language belongs to the sphere of the natural or the historical sciences, would at once be solved. But I doubt whether this crude view of the origin of language counts one single supporter in Germany. With one foot language stands, no doubt, in the realm of nature, but with the other in the realm of the spirit."

Max Müller maintains, with great force, that articulate speech is indispensable to "realized conceptual thought," i. e., to the completion, preservation, and availableness for use of those products of generalization, which otherwise would be as evanescent and worthless as unbottled perfumes, or unfortified conquests. In their deprivation of such language, therefore, the brutes give evidence of their incapacity for those rational processes which are distinctive of man, and to which the irrational animals have never tended or aspired. In this discussion the author comes into acrimonious controversy with a son of Mr. Darwin, who impresses Prof. Whitney, of Yale College into his service, in defending his father's evolutionism against the linguistic assaults of Müller. And in the end his vehemence and bitterness discharge themselves with most prolonged acerbity of language at Prof. Whitney, who, so far as we can judge from the quotations he makes, had given him no small provocation, but who may count it as some offset, that in himself Max Müller deems himself to have found "a foeman worthy of his steel." We think, however, that in some instances, whatever may have been the provo-

cation, Müller has overdone the thing, and poured out an amount of vituperation upon his adversary, which, if deserved, proves him to have been quite beneath his notice. However this may be, we regret that Prof. Whitney, while disowning Darwinism, should have espoused that side in this great linguistic controversy, which, besides being false in itself, affords so much aid and comfort to the Darwins, whose exposition of their doctrine, as quoted in the words following from Darwin, Jr., by Müller, is *lucus a non lucendo* of the last intensity, alike in reference to philology and evolution: "According to what is called the Darwinian theory, organisms are in fact precisely the result of a multiple integration of a complex function of a very great number of variables; many of such variables being bound together by relationships among themselves, an example of one such relationship being afforded by the law, which has been called 'correlation' of growth."

We have received an appendix to Calderwood's *Handbook of Moral Philosophy*, fourth edition, containing a reply to the strictures which have been so generally made against one of the doctrines of that excellent manual, viz.: that "conscience cannot be educated;" also an excellent, though very compendious, critical analysis of some of the more important recent works in the department of ethics. We are obliged to say, however, that the author has not satisfied us in regard to his doctrine, that conscience cannot be educated. It cannot be true of it, unless in some unnatural sense of the word conscience, quite foreign to that which is known among men. We know of no sense in which human intelligence, as such, is capable of education, which does not apply to the conscience, and this, whether regard be had to the purity, accuracy, or extent of its cognitions. Prof. Calderwood says: "That conscience, intuitively recognizes moral law, that it is supreme in its authority, and that it cannot be educated—are three propositions, which hang or fall together." We confess we do not so see it. He might as well say in regard to any rational faculty that has supersensual intuitions for its base—*e. g.*, the mathematical—"That it intuitively recognizes self-evident axioms, that it is supreme in its authority, and that it cannot be educated—are three propositions which hang or fall together." And does not the respected author make it clear that his theory requires highly artificial distinctions to sustain it, when he tells us that "in order to understand it, it is needful to distinguish between judgments on moral questions and intuitive perceptions of moral law." If educating the faculty of judging on moral questions is not educating the conscience, then, pray, what is it? Again, the author denies that "judgments or convictions" can properly be called "intuitions." We should like to know the moral intuition that does not involve a moral judgment, and this without impressing into our service Reid's doctrine, that judgment enters into every act of the mind, particularly of intelligence.

We do not concede the author's doctrine, first, that "if an intuitive, cognitive power be granted, it seems impossible to deny that education is incompatible with its nature." Is not the faculty of vision at once intuitive, and capable of being educated or trained to an ever-growing accuracy, sharpness, range? The same, too, of touch, hearing, the whole range of sense-perception.

But, secondly, the conscience involves those two elements, which we recognize in all the rational faculties, the knowledge both of principles and their right application. Such is its accepted and philosophic use. In this latter meaning our author does not deny its capacity for education, as we understand him. Surely, the seared, defiled, blinded conscience, referred to in Scripture, is capable of being trained to a better condition. A large part of all moral and Christian training of children consists in the proper education of the conscience. And a like education of the conscience of society, in conformity to the law of God, is the prime element and condition of all social progress.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of Rev. CHAS. G. FINNEY. Written by Himself. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., pp. 477. This volume carries us back through some of the controversies of the past generation, which came to their height in the division of the Old and New School Presbyterians. We have happily passed through that crisis, and come together, partly because extreme polemics ceased to represent the churches, partly because it has been found that on both sides there were decided misapprehensions, and that, on the whole, reasons for union had become stronger than the arguments for rupture.

Mr. Finney was a leader in the extreme element in the New School movement of his times. He studiously deprecated, and to some extent misunderstood, our Confession and Catechisms, and their defenders and adherents. His theology was very strong and sharp on the points where theology is a matter of direct consciousness, that is, where theology has to do with the conscious acts of the human soul. It was essentially the theology of deliberate conversion, the theology of the revivals which occurred under his preaching and lead. Mr. Finney was a bold, independent thinker, and a pungent and stirring preacher. He was a powerful revivalist. Some of our best churches in Western New York owe much to him. His autobiography is intensely interesting. It helps us more than almost any other single work to understand some aspects, at least, of the spirit and conflicts of the times in which he lived. However deficient some of his theological theories may be, all must acknowledge that he was a sharp thinker, a powerful preacher, absorbed in his loving study of the Bible and in his zeal for man's salvation. He did a work in his day and generation whose impress still remains. This book is not only so unique, but so important in its representations and discussions, that we hope to find opportunity for a more thorough examination of it than is now practicable.

Scribner, Welford & Armstrong have imported a special edition, published by the Clarks, of Edinburgh, for use in this country (at \$6), of the second volume of Bishop Hefele's *History of the Councils of the Church, from the Original Documents*, extending from A.D. 326 to A.D. 429, translated from the German with the author's approbation, and edited by Henry Nutcombe, Oxenham A.M., late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. Bishop Hefele stands at the very head of the Roman Catholic historians of the age. His

strong sense of truth placed him among the recalcitrants against the dogma of Papal Infallibility; although he did not, like Dr. Döllinger, persist to the length of separation from the Church of Rome. He proved his position against Papal Infallibility by the case of Pope Honorius, in a paper translated and published in the April number of the REVIEW, for 1872. The importance and value of this volume are obvious.

The Age of Elizabeth. By MUNDELL CREIGHTON, A.M. With maps and tables; also the *Greeks and Persians*, by the Rev. G. Wilcox, M.A., issued by Scribner, Armstrong & Co., are each one of a series of books, the former on various modern, the latter on ancient, historical epochs. They are of moderate size, clear and compact in style, careful in their facts, and generally just in interpretation of them. They are well fitted for general readers, for text-books of instruction, and are withal so scholarly as to be a welcome addition to the libraries of educated men and scholars. Their value is greatly enhanced by maps, indexes, and their very lucid and complete tables of contents. That in Queen Elizabeth sheds much light on the progress of the Reformation and the origin of the Popish reaction during her reign; also the relation of Jesuitism to the latter.

Another of the same series, *The Fall of the Stuarts, and Western Europe from 1678 to 1697*, by the Rev. E. HALE, M.A., has also been issued.

Scribner, Armstrong & Co. also publish the *Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D.*, by his brother, the Rev. DONALD MACLEOD, B.A., in two volumes. The subject of this very interesting and sketchy biography needs no introduction to our readers. His name has long been a household word in most of our Christian homes, as second to none among Scotch preachers and popular authors. To a prodigious force of manhood, whose exuberant fullness seems welling up and bursting forth from his very portrait, he joined the simplicity, artlessness, and playfulness of a child. He had a constant overflow of wit, humor, sportiveness, geniality, vivacity, benignity. He combined in an unwonted measure study and thought, logic and poetry, oratory and eloquence. He had in an extraordinary degree those elements of strength which go straight to the understandings, consciences, and hearts of people of every grade, and which made him a power among men. He was a man of thoughts, words, and deeds, which made themselves felt throughout the English-speaking world.

The minute incidents and the moulding influences operating upon, or issuing from, such a man's life; his private and personal sayings and doings, as well as his public career, with its great services and vicissitudes and conflicts, are from first to last freighted with interest and instruction.

The biographer has given a full account of his attitude and conduct in some great matters in which his views were contrary to the views of most of evangelical Christians—certainly of this country. We may here see how even the noblest of Christians may differ from us on some important subjects with entire sincerity and high intelligence, as they look at them from a

different standpoint—and thus learn a lesson of charity, but not of indifference to the truth. We refer especially to the chapter which sets forth Dr. Macleod's course on the Disruption controversy, in which he was constrained to adhere to the Established Church, and break from his beloved and revered teacher and leader, Dr. Chalmers; also to that detailing his difficulties with his Presbytery and other parties, on account of his somewhat lax and continental views of the Sabbath; and still further, to his consequent discussions in regard to the necessity and terms of subscription to the Confession of Faith—in which, while asserting the necessity of such creeds and of subscription to them, he gropes in search of a *media via* between undue liberalism and undue stringency in their interpretation. Probably it would aid our Scotch brethren somewhat in dealing with this *questio vexata*, if they had our way of subscribing to them, as containing the "system of doctrine" taught in Scripture, instead of their *ipsissima verba*.

And here we take occasion to say, that there is urgent need of drawing a clear line of demarkation between genuine evangelical catholicism on the one hand and Broad-Churchism on the other. There is a constant and mischievous tendency, not to say effort, to confuse them; on the one side for narrow exclusives to brand genuine evangelical catholicism as Broad-Churchism: *i. e.*, as a surrendering of fundamental doctrines. So a recent writer in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* stigmatizes the Northern Church and the Pan-Presbyterian Council as Broad-Church. Others shield Broad-Churchism, or the treating as unessential distinctive essential doctrines of Christianity, under the grand old title of catholicity. There is a true and noble, there is a spurious and pretended catholicity, which is only skeptical and destructive liberalism in disguise. Every now and then there are persons who undertake to destroy sectarianism by intensifying it; by trying to start a sect based on anti-sectarianism, and the denunciation of all existing church organizations and creeds. Such undertakings usually prove as abortive as they are absurd. Those who make or observe one experiment of this kind, are rarely inclined to repeat it. Dr. Macleod sought and countenanced no such solution of his difficulties. He deemed creeds indispensable.

We should like to treat our readers to copious extracts from these volumes. We have only space for a few sentences in respect to his manner of preaching and preparation for the pulpit.—Vol. II., pp. 231–3:

"His later manner of preaching differed from his earlier, and, as a rule, admitting many exceptions, partook more of the nature of teaching—sometimes of homely *talk*—than of set discourse. Simplicity was its constant characteristic, but there was more: for ever and anon came bursts of indignant denunciation against what was mean or selfish, or brief but thrilling touches of imagination or pathos, that broke the even flow of instruction. 'His style reminds me,' said an auditor, who was himself a celebrated preacher, 'of the smooth action of a large engine, moving with the ease of great power held in restraint.' 'It was not,' says another hearer, 'so much what is called earnest preaching, as the speaking of a powerful and earnest man, who wished to do you good, and threw everything else aside for that end.' 'I am persuaded,' says Dr. William Robertson, 'we will all

acknowledge that we never listened to any man whose words came so home to the heart. For myself, at least, I can say that no preacher ever had such power over me; nor was the secret of his power hard to discover. . . . That which told more than all upon me was the total absence of all thought of self, which characterized his preaching. While listening to him the thought never crossed my mind *that he had been making a sermon*. Whether composed in his study, or left, as was often the case, to such language as the impulse of the moment might suggest, his sermons always appeared to me of a purely extemporaneous character; because, whether wholly or partially written, or not written at all, they were the spontaneous outflowing of his heart at the moment, with no more art of effort than what is seen in the natural rush of one of his own loved Highland rivers, clear and deep and strong as they, but with as little consciousness of any private aim, or any desire to gratify a selfish feeling, or to win human praise.'

"'Other preachers we have heard,' wrote Dean Stanley, in the *Times*, 'both in England and France, more learned, more eloquent, more penetrating to particular audiences, but no preacher has arisen within our experience, with an equal power of riveting the general attention of the varied congregations of modern times—none who so combined the self-control of the prepared discourse with the directness of extemporaneous effort; none with whom the sermon approached so nearly to the original and proper idea—of a conversation, a serious conversation, in which the fleeting thought, the unconscious objection of the listener, seemed to be readily caught by a passing parenthesis—a qualifying word of the speaker; so that, in short, the speaker seemed to throw himself with the whole force of his soul on the minds of his hearers, led captive against their will by something stronger than eloquence.'

"Although at one period he occasionally wrote his sermon seven times over before he preached it, there were years during which he seldom wrote any discourse fully out,* but preached from notes in which the sequence of ideas was clearly marked. These notes, though often jotted on Saturday afternoon, were the result of of constant cogitation during the week."

Dodd & Mead have brought out another, probably the last, of JOHN S. C. ABBOTT'S Series of American Pioneers and Patriots, being the life of *Benjamin Franklin; a Picture of the Struggles of our Infant Nation One Hundred Years Ago*.

The venerable writer announces "that, as this is not improbably the last book I shall write, it may not be improper for me to state that, at the age of twenty-four, I commenced the career of an author, by writing the "The Mother at Home." I have now reached the age of three-score years and ten. In the meantime I have written fifty-four volumes of History or Biography. In every one it has been my endeavor to make the inhabitants of this world more brotherly, better and happier." Few are able to say as

* He was once preaching in a district in Ayrshire, where the reading of a sermon is considered as the greatest fault of which a minister can be guilty. When the congregation dispersed, an old woman, overflowing with enthusiasm, addressed her neighbor, "Did ye ever hear anything sae gran? Was na *that* a sermon?" But all her expression of admiration being met by stolid silence, she shouted, "Speak, woman! Was na *that* a sermon?" "Ou, aye," replied her friend, sulkily, "but he read it." "Read it," said the other with indignant emphasis, "I wadna hae cared if he had whustled it!"

much—only the fewest have run a career of authorship so successful, or if as successful, so worthy and useful.

The present volume is full of interest, imparted alike by the subject and author; the former unsurpassed in the singular greatness of his powers, the varied and momentous vicissitudes of his life, the vastness of his services to our nation in birth and infancy, and his marvellous worldly wisdom. Doubtless he had no peer save Washington, chiefest of all, among our colonial and revolutionary statesman, in achieving and forming our national independence. If his religious character had been on the same plane as Washington's, he would have held a place no way inferior to him in the hearts of his countrymen. But when we come to the moral elements of his character, we find his religious creed never above Deism, and at times sinking to Fatalism, his ethical creed never rising above Utilitarianism, and at times not above "the sty of Epicurus," whether in theory or practice. His sagacity was always in the line of worldly wisdom and on the plane of expediency. He was a stranger to all the nobler moral sentiments and impulses, but a prodigy of worldly prudence. In maxims on worldly thrift and material prosperity, few men were ever more fertile or infallible. He has left his impress in this respect upon our people, in part for good, and in part for evil. This ethical standard kept him not from all vicious indulgence, but from wrecking his worldly fortune and standing upon it.

The reading of the life of this extraordinary man becomes fascinating when sketched in Mr. Abbott's graphic and racy style. He has taken due care not to be so dazzled by the greatness, as to be blind to the infirmities of his subject. In regard to these he gives his readers due warning. Without such cautions, his illustrious subject would be a dangerous model to present for youthful admiration and imitation. Mr. Abbott draws largely upon Sparks and Parton, especially the latter.

It is only a melancholy relief to our lamentations over the corruption and bribery that have so poisoned our legislation and civil service, to know that the former times were no better than these, at least in the old country. We find the following, pp. 228-9 :

"Wraxall writes that Ross Mackey said to him, at a dinner party given by Lord Besborough, as the illustrious guests were sipping their wine: 'The peace of 1763 was carried through and approved by a pecuniary dispensation. Nothing else could have surmounted the difficulty. I was myself the channel through which the money passed. With my own hand I secured above one hundred and twenty votes on that most important question to ministers. Eighty thousand pounds were set apart for the purpose. Forty members of the House of Commons received from me a thousand pounds each. To eighty others, I paid five hundred pounds a piece.'"

MISCELLANEOUS.

Popery, the Foe of the Church and of the Republic, by Rev. JOSEPH H. VAN DYKE, A.M., is issued by the People's Publishing Company, Phila., and the thousands of copies of it already sold show what can be accomplished by studious rural pastors, from whose studies in former times the greatest works of American theology were issued, and from which now come such works as

Dr. Burr's volumes on Apologetics and Practical Religion, Dale on Baptism, and this trenchant exposure of Popery by Mr. Van Dyke.

Dodd, Mead & Co. publish *Familiar Talks to Boys*, by Rev. Dr. JOHN HALL, four lectures given to the pupils of the Charlier Institute, New York. They are replete with those salutary counsels which are all the more likely to be heard and read, with due respect to their truth and importance, in view of the source from which they come.

S. C. Griggs & Co. of Chicago, publish *Words, their Use and Abuse*, by WM. MATHEWS, LL.D., a book of rare interest, whose purchase no one will regret. Almost every page is alike entertaining and instructive. Turn where we will, we find the fresh, vivid sparkle of genius, alike amusing and didactic. The following, from his chapter on nicknames, is a fair specimen:

"A nickname is the most stinging of all species of satire, because it gives no chance of reply. Attack a man with specific, point-blank charges, and he can meet and repel them; but a nickname baffles reply by its very vagueness; it presents no tangible or definite idea to the mind, no horn of a dilemma with which the victim can grapple. The very attempt to defend himself only renders him the more ridiculous; it looks like raising an ocean to crown a fly, or discharging a cannon at a wasp, to meet a petty gibe with formal testimony or elaborate argument. Or, if your defense is listened to without jeers, it avails you nothing. It has no effect—does not tell—excites no sensation. The laugh is against you, and all your protests come like the physician's prescription at the funeral, too late.

"That prince of polemics, Cobbett, was a masterly inventor of nicknames, and some of his felicitous epithets will not be forgotten for many years to come. Among the witty labels with which he ticketed his enemies were 'Scorpion Stanley,' 'Spinning Jenny Peel,' 'the pink-nose Liverpool,' the 'unbaptized, buttonless blackguards' (applied to the Quakers), and 'Prosperity Robinson.' The nickname, 'Old Glory,' given by him, stuck for life to Sir Francis Burdett, his former patron and life-long creditor. 'Æolus Canning' provoked unextinguishable laughter among high and low; and it is said that of all the devices to annoy the brilliant but vain Lord Erskine, none was more teasing than being constantly addressed by his second title of 'Baron Clackmannon.'"

The "Great Conquest;" or Miscellaneous Papers on Missions. By F. F. ELLINWOOD. New York: William Rankin, 23 Centre Street, 1876. This unpretending volume of 184 pages (12 mo.) contains thirty-one short papers on missionary topics. The name of the author is, to those who know him, sufficient guarantee that the papers are crowded with intelligent, suggestive, and stimulating utterances on these high themes. The principles, methods, and results of missionary work are vividly sketched, some of the popular objections and criticisms canvassed, some of the chief antagonists described; and in general, just those topics treated which, in a manual for pastors and laymen, are most in place. It meets a wide-spread and urgent want, and, if received according to its merits, will have a rapid and extensive circulation in our churches.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Dodd, Mead & Co. publish the following, of which our time prevents more than mere mention :

The Crew of the Dolphin. By HESBA STRETTON.

Free, Yet Forging Their Own Chains. By C. M. CORNWALL.

ART. XIII.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Journal for Lutheran Theology, etc., Zeitschrift f. d. lutherische Theologie, u. s. w.) II. 1876. The first short article, by Dr. Franz Delitzsch, is a "Talmudic Study" on the name of JESUS. The conclusion of his ingenious etymological investigation is, "that the name, Jesus, in all its component parts (three) is significant of salvation. The letters S U refer to the salvation itself; the Greek S appended signifies that the Saviour is for all mankind, the Jews especially, and also the Greeks; in the J E we have the all-holy name of the God of Israel, to whom every Christian, as often as he speaks then ame of Jesus, gives the honor." The second article, by H. Els-ter, is on "The Idea of Perfection, in its Importance for Christian Dogmatics." He contends that "the *principle* of Perfection" is in every believer, though it is realized only gradually. L. Grote reviews at length the critical work on Thomas à Kempis' Imitation of Christ, by Charles Hirsche (Vol. I.), in which the latter reviews all that is known about the book and its author. He is zealous for à Kempis, and has collected an immense mass of materials (520 pages, which is but a part of his labors). A second volume is to follow. A revised edition of the *Imitatio* is announced, "from the autograph of Thomas" himself. Dr. Voigtländer communicates various extracts from "Dissertations of Lutheran Divines in the 17th Century," to show the range of their studies, and their interest in theological learning. The editor, among his "Miscellanæ," is severe against the Doellinger Union projects; he has not much confidence in the theological soundness of the Old Catholics. They are certainly not as orthodox as the Old Lutherans on Justification by Faith *alone*.

Journal of Scientific Theology, (Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.) 1876. II. The editor, Dr. Hilgenfeld, continues his investigations into the sources of early Christian history by a learned investigation (52 pages) of the remains of Hegesippus, died A. D. 180, at Rome, whose "Memorials" are preserved only in some fragments reported by Eusebius, and whose representations of the Jewish character of the early Christian church have been much relied on by Baur and his school, and also by the English Unitarians. Dr. Hilgenfeld collects all the fragments (about eight pages, also to be found in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*), with a critical commentary upon them, avoiding the extreme inferences which the Tübingen school has drawn from them; although he concedes that the primitive Christian congregation in Jerusalem, full blooded

Jewish, was the ideal of Hegesippus, as long as the blood relations of our Lord were at the head of it; and the whole church remained, he thinks, a spotless virgin, as long as the apostles and immediate disciples of the Lord were living. After them, the strict Jewish church was scattered by the second Jewish War. Yet still, he tries to find it, in a new metropolis—that of Rome—and in the episcopal succession. The second article is by Dr. Franz Goerres on the Martyrdom of the Abbot Vincentius of Leon and his companions—a tradition of uncertain date, ranging somewhere between A. D. 460 and 560, while the Arian kings ruled over the Suevi. H. Tollin, lic. theol., continues his examination of the character and opinions of Servetus, this time discussing his Pantheism—a charge not urged at his trial, but often made since. Tollin judges that the charge had better be of *Panchristism* than of Pantheism. Dr. Koehler gives a valuable summary on Rabanus Maurus, the most learned cleric of the ninth century. H. Ronsch continues his valuable studies on the Itala.

Prof. Franz Delitzsch has brought out a revised text of the book of Job, on the basis of newly discovered manuscripts, from one of the Firkowitsch manuscripts, there is given a fac-simile of Job xxxvi : 1-11, with the Babylonian punctuation.

A new life of Christ has been prepared by C. Wittichen, on the basis of the three synoptical gospels, Mark, Matthew, and Luke; that of Mark being taken as the original; it is called "The Life of Jesus as represented in the Original Documents."

The question of celibacy among the Old Catholics is discussed by Dr. Schulte, one of the ablest canonists in Germany, in an essay on "Enforced Celibacy and its Abolition." The Old Catholics will take a decisive forward step when they can agree on this subject. Their long halt there has been unfavorable to their progress.

Prof. Dr. C. F. Keil has brought out a second enlarged edition, partly recast, of his "Handbook of Biblical Archaeology," with four lithographed plates. pp. 780, \$5.

Ludwig Geiger has edited, for the Library of the Stuttgart Literary Union, vol. cxxvi, the Correspondence of John Reuchlin. He published, in 1871, the best life of Reuchlin. The present collection embraces all the letters from and to Reuchlin, including most of the humanists of the period.

Dr. Hausrath, of Heidelberg, is preparing a new volume of History of New Testament Times; it will cover the Post-Apostolic Period. It makes the fifth part of his work. It is promised for the end of 1876.

Dr. John Delitzsch, a son of Dr. Franz Delitzsch of Leipsick, died Feb. 3, in Italy, where he had gone for the restoration of his health. He was not yet quite thirty years old, but had already given great promise for the future. In 1872, he published a good monograph on the *Doctrine of Aquinas respecting God*. It was his dissertation for the doctorate. In 1872 he qualified himself as a teacher of theology in Leipsick by a Latin dissertation on the Inspiration of the Scriptures as defined by the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists of the Second Century. In 1875 he published the first volume of a large work on the "Doctrinal System of the Roman Church," in which he unfolded the "fundamental dogma of Romanism, that respecting the church." The doctrine of the Primacy is fully elaborated. This first volume is a complete treatise in itself. In the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, he published a critical essay on the earliest traditions of the Church about Simon Peter and Simon Magus. At the time of his death he was bringing out the Lectures on Symbolism by the late Dr. Ochler. Dr. Schuerer says of him, in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, "that

which distinguished him as a man and a teacher was his complete openness and straightforwardness. Nothing was more abhorrent to him than a painful repression of his own deepest convictions."

Two ecclesiastical bills are at present before the Prussian Landtag. One provides for the supervision by the State of the management of the diocesan property of the Roman Catholic Church. This bill has been rendered necessary by the withdrawal by deposed bishops of the diocesan funds, the Bishop of Breslau taking with him to Austria £45,000 of the diocesan money. The other measure refers to the constitution of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Its purpose is to strengthen the position of the King as the head of the church. This is done by a provision which makes necessary a declaration of approval from the Cultus Minister necessary, before a law passed by a Provincial, or the General Synod, can be laid before the King for his sanction. Much opposition has been aroused by this measure. It is stated that Dr. Falk will resign if the bill is thrown out.

FRANCE.

The Faculty of Theology at Montauban is one of the best Protestant Faculties in France. The *Revue Théologique* gives a summary of the course of study, which may suggest some useful hints for our own theological schools. Professor Nicolas expounded (in the course 1873-4) the philosophy of Plato, giving an account of the different theories, and citing and discussing numerous important passages of Plato, that man was by nature a moral and religious and "sociable" being; and discussing three phases of moral theories: (1) The system of utility "well understood;" (2) The theory of the moral sentiment; (3) The so-called rational systems of ethics. Once a week, to a mixed audience, he discourses on the different phases of the religion of the Gauls.

Professor Pédézet read on several parts of the New Testament, especially the Apocalypse, and the first half of the Epistle to the Romans. He gave an exposition of two noted treatises of Cyprian, that on the unity of the Church, and *de lapsis*; also of the Epistle to Diognetus (one of the most remarkable treatises of Christian antiquity), the apologies of Justin Martyr, Tatian's Discourse to the Greeks, and the Plea of Athenagoras for Christians.

The new professor of Hebrew, M. Bruston, taught Hebrew and German, gave a history of the prophetic literature of the Hebrews, from its origin to the wreck of the kingdom of Israel, confirmed by the Assyrian inscriptions.

Professor Sardinoux defended the Fourth Gospel against its recent assailants, who attack it with so much violence because it testifies so powerfully to the supernatural, and to the divine origin of Christianity; and likewise discussed the history of the Canon of the New Testament until the fifth century.

Professor Bonifas expounded the history of the church for the first three centuries, the conflict of Christianity with Paganism in the fourth and fifth centuries, the origin of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the history of worship and discipline. He also read on the history of the church from Gregory VII. to the end of the eighteenth century, attaining the summit of its power under Innocent III. (1093-1215), and followed by the reaction, preparing the way for the Reformation, which

he described through the religious peace of Augsburg (1648), to the French Revolution (1789).

Professor Monod lectured on Christian doctrine, theology, anthropology, and soteriology. He also read on the exegesis of the Apocalypse, and gave a course on theological encyclopædia.

Professor Bois read on Christian ethics, including the apologetics of Christianity in the sense that in Christ and by Christ the ideal of humanity is realized. He also taught homiletics.

The students read eighty-five sermons, thirty-seven homilies, thirty-five dissertations, and passed thirty-five examinations in theology, and 108 in theology, besides preparing fifteen essays on various theological and philosophic topics. The average of graduates sums up nearly ten from 1840 to 1850; eleven from 1850 to 1860; fifteen, 1860-1870; thirteen from 1870 to 1874. In 1874 there were twenty-two new students admitted.

In the programme for the course, 1875, two other teachers are announced, M. Wabnitz, who read on the life of Jesus and the gospel of John, and M. Monod on symbolism or the comparative theology of the different Christian churches.

Two important works on Buddhism have been published in Paris. One is the second edition of E. Burnouf's *Introduction to the History of India Buddhism* with a Notice by Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire. It forms the third volume of the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, published by Maissonneuve et Cie. The other work is a collection of essays from the *Journal Asiatique*, written by E. Senart, on *The Legend of Buddha, its Character and Origin*.

Various treatises of E. Caro of the Institute, originally published in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, have been collected in one volume, entitled *Problems of Social Science*, and published by Hachette. They are directed against the materializing and positivist tendencies, and defend the reality and independence of moral law and obligation, from the point of view of the spiritual school in France, of which M. Caro is one of the most eminent expounders. The essays are on Independent Morals; Contemporary Theories of Natural Law and Rights; the Right of Punishing; Social Progress; Human Destiny according to the recent Scientific Schools.

M. Louis Blanc, and a number of other Radical deputies in the French Assembly have given notice that they intend to bring in an amendment to the Budget, cutting off all pensions, grants, and salaries to all ecclesiastics and religious bodies. Mgr. Dupanloup, the Bishop of Orleans, has written a public letter to a member of the French Assembly, in which he protests against the recent declaration of M. Waddington, the Minister of Public Instruction, that the exclusive right of granting degrees should be restored to the State. Mgr. Dupanloup considers that the Republic has identified itself with hostility to religion. M. Waddington introduced his bill, annulling that clause of the recent University Education Law which allows free faculties to grant degrees, in the Chamber of Deputies March 24th.

Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger. Mars, Avril, —II., III — 1876. This review continues in the line marked out for it, of which we spoke in our last number. J. Stuart Mill's essay on the Philosophy of Berkeley is translated from the *Fortnightly Review* (1871). E. Vacherot, who occupies an independent position among the French philosophers, contributes two papers on the Antecedents of the Critical (Kantian) Philosophy—giving a general review of the principles and

methods of Descartes, Leibnitz, and others on the one hand, and of the school of Locke and Hume on the other, the latter preparing the way for the critical method of Kant. He praises the acuteness of Hume in comparison with his contemporaries. But M. Vacherot himself is by no means an advocate of the narrow principles and processes of modern positivists. Th. Ribot (the editor), in a short statement of the results of recent experiments on the Duration of Psychical Acts (chiefly sensations)—gives the results of the researches of Wundt, Herbert, and Fechner, illustrating to some extent the difference of time in the physical impression and the internal consciousness—yet confessing that such modes of investigation throw no great light on the nature of consciousness itself. Leon Dumont on Habit, extends, like Spencer, the meaning of the word Habit (what one has), and says that "habit, as a force, is a mode of reacting on other forces, which mode of reaction itself results from the action which other forces have before exerted upon itself." L. Liard, on the Notions of Genus and Species in the Natural Sciences, concedes the provisional character of many of the current classifications, contending with Agassiz, that "these are only successive approximations to the system of nature also." Dr. Howe's Report on Laura Bridgeman's case (in the 43d Annual Report of the Blind Asylum), is analyzed at some length. The *Review* also contains notices of quite a number of recent German works, and summaries of the contents of foreign philosophical journals. Among the latter, it speaks highly of Mamiani's *La Filosofia della Scuole Italiane*, published every two months at Rome, and says it does not see how its principles really differ from those of the French spiritual school of philosophy.

ENGLAND.

A Common Place-Book of John Milton was discovered in 1874, in the library of Sir Frederick Graham of Netherby, and has been edited by A. F. Horwood, of the Middle Temple, for the Camden Society. It consists chiefly of extracts from various works, showing Milton's wide range of reading, but with slight comments. They are distributed under three heads—Ethical, Economical, and Political—the last occupying 38 pages of the reprint, and the rest 20 pages. On marriage and divorce there is quite a variety of extracts and examples. Many of the political and poetical extracts are used in Milton's later works. There are passages from Dante, Ariosto (one), Chaucer, Spenser (as the author of a tract on Ireland), but none from Shakespeare. There is a defense of Tragedy against Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius.

A Volume of Remains of Archbishop Leighton, from MSS. recently discovered in the Bodleian Library, has been edited by Rev. W. West, the editor of the best edition of Leighton's works, in six vols. This new volume contains 27 Sermons, papers on "The Accommodation and Indulgence," and on "The Rule of Conscience Considered according to the Four Causes of Things," which last appears only in Jerment's edition, 1808. It also has a full bibliographical list of Leighton's works, with an account of the various editors and editions, and a glossary. The recently issued edition of Leighton, in six volumes, has not, it is said, been financially successful; and these *Remains* are published by a Leighton Club

formed for the purpose. Some of our libraries and scholars ought to help in this matter.

A Life of Dr. Thomas Fuller, the church historian, was published in 1874, edited by Mr. J. E. Bailey, of Stretford, near Manchester. A subscription edition of the Sermons of Fuller, also edited by Mr. Bailey, is announced in two volumes; it includes 30 sermons and six larger treatises; his rare discourses on "Jacob's Vow," "Assurance," etc. The odd orthography is preserved, and an old-faced type is used. The volumes are printed by Messrs. Unwin, of the Gresham Press. —(*Notes and Queries*.)

R. L. Bensly, of the University of Cambridge, has brought out (University Press) *The Missing Fragment of the Latin Translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra* (pp. 95, 4to, with a photograph fac-simile). He discovered it in the Communal Library of Amiens, in a manuscript from the fourth century. It corresponds with the Syriac version. The Amiens manuscript, from the library of the old Benedictine abbey at Corbie, near Amiens, contains all the books that go under the name of Ezra, viz.: the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah, and the apocryphal books of a much later date. Mr. Bensly's edition is carefully got up, and accompanied with critical notes.

Mind: a Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy. No 2. April. 1. What is Sensation? by J. H. Lewes. 2. Central Innervation and Consciousness, by Prof. Wundt, of Leipsic. 3. Mr. Sidgwick's Method of Ethics, by A. Bain. 4. Mr. Sidgwick on Intuitionism, by H. Calderwood. 5. Mr. Jevons' Formal Logic, by G. C. Robertson (editor). 6. Philosophy and Science, II., by S. H. Hodgson. 7. Philosophy at Cambridge, by H. Sidgwick. 8. James Hinton, by J. F. Payne.

The debate upon Mr. Osborne Morgan's resolution, that the church-yards of England and Wales belong to the entire body of parishioners, and that they have, therefore, the right to be buried in them, either without religious service, or with one dissimilar to that of the Church of England, took place in the House of Commons March 3. Public interest in the resolution has been very great. Petitions for and against the resolution have been sent to Parliament, and a large deputation waited upon Mr. Disraeli, March 1st, to request the opposition of the government. Mr. Morgan, in introducing his resolution, stated that there are 10,000 church-yards in England where the Anglican services only are read, and only 519 public cemeteries; in Wales there are 788 church-yards and 21 cemeteries. A long and animated debate followed. Mr. Disraeli, in opposing the resolution, declared that it was a part of a design to overthrow the Establishment. The resolution was finally defeated by a government majority of 31; 279 to 248. *The London Times*, in commenting upon the debate, says, that the defeat was a moral victory, and further adds, that "no answer can really be made to the argument, that we are exhibiting a bigotry of which the most reactionary countries in Europe have become ashamed, in insisting on allowing no religious service but that of the Church of England in our grave-yards."

The long-vexed question of the right of a Nonconformist minister to the title of "Reverend" has been brought to a final settlement. A faculty was granted by Lord Penzance, Feb. 26th, for placing the word "Reverend" upon the tombstone

of the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Keet in the church-yard of Owston Ferry. It is stated that the Vicar of Owston has caused a tombstone to be taken up and placed with its face against another tombstone on account of the inscription upon it stating that the person whose name it commemorates was "a consistent member of the Wesleyan Society upward of sixty years." The Home Secretary is to be questioned in the House of Commons as to the veracity of this report.

A memorial to Daniel Defoe, the author of "Robinson Crusoe," has been proposed in the shape of a "Defoe Memorial Manse" for the independent minister at Tooting, England. The appropriateness of the project is in the fact, that Defoe, when he lived in Tooting, founded the Nonconformist Church there, and obtained for it a minister, the Rev. John Oldfield, D. D. The present pastor of the church, the Rev. Mr. Anderson, who has had it in charge for many years, has suggested this method of securing a settled home for his successors. The ground has already been bought for the house, the estimate of the cost of which is £1,500.

The two manuscripts of the Hebrew Scriptures which Dr. Ginsburg has gone to examine on behalf of the Bible Revisionists, are at Aleppo and Cairo. The Codex at Aleppo is kept in a cave under a synagogue. Its text was punctuated and revised by Rabbi Aaron Ben Asher, under whose direction it was prepared by Rabbi Solomon. This statement is made at the end of the Codex, which is of great antiquity, and which has been but recently discovered. The other manuscript is kept in the Karaite Synagogue at Cairo. This one contains a note at the end, which says that it was written 827 years after the destruction of the second Temple.

Since the decision by the Privy Council of England in the Jenkins case, there has been much public curiosity as to the settlement of the matter. A memorial, signed by 568 of the leading parishioners and members of Mr. Cook's church, was sent to Mr. Jenkins a few days after the announcement of the judgment, begging him to attend some other church in Clifton, in order to prevent the calamity of the resignation of Mr. Cook. In reply to the memorial, Mr. Jenkins expressed his determination to attend the Communion in his own church. Mr. Cook has therefore sent in his resignation. In delivering the judgment of the Privy Council, the Lord Chancellor expressly stated, that the question before it was not the doctrines attributed to Mr. Jenkins, but whether he was "a common and notorious depraver of the book of Common Prayer," and that of this there was no evidence.

Dr. John Wilson, who died in Bombay, Dec. 1, 1875, was a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. In 1843 he published an elaborate work on *The Parsi Religion, as contained in the Zend-Avesta, and Propounded and Defended by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, Unfolded, Reprinted, and Contrasted with Christianity*. It was published by the American Mission Press of Bombay. He travelled in Palestine in 1843, and in 1847 brought out *Lands of the Bible*, 2 vols. He was a contributor to the Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and a learned archæologist.

Rev. J. M. Sadler, in his *The Lost Gospel and its Contents*, deals with a question largely discussed in the book "Supernatural Religion," as to a supposed Lost Gospel, the original of those we have. He urges, strongly and justly, that if there were such a Gospel, it must have contained the same facts that we now have, equally supernatural. No writer pretends to give any different facts from

those we now have ; if there had been such, they would doubtless have been referred to some writers in the second century. Mr. Sadler also discusses effectively the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

The translations from the sacred books of the world, which are to be edited by Max Müller, will, according to *The London Academy*, be divided into six sections: (1.) Books illustrative of the religion of the Brahmins (Sanskrit). (2.) Buddhist books (Pali and Sanskrit). (3.) Books illustrating the religion of Zoroaster (Zend). (4.) Books illustrating the religion of Confucius (Chinese). (5.) Book illustrating the religion of the followers of Lao tse (Chinese). (6.) Books illustrating Mohammedanism (Arabic). Dr. Legge is to assist in the Chinese translations, Prof. Cowell in the Sanskrit, and Prof. Childers in the Pali.

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THE
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NEW SERIES, No. 20.—OCTOBER, 1876.

Art. I.—AMERICAN METHODISM IN 1876.*

By REV. W. J. R. TAYLOR, D.D., Newark, N. J.

IN 1776 the whole Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America was composed of twenty-five ministers and five thousand members, in eleven circuits, on the Atlantic slope. In 1781 it crossed the Alleghanies, and laid the foundations of the "Old Western Conference," which extended from the Northern lakes to Natchez on the Mississippi. Its first General Conference was held in Baltimore in 1784, at which Francis Asbury was ordained its first bishop at the age of thirty-nine. There were then about eighty preachers and fifteen thousand members. Thirty-two years afterward, when this remarkable man died, in 1816, the church numbered over seven hundred itinerant preachers and more than two hundred and eleven thousand members. Soon after Washington was inaugurated as President of the United States, Bishops Coke and Asbury read to him the congratulatory address of the General Conference, which was then in

* Proceedings of the General Conference held at Baltimore, May, 1876.

session in New York, May 29, 1789, and they received his reply to this first ecclesiastical greeting upon his accession to the Presidency. The organization of this branch of the Christian Church in this country dates substantially from the separate and independent national existence of the United States, although the centenary of its origin was completed and celebrated in 1866 with great religious observances and with splendid munificence.

In 1876 the minutes of the General Conference report 12 bishops, 81 annual conferences, 10,923 ministers, 12,881 local preachers, making a total of 23,804 preachers, 1,642,456 communicants; 15,633 churches, valued at \$71,350,234; 5,017 parsonages, valued at \$9,731,628; 19,287 Sabbath-schools, 207,182 teachers, and 1,406,168 scholars. The increase in the last four years has been: 1,234 itinerant and 1,499 local preachers, making a total of 2,723 preachers, 159,236 lay members, 2,183 churches, 808 parsonages, 1,732 Sunday-schools, 13,207 teachers, and 138,426 scholars, and a total value of church property of \$16,386,175.

The Methodist Episcopal Church South has 8 bishops, 3,485 itinerants, 5,356 local preachers, 712,765 lay members, 7,204 Sunday-schools, with 48,825 teachers and officers, and 323,634 scholars.

The whole number of Methodists, Episcopal and non-Episcopal, in the United States is reported as embracing 21,995 itinerant ministers, 26,875 local preachers, 3,146,356 lay members, representing about nine or ten millions of population.

The grand total of Methodists in the world is summed up at 28,380 itinerants, 66,935 local preachers, and 4,173,047 lay members.

The purpose of this article is not theological nor controversial, but chiefly to exhibit the *historical development and the practical system of American Episcopal Methodism*, as it is represented in its two most numerous and powerful branches, which are substantially one; to show the apparent causes of its growth, its strength, and its weakness; its tendencies, and its probable future.

1. First among the causes of the rise and progress of Methodism is *its providential character*. The Wesleys, Whitefield, and their co-laborers, to whom it owes its origin, were "chosen

vessels," raised up by the providence and grace of God for this great work. This is the general verdict of secular and ecclesiastical historians. They were men of learning, eloquence, administrative and practical ability, single in their aims, tenacious of their principles, popular with the masses, and, above all, they were "men whose hearts God had touched." Southey and Isaac Taylor long ago made John Wesley the hero of their brilliant pages, and that fastidious critic, Lord Macaulay, wrote of him: "He was a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness might have rendered him eminent in literature; whose genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu; and who devoted all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered the highest good of his species." No candid reader can even cursorily examine Mr. Tyerman's three massive volumes of the *Life and Times of John Wesley*, nor any of the recent monographs of English and American writers upon "the founder of Methodism," without coming to the conclusion, that his historical place has already been fixed, in the judgment of friendly and opposing critics, among the reformers of religion in Christendom.

2. "The religious movement called Methodism" was a *genuine reaction against the palsyng formalism of the Church of England in the eighteenth century*, which had also, to a very great extent, infected the non-conforming or dissenting bodies throughout Great Britain. Wesley, himself, until his "evangelical conversion," at the age of thirty-five, was a rigid high churchman, a dry, unevangelical theologian, and a cold legalist. For twenty-five years he struggled through many varying phases of religious experience, until at last, and chiefly through the godly counsel of Peter Böhler, the Moravian, he found peace in believing. Like Luther and Whitefield, it was only after fruitless vigils, fastings, and other forms of self-righteousness, that he understood the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and then he went out to "preach Christ and him crucified" over two continents. At first ridiculed, opposed, assailed, maligned, persecuted, driven from the pulpits and churches to the fields and the streets, he and his preachers could not be silenced, and the movement became successively a revolution, a reformation, and a great ecclesiastical organiza-

tion, which has been characterized as "a ferment of life among all the churches."

3. It sprang up out of the proudest of English universities, in the hearts of "The Holy Club," with men of education, culture, and faith; but *it rooted itself almost immediately among "the common people,"* who "heard them gladly," and as it progressed, they were made use of to carry it on. In this it closely resembled the processes of the growth of the primitive Christian church under the leadership of men of the highest endowments, and among the poor and the most despised of such populations as those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Ephesus, and Corinth. Here again the history of the Reformation of the sixteenth century repeated itself in the eighteenth as a popular movement, headed by men of the greatest renown and power.

4. *The methods and objects of Wesley's first movements were very simple.* Dr. James Rigg, of England, in his valuable monograph on *The Living Wesley*, says, that

"To revive the doctrine of salvation by faith through grace, by the ordinance of preaching, became henceforth Wesley's great life-work. He became, above all things, himself a preacher, and he founded a preaching institute; with preaching, however, always associating close personal and individual fellowship.

"The whole of Methodism unfolded from this beginning. To promote preaching and fellowship was the one work—fellowship itself meaning chiefly a perpetual individual testimony of Christian believers as to salvation by grace through faith. Preaching and fellowship—this was all, from first to last; true preaching, and true, vital, Christian fellowship, which involved opposition to untrue preaching and to fellowship not truly and fully Christian. From this unfolded all Wesley's life and history. His union for a season with the Moravians, and then his separation from them, when their teaching became for the time mixed up and entangled with demoralizing error; the foundation of his own society—that of 'the people called Methodists;' his separation from his brother Whitefield and from Calvinism; his field preachings; his separate meeting-houses and separate communions; his class-meetings and band-meetings, and all the discipline of his society; his conference, and his brotherhood of itinerant Methodist preachers; his increasing irregularities as a churchman; his ordinations, and the virtual, though not formal or voluntary, separation of his societies from the Church of England—all resulted from the same beginning: from his embracing 'the doctrine of salvation by faith; from his receiving the instructions of Peter Böhler, the Moravian minister.'"—(pp. 233, 234.)

5. In like manner it is historically true that "*the practical system of Methodism*" grew up spontaneously from small providential beginnings, and by the necessities of its expansion and of its adaptation to the times and to the people of successive generations. One thing led to another, not by prophetic forecast, but by wisdom adapting means to ends. Driven from the pulpits of the Establishment, Wesley preached in the open air to crowds which no church building could hold. The erection of chapels led to the system of contributions of a penny a week to pay for them. These weekly gifts, by companies of twelve, with a leader for each, who received their pennies, brought the givers together for payment and for prayer and praise, and thus originated the class-meetings, which have always been among the most powerful formative and preservative agencies of Methodism. The itinerancy, the local lay ministry, the circuit preaching, all were originated and have been perpetuated by the rapid advances, the scattered societies, the pioneer evangelism, and other self-evident necessities of the work. The quarterly, district, and general conferences, the general superintendency, the presiding eldership, the financial system, the educational and publication schemes, and the missionary institutions of the church, also grew with its providential development as they were needed; but all of them are the normal results of principles which have made the Methodist system at once unique, flexible, and specifically adapted to its world-wide expansion. Resting its whole theory and practice of church government, not on divine right, but upon "Christian expediency," "American Methodism is ready for any modifications of its system which time may show to be desirable for its greater effectiveness." The latest exhibition of these views is the final adoption of lay representation in its General Conference, after many years of discussion and of strong opposition. This principle of "Christian expediency" can always be used to popularize the government of the Methodist Church, and it is not improbable that it may gradually effect the union of most of the episcopal and non-episcopal branches of the communion in this country.

6. Methodism has always been *remarkably free from the conventionalities of society, and the rigidity of older church organi-*

zations which have fettered Protestantism, both among the upper and the lower classes. It broke at once through a thousand old restraints, or rather, it never had them, and it made its way, somewhat blindly at first, but surely at length, to its marvelous power over the multitudes. Active, bold, aggressive, intensely practical, a church of to-day, with small regard to what is old, aiming at immediate results, never fastidious in its tastes, encouraging the emotional elements of religious life, giving full play to the enthusiasm and zeal of its people, it struck out a new course among the poor, the neglected, the ignorant, and degraded, the humblest population of the cities, the raw and scattered pioneers of new settlements, and the respectable middle classes of the whole country. With a zeal which nothing could quench, and a passion for their work which grew by exercise, its hardy preachers and circuit riders carried the gospel from the sea to the frontiers. Of Bishop Asbury it is recorded, that "It has been estimated that in the forty-five years of his American ministry he preached about sixteen thousand five hundred sermons, or at least one a day, and traveled about two hundred and seventy thousand miles, or six thousand a year; and that he preached in no less than two hundred and twenty four annual conferences, and ordained more than four thousand preachers."—(*Stevens' Centenary of Methodism*, p. 94.) And he was the type of a multitude of men who were enthusiasts like himself, men who talked, exhorted, prayed, sang, and preached the gospel according to Methodism, all along their many ways, with a fiery persistency which was the pledge of victory.

7. Its methods of worship also have always had strong attractions for the masses of the people over whom its sway has been strongest. Its free spirit, its off-hand extempore preaching, its mere lung power, its liberty of speech for males and females, its appeals to feeling, its directness of address in plain language to the common people, its plain edifices and free seats, its hymnology and music, its penny collections, its class-meetings and prayer-meetings, its love-feasts, its camp-meetings, and its revivals with all their excitements and drawbacks, have been persistently directed to the great ends of Methodism. Thus it has pervaded and held great multitudes of people who could not have been so widely reached nor so thoroughly held by other

churches. Whatever may be said against the character, propriety, or excesses of these agencies and methods by those who disapprove of them, the facts remain. They are part and parcel of the system and elements of progress, but they are open to criticism and to reformation, as we know that some of them are regretted by many Methodists who try to regulate and modify customs which they cannot approve, and to use to the best advantage what cannot be put down.

8. *Lay representation* in its higher ecclesiastical bodies has only now been secured after a great contest. Yet it is true that no other Protestant communion in the land has made such *effective use of the laity in its congregations and churches*. "All at work and always at it" was Wesley's motto; and his followers have always acted upon its principle. The tardy admission of lay representation to the General Conference was not unnatural in a church whose ecclesiastical movements had always been controlled by the preachers, under whom it has reached its vast proportion. But in the class-meetings and prayer-meetings, in the offices of stewards, in its immense corps of local lay preachers and exhorters, it has always at its command an effective lay agency which no other church in the land can parallel. Without this agency its successes could never have been achieved. But it has been marshaled with great skill, and trained to a remarkable degree of efficiency. The lay preaching may not be as good as that of Mr. Moody, but among those nearly twenty seven thousand local preachers, "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty." And on many a long circuit, extending over sparsely settled countries and amid neglected communities, these men can at least hold the ground and cultivate it as best they may, until the itinerants come round to bestow pastoral care, administer the sacraments, and set things in order in the churches.

9. *The itinerancy* has ever been the right arm of the strength of Methodism. It furnishes a minister to every church and a church to every minister who is capable of efficient service. It supplies every circuit and mission. It keeps men moving who are not well adapted to more settled charges, and so far as possible, the bishop, with the advice of his "cabinet" of presiding elders, who are in effect local or district

bishops, puts the right man in the right place. Mistakes may often be made in the endeavor to accommodate both men and churches, but these are more readily rectified under this polity than in other churches, where the pastoral relation is for an indefinite period, or what is usually termed "for life." While it has its advantages and disadvantages, both ministers and people have generally adjusted themselves to it with good will. Efforts to prolong the period of service in one congregation have succeeded in increasing the term to three years, but still it must be by successive annual appointments. The principal difficulty in the yearly arrangement of pastoral charges arises from the easy conditions of admission to the ministry, and from the great number of men who thus crowd its ranks, for not a few of whom it is not easy to secure suitable appointments. The consequence is, that dissatisfaction is frequently felt, and some churches resist the appointees whom they have not sought, and preachers prefer to "locate" rather than serve where they are not suited. So long as there is a superabundance of preachers, this growing difficulty can be met with comparative ease. But, notwithstanding the restlessness of those who wish for change, the institution of the itinerancy as a system is not likely to be disturbed. Methodism would be Methodism no longer without it. For a ministry which, until of late years, has been but partially educated, and which, with comparatively few shining exceptions, has lacked liberal culture, it is essential. Wesley said that "the day when the itinerancy should cease among the ministry, and the classes among the laity, of Methodism, would be the date of its downfall."

Might not other evangelical churches with great advantage adopt some such modification of the tenure of the pastoral office, by which their proper authorities could fill vacancies, give good and useful men active employment, and root out the injurious system of "stated supplies?" The old Scotch Presbyterian idea of making the relation of minister and people like the marriage tie, "for life," is all well enough when it works well. Practically, the idea has nearly worked itself out, and the frequency of ministerial changes in Presbyterian, Reformed, and Congregational churches has made their ministry almost itinerant, but without the systematic princi-

ples and safeguards of the Methodist economy, which knows nothing of hundreds of vacant churches, and of "ministers without charge," who are able and willing to work, but who have no other reason except that of the laborers in the parable, "No man hath hired us."

10. The Methodist Episcopal churches have a system of "*itinerant general superintendency*," which, without prelatical pretensions or separate diocesan jurisdictions, constitutes the real head of its ecclesiastical and missionary organization. The general superintendents or bishops, as a body, are men of consummate executive ability, with large knowledge of human nature, of great skill and experience as presiding officers of the Annual and General Conferences, and possessed of a singular admixture of the conservative, progressive, and aggressive elements as church leaders. Ever on the wing from conference to conference, visiting their foreign missions in journeys around the world, and meeting together annually to report their work, and to consider and devise the best plans for the welfare of their church, they know the field, understand its necessities, and constitute a bond of union which strengthens with the growth of the denomination. The ministry and people, who are thoroughly attached to the superintendency, criticise and watch it with great jealousy, both for its prerogatives and for their own rights and interests which are confided to it. A large part of the address of the bishops to the members of the late General Conference at Baltimore is occupied with a sturdy vindication of their office and work, in apparent reply to objections to their administration, and to the proposal to assign to each bishop a limited diocesan authority. The objections related principally to appointments to pastoral charges and missions and to the office of presiding elder, which necessarily depend upon their best judgment of each case. These are met by a calm and clear statement of the principles of their action, and of the means of redress for actual grievances. The proposal to limit their jurisdiction is met with decision akin to indignation. We quote the following passages in illustration of both points:

"The true church has always preached the Gospel to the poor. This has been characteristic of Methodism throughout its history. It is not only Christ-like, but it is expedient. The church which preaches to most of the

poor in this generation, other things being equal, will preach to most of the rich in the next generation. While we have not been inattentive to the pastoral and spiritual interests of the more wealthy of our congregations, we have been especially desirous to provide for the religious necessities of the poor. Hence the new and more needy parts of the work have received our special consideration and care."

Again :

"We have resisted the pressure brought to bear upon us since the last General Conference, which sought to induce us to restrict our labors and administration to episcopal districts, and have continued to meet the explicit requirements of the Discipline to travel through the connection at large. We regard it a very gross solecism to say that a districted bishop is a general superintendent.

"Your bishops have not considered themselves church architects, employed to examine an antiquated and dilapidated edifice, and to show how it can be remodeled and modernized and improved. On the contrary, they have understood themselves to be general superintendents of a glorious temple; its walls salvation, and its gates praise; a temple built by God—built upon the Rock of Ages, and built for the ages; that it is their office and work to see that its doors stand wide open night and day; that its light is shining clear and strong and afar; that its voice of instruction and admonition and invitation and entreaty is breaking upon the ear of humanity everywhere and all the time; that its altars are all aglow with the fervors of love and the fires of devotion—converts flying as a cloud and as doves to their windows, all nations flowing into it and the glory of Emmanuel filling it."

11. *The numerous benevolent agencies of this church have been very effective.* Its Sunday-school, tract, and missionary societies, its immense book-concern, with its branches, and its educational system, which ranges from academies to theological seminaries, are fountains from which flow continual streams of direct denominational influence. They are all distinctively Methodist in their teachings, literature, theology, polity, and evangelism. In this country and Canada Methodism has over two hundred academies, colleges, and universities under its control, with more than thirty thousand students of both sexes. The foreign missions of the Church North encircle the globe, having 971 missionaries and assistants and native preachers, and both home and foreign fields are cultivated under one consolidated missionary organization, which includes 3,661 laborers, and is conducted with aggressive boldness and with signal success. It is always on the

forward march, never hesitating to trust its people to sustain its increasing work.

What is known as "the connectional character" of these affiliated institutions is perhaps their greatest reflex benefit to the whole church. They "connect" every conference, every district, every preacher, and every church together in the bonds of an evangelistic union, which is stronger than any mere ecclesiastical ties. The importance of these connectional arrangements is thus set forth in the address of the bishops, and we quote the passage as an example for other churches that are too often divided, if not distracted, on this subject:

"An army in detachments, under independent authorities, would be feeble and ineffective in comparison with the same army moved by one supreme authority, having unity of purpose and action. Germany under the empire is much more potential among the nations of the earth than when under the government of independent sovereignties. So the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the sublime unity of her grand purpose and under the direction of the General Conference as her supreme authority, is much mightier in her action and influence than she could possibly be in her independent divisions. She can better antagonize great errors, contend with enormous vices, overthrow combinations of wickedness, and press forward the triumphs of divine truth and of grace in the earth. . . . The great agencies of the church are bonds of union."

To these institutions must be added the extensive use of the periodical press, under the immediate control of the General Conference, as well as by individuals. Reviews, magazines, newspapers, children's papers, and official organs of the various boards, supplement the issues of its book-concerns, and furnish a denominational literature for every class of people, from the little child and the borderer's family to its most eminent preachers and scholars. The large statistics of these agencies would tell but little of their moral and religious power, which operates ceaselessly and with multiplying influences upon the mind and heart of the largest branch of the evangelical Christian church in this country.

But the most encouraging feature of the prospective Methodist ministry, and through them of the church itself, is in the impetus which has been given to the education of hundreds of young men in its theological seminaries at Boston, at Evanston near Chicago, and at Madison, N. J. An able and very interesting article on ministerial education and train-

ing in the M. E. Church, in the last number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, by Professor Daniel P. Kidder, D. D., of the Drew Theological Seminary, sets the matter forth with great earnestness, and with a clear prevision of its essential importance to the expanding power and relation of Methodism. Historically, he shows that theological institutions were definitely proposed by Wesley in his first conference, held in London in 1744, and that, though long delayed in England and America, they only now begin to realize the plans of that sagacious man. He also shows, by conclusive arguments, that they not only harmonize with the highest aims of Methodism, but that it must have them for their accomplishment by its preachers and missionaries, and that the church is now thoroughly committed to its theological seminaries.

Having reviewed the providential origin and progress of Methodism in America, and the principal historical causes of its growth, we now propose to examine the other side of its development, its weaknesses and dangers, its drawbacks and its disturbing elements, as they appear to an outside observer.

But, first of all, let it be remembered, that *the practical system of Methodism is the outcome of its theology and of the purposes of its founders*. The trunk, branches, twigs, leaves, blossoms, and fruit, are all from the one root. The seed produces fruit after his kind, "whose seed is in itself," and we must judge the tree by its fruit. We do not intend now to argue "the five points of Calvinism," and to fight over again the battles of the Synod of Dort with the followers of Arminius. Neither do we abate for one moment our loving fidelity to that great system of Augustinian theology, of which Calvin was the greatest expositor among the reformers. We do not admit that the evangelical Arminianism of Wesley and of Fletcher, and their disciples in Europe and in America, is as good a system of doctrine, nor that its fruits are as good, as those of the evangelical Calvinism of the Reformed churches. The two systems, as Dr. Patton, the fraternal delegate of the Presbyterian General Assembly, truly said on the floor of the late General Conference, have some of the great essential truths in common, such as the Supreme Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his "real sacrificial death," the Trinity, etc., and "the real

issue between us does not often come to the surface, and is but seldom sharply defined," yet, "the differences are differences which, when they are expressed, are expressed in the terms of contradictory propositions, so that the realm of thought falls into two great hemispheres, and Calvinists and Arminians divide between them the great bulk of thinking Christian men; and with so much territory at our disposal—a hemisphere for each—I think we ought to be satisfied if we do not push our conquest. We each have enough to gratify any but an inordinate ambition." Side by side these two systems are working out their results, and never so peacefully and with so many points of contact and co-operation as now.

When the traveler has crossed the equator and sailed into southern latitudes, the very heavens above him are radiant with constellations, which are never seen north of the line. The Southern Cross glorifies the firmament, and thousands of strange stars illumine sea and land, while the same sun and moon fulfill their courses for the whole round world. So Calvinism and Arminianism, filling each its own "hemisphere of thought," but irradiated by the same great lights which rule their day and night, are as likely as the continents to keep their relative positions and peculiarities on opposite sides of the equator. Happily, the time has passed away when even the prominent preachers of Methodism indulged themselves with coarse caricatures and fierce denunciations of the distinctive points of Calvinism. No denomination of Christians calling themselves "evangelical" have formerly so much invaded other churches, and grievously offended against the law of charity, and none have been more intensely sectarian. As a rule it is still true, that the Methodist denomination is little inclined to unite with sister churches in voluntary Christian enterprises except upon its own platform.

This arises in part from the number and magnitude of its institutions and charities, but far more from the exclusive spirit which marked its earlier years, and which yet controls most of its preachers. But a great change has been wrought among its leaders in this respect, especially in the large centres of population, which will probably expand with the higher education of its younger clergy in theological institutions, and under the strong tendencies of the times to co-operation and harmony

among all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and in truth. Intercourse with each other, pulpit exchanges, fraternal ecclesiastical correspondence and delegations in conferences, assemblies, and synods, and the necessity of uniting all the divisions of the hosts together "for the defense of the gospel," are daily minifying the practical differences and magnifying the practical agreements between these "two hemispheres."

The age of controversy has passed away with the great theological conflicts of the past two centuries. The rising generation of Arminian preachers are learning at the feet of their own teachers to respect the wise counsel of Bishop Horsley to his students: "Young gentlemen, before you attack Calvinism, be sure that you know what Calvinism is." And Calvinistic students in our seminaries soon find out that Arminianism also demands their profoundest study.

With all these differences, there is a measure of truth in the oft-repeated saying, that "Arminians are always Calvinists when they pray, and Calvinists are always Arminians when they preach." In other words, there are important points on which they cannot but come together under the powerful teachings of the Holy Spirit.

To illustrate: Evangelical Arminians believe in the *assurance* of salvation, but how is such assurance possible to those who deem themselves liable at any time to fall away from grace and salvation? They pray for grace to keep them in the future, but how could such prevenient grace be otherwise than eternally designed by God, who is its sovereign Author and Dispenser? They do not believe in the doctrine of the final perseverance of the saints, as it is taught in our symbols. But they could not consistently deny that their only really valuable converts are those who do not "fall away from grace," and who do "finally persevere unto the end." The Calvinists think that they pray and sing more orthodoxy than they preach, and that their solid success is due very largely to their virtual acceptance and implied belief and Christian experience of those truths which are so greatly prized by us, the eternal sovereignty, the electing love, the predestinating decrees, and the prevenient grace of God. They sing with us Doddridge's sweet hymn, "Grace, 'tis a charming sound," and Toplady's "Rock of Ages cleft for me;" and we join them in the noble strains of

Charles Wesley's "Jesus lover of my soul" and no one wishes to change a line, nor cast the shadow of a doubt upon one single thought of those lyrics of salvation by grace alone.

A striking illustration of this common drift of Christian devotion and personal religious experience is found in the American Sunday-school Union edition of Bunyan's *Holy War*, where "an election doubter" is arraigned before the judge for pleading and sentence. As this passage had to pass the ordeal of the representatives of six denominations, including the Methodist, in "The Committee of Publication," that body of critics appended the following marginal note, which, it is understood, was drawn up by the Methodist member :

"Election, in this passage, may be understood to be that act of divine grace by which the sinner, being in a condition in which he cannot by his own strength turn and prepare himself to faith, and calling upon God, is enlightened, regenerated, and saved : Christ giving him a good will, and working with him when he has that good will, so that he is saved by grace and not of good works—a doctrine in which Protestant Christians of all denominations agree."—(pp. 332.)

This ingenious definition carried *The Holy War* through the press of the Union, all over the land, with this answer of the judge to the "election doubter"—

"To question election is to overthrow a great doctrine of the gospel, namely, the omniscency and power and will of God ; to take away the liberty of God with his creature, to stumble the faith of the town of Man-Soul, and to make salvation depend upon works, and not upon grace. It also belied the Word and disquieted the minds of the men of Man-Soul ; therefore, by the best of laws, he must die."—(p. 332.)

We have used these passages to exhibit the experimental harmony of views, of the self-same doctrines which in theory have divided the Christian church, and to show how they have shaped its diverse practical systems. Calvinistic Methodism has never developed itself like the Arminian Methodism of Wesley and the Wesleyans. It is almost an abnormal thing, so much so, that it is scarcely too much to affirm, that Calvinism could not have produced the self-same ecclesiastical polity and types of religious life that distinguish Methodism. George Whitefield was a greater preacher, but much less of an organizer than John Wesley. But their "differences of administration" will not account for the wider differences between the permanent ecclesiastical results of the labors of the great Calvinistic evangelist

and the great Arminian founder of Methodism. Whitefield's immediate ministry produced the chapels of the Countess of Huntington and her friends, but most of his converts fell into existing Christian churches. Wesley's labors have produced Methodism, and so far as we can see this new thing in the history of the church is the natural and necessary historical outgrowth of his theology and of his methods of propagating it. And this will appear in the corresponding strength and weakness of the parent and the child. Arminianism is intensely radical; Calvinism is strictly conservative. Arminianism dwells more upon the human side of religion; Calvinism signifies the sovereignty of God and the supreme necessity of Divine agency in salvation. Wesleyan Arminianism is immensely demonstrative, giving full play to the emotional nature; Calvinism is more self-contained and repressive of those mental ebullitions and physical excitements which Methodism has encouraged. The methods of Methodism agree with these distinctive elements of its character. They appeal successfully to the eye, the ear, the tastes, and the habits of its people. The altar, the class-room, the prayer-meeting, the love-feast, the easy terms of admission, the probationary membership, the plan of pecuniary support, the brief tenure and frequent changes of the ministry, the music, the audible responses and exclamations during worship, the rules of life discipline and order, the revivals, and the social life of its adherents, all characterize the system of Methodism, as something entirely distinct from that of other churches, whose theology and practical polity are more conservative and severe. Like Cæsar's penny, it bears its own image and superscription. But is it subject to no discount? What is its true value? What are its tendencies and prospects? Does its spiritual power increase in the ratio of its external growth in numbers and in ecclesiastical magnitude? Will its second century witness at its close a development and value to Christendom which shall be at all commensurate with the results of its first hundred years? History will decide these questions, but we may canvass them in advance.

1. *We may reasonably ask, whether its terms of communion are not too broad and indefinite?* As we have already said, while their clergy are bound by the Articles of Religion, yet no theological opinions are requisite for admission to member-

ship in this church. John Wesley gloried in this mark of the catholicity of "the people called Methodists." He says:

"They do not impose, in order to their admission, any opinions whatever. Let them hold particular or general redemption, absolute or conditional decrees. They think, and let think. One condition, and one only, is required: a real desire to save their souls. Where this is, it is enough; they desire no more; they lay stress upon nothing else; they ask only, 'Is thy heart herein as my heart? If it be, give me thy hand.'"

He adds:

"Is there any other society in Great Britain or Ireland that is so remote from bigotry? that is so truly of a catholic spirit? so ready to admit all serious persons without distinction? Where is there such another society in Europe—in the habitable world? I know none. Let any man show it me that can. Till then, let no one talk of the bigotry of the Methodists."

And again:

"Is a man a believer in Jesus Christ? and is his life suitable to his profession? are not only the main, but the sole, inquiries I make in order to his admission into our society."

With these views of the founder agree the rules and practice of the Methodist churches generally. Their Articles of Religion are regarded by most of their authorities "rather as an indicatory than an obligatory dogmatic symbol—an indication to sincere men, seeking an asylum for Christian communion, of what kind of teaching they must expect in the new church, but not of what they would be required to avow by subscription."—(*Stevens' Centenary of Methodism*, p. 137.)

All this seems extremely liberal and catholic, and far less strict than the rules of any other evangelical communion. It keeps the doors wide open, and makes the test of discipleship as simple as possible. In theory it is the beautiful expression of catholic unity of faith and spirit; but in practice what have been its results? Immense numbers of people admitted to fellowship, rapid and unprecedented numerical growth, popularity with the multitudes, and continual religious interest, promoted periodically by the revivals which have so long characterized all branches of the Methodist church. As the principal accessions are made to the communion at these revivals, and are the fruits of their peculiar methods, we may rightly consider them as the great entrance-ways to the church. No other church in the world has been so completely depen-

dent upon camp-meetings in summer and revivals in winter, and none so conspicuous for those artificial animal and spiritual excitements, which are sure to react immediately when the pressure is taken off. Judicious Methodist ministers have told us, that one unfortunate result of this method of "getting up" revivals and of conducting them is, that their churches only look for much religious life and growth in the fall and winter, and from extra labors and public excitements. Spring and summer are seasons of collapse. But a greater evil is seen in the fact, that usually not more than one out of five or six—and some conferences have reported an average of not more than one out of seven or eight—probationers have made a final confession of faith and have been received into full communion. The general average in many churches and conferences may be higher than this, but in its most favorable light the measure of defection is serious. The immediate corrective is in the system of "probation" for six months before admission to full membership. But all probationers come in through the wide door, and are permitted and expected to partake of the Lord's Supper. Those who "fall from grace" may be "converted" over and over again, or they may pass through subsequent revivals with more or less or no personal religious interest. Some of this class may become genuine Christians, but others, nay, many, are hardened, and become utterly unimpressible. It may well be questioned whether the easy terms of fellowship do not foster this reactionary tendency, and whether what is gained to catholicity is not overbalanced by the loss to the purity of the church. If the tendency in some churches is to make membership more difficult by too rigid doctrinal requirements, they gain in quality what they forego in numbers. The numerical additions to the Methodist churches every year are greater than those of other denominations; but, on the other hand, no other ecclesiastical Protestant body in the land suffers from such enormous shrinkage. In confirmation of these statements, we present the following facts, which were given by a well-known Methodist minister at the "Preachers' Meeting," held in New York, May 15, 1876; the subject under consideration being the value of special evangelistic efforts in regular church work. After discussing the results of Mr. Moody's labors at the

Hippodrome, and rather unfavorably, so far as they were indicated by actual additions of the city churches, the Rev. C. C. Goss thus turned the tables upon his own denomination. He said :

"He had the history of ten churches in this city, which have been always known as revival churches. In 1869 those ten churches reported on the conference minutes 1,000 probationers, or an average of 100 each; but in 1870, instead of that number of members being added to their rolls, they reported a net loss of 500 in their membership of 1869, making altogether a loss of 1,500 in one year in ten churches. He took, for example, Bedford Street church as a revival church, and St. Paul's as the opposite, and he found that for twenty-five years—from 1850 to 1875—Bedford Street church had 2,500 probationers, but she reports her increase of membership for that period at only 128. He could not account for this. Now, St. Paul's church reports 448 probationers for twenty-five years, as above, and her increase in membership has been 286. This argues in favor of the regular church work. During the first century of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Mr. Goss said, they had labored at the altar; but during the second we ought to follow the apostolic example, and go about confirming the churches. There are more unconverted persons in proportion to the population of New York city to-day than there were in John Embury's day. Mr. Goss would have the presiding elders look after them, and give employment to the scores of local preachers who are all over these cities."

Were the conditions of membership more strict, and were not those churches subject to the inevitable annual excitements of protracted meetings, could this wastage have occurred? But if the net loss has come to be expected as a matter of course, are not the true reasons likely to be found not only in the reaction from forced religious excitement, but further back, in the practical effects of the doctrine of falling from grace and in the system of probation? No church is absolutely pure, but we repeat it, that no other evangelical church in the world, according to its own showing, is so constantly subject to such vast and painful losses of its reported converts. The fault is in the system, both doctrinal and practical, and we doubt if the practical system can ever be amended thoroughly without a corresponding theological reformation. "Regular church work" may be a partial remedy for the evils of extravagant and unregulated special evangelistic efforts. But "as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." We believe, with all our heart, in genuine revivals of religion. We rejoice in "the mighty works of God" in the Methodist church as we

do in our own. But "the things which come to nought" in and after its "revivals" are manifestly of men.

2. Closely connected with this inherent weakness of Methodism is *its admitted failure to keep its children and youth within its own pale*. The historian of the M. E. Church, Dr. Abel Stevens, sets this forth as one of the "problems" to be solved. The conversions within its Sunday-schools in the eighteen years preceding the centenary celebration, 1866, surpassed the entire gains of the church membership by nearly five thousand souls; and he adds, that the statistics "show alarmingly the inefficient guardianship of the church over its children. They prove that most of its converted youth either fail to enter or are lost to its communion."—(*Centenary of Methodism*, p. 239.) The remedies suggested by the General Conference are the organization of the baptized members of the churches into classes, with suitable leaders, male and female, for Christian education, with a view to being enrolled as probationers, and finally admitted to full membership; and the diligent personal attention of the ministry to the pastoral care of the Sunday-school.

The most hopeful view of the subject which we have seen is in the report of the Sunday-school Union, by Rev. Dr. J. H. Vincent, its corresponding secretary, in which he presents with great force the success of the efforts, now systematized, to combine more thorough study of the Word of God in the Berean Series of International Sunday-school Lessons, with the general and careful use of the Catechism. No church can live long and live well by its gains from the outside world, without keeping the love, the interest, and the adherence of its successive generations of children and youth. If it loses its own children it loses the covenant blessings that are promised to the church in its families. The children of the church will take care of the church that takes care of them.

3. The facts to which we have adverted throws some light upon *the failure of Methodism to keep pace with the growth of population in New York*, and where other denominations have outrun it, and where the diverting power of an ungodly world is so great. This subject has been discussed frequently in the papers of the denomination with more difference as to the probable reasons, than as to the facts in mass and in detail. But while acknowl-

edging the principal facts, the writers comfort themselves by declaring the loss of Methodism is the gain of the entire evangelical church, into which so many of their clergy and members are going every year. Bishop Foster is reported as saying, "We are a splended army of aggression, but a defective army of occupation." And Dr. Whedon, the veteran of *The Methodist Quarterly Review*, wrote thus, "We are continually gathering a raw material from the world, converting it, and distributing it among other denominations. The consolation of it is, that essential Methodism is becoming infused into the entire evangelical church."

A statistical writer says, that had Methodism kept on growing until this time at the rate of its advance from 1776 to 1786, or from 4,921 to 20,689 members in its first decade, it would have been the national church in 1830, or would have overtaken the whole population forty years ago. But this was not to be its destiny.

The process of ecclesiastical colonization and transfusion is going on in all our evangelical Protestant churches. They feed each other, and the same assimilating process is going on in the churches, as the nation exhibits in the blending of its diverse native and immigrant population. But this does not solve the problem of the relative failure of Methodism to advance in the great cities as it does in the rural districts. The facts are these: That from 1864 to 1872, eight years, in the country at large, Methodism increased in membership 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in advance of the population, which was growing at the rate of 22.22 per cent. In the same period the membership of the Presbyterian Churches increased throughout the country at the rate of five per cent. and that of the Baptists at 9.78 per cent. in advance of the population. In the New York Conference, during the same period, the increase of membership in the Methodist Church was seven per cent. behind the population, or an aggregate of only 5,712 in all the churches of that district. In the New York East Conference, which includes Brooklyn, the aggregate increase within the same eight years was 10,008, or 33 per cent., the proportion being larger in consequence of the more rapid growth of Brooklyn than New York.

Should the statistics of the principal cities tally with those of New York, they will show an actual decline of aggressive

power, as well as a failure to keep up with the progress of the population. Why is this? Its wealth, intelligence, and enterprize, its most elegant churches, its most popular preachers, its great institutions, are centered there. There was a time when it bade fair to outgrow all of the sister denominations. With such advantages, why should it not advance as rapidly and with as much strength as in the country districts? Is its pulpit at fault? Does its strength decay with its social, pecuniary, and educational advancement? Is the itinerancy a hindrance? Would longer or indefinite pastorates relieve the difficulty? Has it lost its ancient power of attracting and moulding the people whom it most readily reaches? The variety of reasons assigned by prominent Methodist writers for this comparative failure, show not a little bewilderment and diversity of opinion. But the instructive facts remain to be explained, and the remedy is yet to be found.

Is it ungenerous to ask whether, with the same almost unrivaled aggressive and progressive power, the more conservative and retentive Presbyterians would not have been to-day a still greater and more thoroughly consolidated and powerful body? Or would not the orthodox Congregationalists with similar energy have covered and held a larger portion of the American people? If our Methodist friends had taken better care of their own children, and if their communion were not subjected to the wasting processes which result from too easy and hasty admissions to church membership, and to the prodigious reactions from their particular methods of promoting revivals, is it not reasonably certain that their power as an army of occupation would have equaled their advances as an army of aggression? Some of these obstructions are fundamental and organic. They inhere in the system, and they can be removed only by thorough treatment of the disease at its vital points. All Christian churches have a permanent interest in the steady advancement of a sister church, which has such vast numbers and resources, which is constitutionally a pioneer denomination, and which is continually sending ministers into their pulpits, members to their communion, and families to their congregations. Were there no other reason for our serious consideration of its excellencies and its defects, this increasing tendency

to contact and intercommunion, would be sufficient to justify the keenest scrutiny.

4. *The national significance of Methodism* is attracting increased attention. Its XXIII Article of Religion (an anomaly in ecclesiastical formularies of doctrine) expressly recognizes "the rulers of the United States," "as the delegates of the people," the States as a sovereign and independent "nation," and a note in the margin enjoins scriptural obedience to "all powers that be" in any country where its members live. The danger of the church and a source of weakness is the well-known and oft-repeated tendency of some of its leaders and its press to complicate it with politics. Religion and politics cannot be divorced, and on all moral and religious issues the ministry and the ecclesiastical assemblies, as well as church members, have rights and obligations to speak and act with decision. In great crises silence may be a crime and hesitation disloyalty. Upon vital moral questions, such as intemperance and the Sabbath laws, all Christian people are bound to stand up and stand out to the last for peace, order, purity, and righteousness, and against those who "frame iniquity by law." Loyalty to truth, to freedom, to Christ, demands decisive opinions and right action. So long as the great ecclesiastical bodies in our land are content to abide under the constitutional protectorate of the government, and to acknowledge the Supreme Headship of Christ in his church, religious liberty will find in them its sure defense. But if the ambition of one or another denomination should be fired to become in any way "the national church;" if such a church, by reason of its numbers, its wide diffusion, its power over the masses of the people, and particularly by the ambition of even a few of its leaders, should push itself into prominence, demanding government chaplaincies, throwing its influence into political campaigns, shaping legislation and courting high positions for its representatives, it is easy to see how its own purity and the nation's peace might be sacrificed upon its altars. We make no charges of this nature against our Methodist brethren. Yet it is true that no other body of Protestant ecclesiastics have so often and so boldly spoken out and enacted resolutions upon political subjects, either in peace or in war times, as the Methodist Conferences. As against the Roman Catholic hierarchy and

their plots to destroy civil and religious liberty, the Methodists of the United States alone could cast a consolidated vote that would overwhelm the enemy. But that very power wielded at some future day for politico-ecclesiastical ends, might produce graver complications of church and state in America than the worst Erastianism ever wrought in Great Britain. The danger would spring from the consciousness of power, from the growing habit of interposing upon political issues, from the influence of bishops, clergy, and laymen at the seat of government, from a mighty periodical press, and from the occurrence of some critical occasion which would rally every available force—personal, social, religious, ecclesiastical, and political—to control public policy and governmental action. If ever that day comes, it will be the harvest of a long seed sowing in our own times, and it will be the doomsday of the spiritual life of the church that gains the political ascendancy.

The safety of the country and of the churches against dangers of this kind is, first, in the good sense and in the loyalty to civil and religious liberty of the great body of ministers and people of the several denominations; second, in the sacred jealousy with which all religious denominations watch each other; third, in the necessity of union among Protestants against the encroachments of Rome; and last, in the reserved power of that immense Christian constituency which always stands ready, irrespective of party and of ecclesiastical relations, to speak out and to vote upon the right side of all moral and religious questions.

The first great actual precursor of the war of secession and the Confederacy was the dismemberment of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844, by which it lost at a stroke nearly half its members and half its territory. The disruption of other churches followed, and these ecclesiastical separations have been longer unhealed than those of the States. The first notes of reunion that pealed forth upon the nation after the last battle were Christian and catholic. Neither the North nor the South can forget how, during the entire war, the churches stood by their banners, with nurses for the hospitals, chaplains in the regiments, and all those ministries of Christian philanthropy which mitigated the sufferings of the conflict. We need say nothing of clerical warriors and of

pulpit orators, whose eloquence was said to be worth whole regiments and brigades and even divisions of soldiers to the cause which they espoused; nor of the moral power which almost every ecclesiastical assembly in the land threw on one side or the other in the great conflict. But, as bearing upon the national significance of this single body of Christian people, we may state that it is estimated that the M. E. Church North contributed from its congregations one hundred thousand white and seventy-five thousand black troops to the armies of the Union. It was not surprising that in view of its great numbers, President Lincoln said to a deputation from its General Conference, "It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends forth more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church! bless all the churches! and blessed be God, who in this our great trial giveth us the churches!" The signs of the reunion of this long-sundered denomination at the late General Conference were unmistakable, and there seems now to be no good reason for retaining much longer two vast, separate organizations of a people, whose polity and theology and church life is essentially one.

5. The last "sign of the times" in American Methodism to which we advert is the fact, that it is in *a transition period, whose changes deeply affect its character and tax its power*. The growth of the country in wealth has brought with it into this church many new elements which severely test its capacities for usefulness. Costly and magnificent church edifices, fashionable congregations with corresponding preachers and music, the rapid accumulation of riches by many of its people, and the usual tendencies of life in the cities and suburban regions—what influence will all these things have upon the distinguishing character of the Methodism which has already achieved so much? Will it keep up its aggressive pioneering spirit? Will it reach down as efficiently as it has done, to the poor and the neglected multitudes? Will it carry its distinctive power up into the richer and more cultivated classes? Can it become as much the church of the wealthy as it has been the church of the lowly? As its preachers gradually become more thoroughly educated in its theological seminaries, will they make its pulpit more powerful and spread the peculiarities of Method-

ism among the upper classes? Practical questions like these spring naturally from our studies of Methodism as it was and is. It might be sufficient to answer them by asking others. Why may not the Methodist Church use learning, culture, wealth, architecture, music, and other helps to her own advantage quite as well as other denominations? Has not the time come when she ought to make the most of her great resources of every kind for all classes of people? Can she fulfill her vocation and not do all this? And will not a higher educational standard and the right use of her wealth tend to elevate, purify, and strengthen the whole church? Much of this wealth is in the hands of men who, under God, owe all that they are and have to that church, within which they have been converted, trained, and lifted up from poverty and wickedness into the respectability of Christian character and associations. There is no reforming agency, no uplifting social power, like that of the Church of Jesus Christ. And so it happens that much of the prosperity which she confers returns into her own bosom, and the wealth which her sons and daughters accumulate flows through ten thousand channels into her treasuries, to publish tracts and books, to build churches, sustain missions, erect noble edifices for schools and colleges, and to found universities and theological seminaries. The danger lies in one direction chiefly, and that is of worldliness, unconsecrated wealth, fashionable religion. A corrupting prosperity will soon palsy the strongest hands. Some of the old-fashioned Methodists look with alarm and aversion upon the stylish buildings and the more quiet worship and cultivated preaching of churches which differ very little from those of the Presbyterian or Reformed communions. This second century of American Methodism probably marks only its comparatively new departures and growing successes among the higher classes, as its seminaries send forth yearly more well educated young preachers, and as its congregations increase in temporal prosperity. Yet, as all church history attests, this is the crucial period, when Laodicean dangers attend upon the consciousness of outward prosperity and blind the heart to its real state. If Methodism shall "level upward" as it has "leveled downward," and do the same work in the future among all classes, with the advantages of higher culture and the use of weightier resources, she will win her title to special honor by the grace of God.

It is difficult *to forecast the probable future* of a system of churches which are so closely related and move forward under one ecclesiastical banner. But it may be questioned, whether its vast expansion may not, like that of the Roman Empire, become a source of weakness? Should the northern and southern churches unite and, with other now slightly separated branches, form one vast church, could it hold together, retaining a homogeneous character, in the unity of its faith, in the simplicity of its Christian life, and in the integrity of its administration? Theologically it already embraces considerable differences of opinion and of preaching, with a drift in some directions toward a Broad Church expansion. Its doctrinal flexibility is offset by a singular combination of rigid general administration, with freedom of individual action and with traditional customs and usages. It has furnished hundreds of ministers to other denominations, many of them to Calvinistic churches. While this may be one of its safety valves, yet the fact indicates a wider range of doctrinal variation among its clergy than one would expect from its creed, and so far it is a source of weakness within the denomination itself.

Next to this is the difficulty of controlling and unifying so large an organization. The discussions upon the tenure of the general superintendency, the itinerancy, and especially the presiding eldership, in the last General Conference, and the great number of proposals to revise almost everything within reach, indicate a widespread restlessness and a disposition to change many things which are essential to its character and polity. The good sense of the majority did not "remove the ancient landmarks," while their opponents had ample opportunity to express themselves as they desired in free speech. These proposals and debates exhibit the alleged imperfections of parts of the system, and, like lay delegation, may be repeated until successful, by modifications, or even by revolutionary changes of polity.

It would have been interesting and profitable to have *exhibited somewhat of the progress and present status of other branches of the Methodist communion in this country, and specially of Wesleyan Methodism in Great Britain*. The differences between them are principally in their polity. The Non-

Episcopal Methodists on both sides of the water are less churchly, less liturgical and ceremonial, and in England their theology is not so distinctive and defined. They have no bishops and but one order in the ministry. They represent more the old idea of primitive Methodist "societies," with as little as practicable of ecclesiastical constitution and uniformity. They have their "preachers, itinerants, chairman of districts," etc. They have less of that consolidated and centralized power with which American Episcopal Methodism has marched over this continent. The English Wesleyans stand between the Church of England, for which many of them cherish a filial love and from which its founders came, and the dissenting bodies with which they most affiliate in doctrine and practice and in evangelistic efforts. But they have not by any means the same numerical and relative denominational importance as the M. E. Church in this country. Their clergy, as a rule, are more highly educated, but as a body they hold and propagate all of the principal religious truths, and observe the peculiarities of their church with zeal and fidelity. In America the Non-Episcopal branches are overshadowed by the huge proportions of their mother church. According to the latest statistics, the total Non-Episcopal Methodists (which include the "Methodist Church," Methodist Protestant, American Wesleyan, Free and Primitive, and Congregational and other independent Methodists) consist of 1,808 itinerants, 1,002 local preachers, and 147,802 lay members.

We have only glanced at the principal elements of this great ecclesiastical phenomenon which began with Philip Embury and Mrs. Barbara Heck, his cousin, who started the movement in his own house in Barrack Street, now Park Place, New York, in 1766, when that first American class-leader and local preacher first preached to an audience of five persons. John Wesley, with all his foresight, never could have imagined the results of his life work within less than a century from his death, which took place in 1791, although he lived to see his cause established in Great Britain, the West Indies, the British North American Provinces, and these United States. Much less could he have believed that in this year of our Lord, 1876, his own monument would have been erected, and his character and work eulogized in Westminster Abbey, by the celebrated

Dean who represents in his own person and office that established church which shut its sacred edifices against him, and drove him and his co-workers into the streets and lanes of the cities and villages of England to "preach the gospel to the poor." In a time when the old Ishmaelitic spirit of hostility between Methodist and Non-Methodist bodies has given way to recognized Christian fellowship, and when fraternal delegates convey cordial greetings to the long-sundered assemblies of the universal church of Christ, we may by generous comparison and fair contrasts learn much of practical value from the working of a system which commands universal attention, and is destined to still greater prominence in the ecclesiastical and religious movements of the age.

The late Dr. McClintock, whose name and fame are in all the churches, once said to the writer of this paper, that he believed the day was nigh at hand when all branches of the evangelical church would be compelled to unite more closely in defense of their common faith against the aggressions of Romanism and Atheism, and that God would gradually strengthen the churches for that conflict by the spirit of Christian union, by mighty revivals of religion, and by the combined pressure of the hostile forces. No man in the Methodist communion has done more than that eminent preacher, scholar, and author, to prepare his own church for that swift coming day. With sister churches, she raises her constant protests against Papal hierarchy, the rationalistic heresies, the secularism and infidelity of the times. Her silver trumpets sound forth the salvation of the gospel on every continent and in many languages. Her conquests have been mostly from the world, and largely from classes of population which other churches failed to reach with equal popularity and power. With all her defects and weaknesses, and after making all abatements which our Calvinistic theology and Presbyterian system and calm judgments of its results and tendencies suggest, we can not but rejoice in every token of her prosperity, and bid her God speed in doing Christ's work for Christ's sake. The typical circuit rider, with his saddle bags, primitive dress, plain manners, and rude preaching, has almost entirely disappeared, except perhaps on the western frontier and in some portions of the South. Early Methodism, bold, controversial,

shouting, and pioneering, has given way to a more cultivated but not less earnest and aggressive generation of preachers and people. The despised little societies have become a great historical church, "an army with banners." The Arminianism of Wesley and the Calvinism of Westminster and of Dordrecht are working out their legitimate developments side by side in all the world. They are too diverse and contradictory to admit of organic union between their respective churches, yet they approach each other closely enough on the great essential truths of salvation, to dwell together in Christian charity and to cooperate against the "enemies of cross of Christ." And in his name we "will now say" to this sister church, "peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces."

Art. II.—THE INDIAN QUESTION.*

By THOMAS WILLIAMSON, M.D., Saint Peter, Minn.

[We are very glad, in the present perplexity of the public mind in regard to the proper method of dealing with our Indian population, to be able to present to our readers the two following papers, from writers who speak from personal knowledge and experience.—EDITORS.]

THIS Indian question is still unsolved. It is of vital importance to the red-men, and sufficiently concerns the white race, to merit all the ink and paper and thought which have been bestowed on it. Some want to banish it, but, like Banquo's ghost, it will not down, or disappears only to come up again when most unwelcome. Public sentiment just now seems to be settling strongly in one direction. The articles above named, published in our most able and popular magazines, written by

**North American Review*, April, 1873.

Indian Citizenship. International Review, May, 1874. By Francis A. Walker, late U. S. Com. I. A.

The Indian Question. By Rev. G. Ainslie. *Presbyterian Quarterly*, July, 1875.
How to Treat the Indians. By L. Edwin Dudley. *Scribner's Monthly*, Aug. 1874.

men of different occupations, all of them ardent friends of the Indians, who have thought much on the subject, and one of whom, Prof. Walker, is justly ranked among our deepest thinkers, all advocate substantially the same policy: that of putting them on a reservation, and confining them to it, isolated as much as possible from the white population, until, while living as paupers or slaves, they can be fitted for liberty and citizenship.

A large majority of the officers of our government, including the members of Congress, who manifest any interest in the welfare of the aborigines of our country, seem to take substantially the same view of the case, and look upon confining them on reservations, and feeding them, as the best thing which can be done for them. Many of them show plainly that they have little or no confidence in this. Even the writers named seem to have very little hope that what they so earnestly plead for will ever be done, and regard this isolation of the Indians as desirable rather than practicable. Prof. Walker shows clearly, that what he earnestly desires is only an attempt to do with the whole aboriginal population of our country, what was begun with a part of them, under far more favorable circumstances, more than half a century ago. I think it can be proved that the civilization of the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and other civilized Indians on their reservation, is not owing to the reservation system, but to their instruction in Christianity; and that now it is not possible in our country to isolate the red men, and I hope to show that if it could be done, it would be no remedy for the evils of which they complain.

The first business of a physician when called to a patient, is to ascertain the cause, nature, and seat of the disease he has to contend with. When these are well known, scarcely any case is hopeless; when unknown, he gropes in darkness, and his medicines are of little or no value—about as likely to do harm as good. It is of the utmost importance in difficult, dangerous cases, that the physician in person carefully examine the patient. No amount of learning and reports from others can supply the place of this. Here the writers I have referred to have failed. They have read and heard much about Indians. They have seen some, and conversed with them through interpreters. Some of them may have talked with

some Indians a little without an interpreter, but they have relied chiefly on the reports of others, and have not, by conversing with heathen Indians in their own tongue, become acquainted with their religion and modes of thinking and action; hence, they have never learned why red men generally refuse to labor, and are poor, thriftless, and many of them vicious; or, in other words, what it is which impedes their civilization.

There are two principal impediments to the civilization of the heathen aborigines of our country—one moral, the other political; one in themselves, the other in their surroundings. The former has seldom been mentioned, or even alluded to, in what has been written concerning them; and as Prof. Walker never resided among them, it is not strange that it escaped his notice, as it did also that of the other writers named.

The other has been more or less spoken of in the public documents published with nearly every annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for a quarter of a century; hence it seems strange indeed, that he should be ignorant of it. In his strong expressions as to the ease of governing a tribe left to its own proper forces, he seems to deny its existence, and it seems impossible that a man who has never lived among Indians should understand them.

1. The first impediment to civilization of the aborigines of our country is their religion.

It was the firm belief of those in the northern part of our country that red men were made to hunt and fight; and that for them to labor, as civilized men do, is not only degrading, but wicked and dangerous. I have been told very many times by heathen Sioux, when endeavoring to persuade them to cultivate corn and potatoes to save themselves and families from starvation, that it is well for white men and black men so to labor; but that if they should do so, they would die—the gods would destroy them.

I know that the aversion of Indians to perform agricultural or mechanical labor has generally been attributed to laziness; but all persons who have lived among them should know better; for no men labor harder than the Sioux were accustomed to do in chasing deer and buffalo, and carrying the meat into camp; or the Algonquin, in paddling and carrying their ca-

noes and their baggage, when taking fish or furs. Yet these same men could not, while heathen, be hired to chop wood, or hoe corn—much lighter work. There were some exceptions. For though red men are more generally religious than white men, there are infidels among them as among ourselves; and such might be hired to use a hoe, or an axe, when and where there was no probability of being seen by any of their own people. Nevertheless, most of them sincerely believed that for them such labor was both wicked and dangerous. I will mention a single case in illustration. The late Major J. R. Brown, who, as U. S. Agent, first succeeded in inducing heathen Sioux men to engage in cultivating the soil, and began this by hiring White Dog, a well-known brave, and brother-in-law to the celebrated chief Wabashaw, still living, to have his hair trimmed, and dress as a white man, himself acting as barber, and subsequently, as U. S. Marshal, adjusted the halter on his neck when White Dog was hung at Mankato, Minn., for participating in the massacres of 1862, often said that this Indian evinced far more terror when his hair was being cut, than when the halter was being adjusted on his neck. I was present at the execution of him, and the thirty-seven others executed at the same time, and conversed with him, after he knew that his last day had come and the time of his death was very near, and I never doubted the truth of Major Brown's report; and I think it was not doubted by any who were present at the time. White Dog constantly, and I, after considering all the evidence brought against him, suppose truly, affirmed his innocence of the crime with which he was charged, and feeling innocent, death was much less terrible to him than had been the idea of offending his gods by becoming an agriculturalist.

To give further proofs in detail of the existence and potency of this impediment would unduly extend this article. I could easily give the names of more than fifty men now living who, when heathen, could not be hired to work, and since becoming Christians, work as industriously as the average of civilized men. This impediment is real, not imaginary, and no scheme for civilizing heathen Indians which overlooks it, or fails to make provision for the removal of it, can succeed. This can be properly done by preaching the gospel to them, and it cannot be done effectually in any other way; at least,

it has not been done without the gospel. When taught the principles of Christianity, they cease to fear the gods to whom they and their ancestors have prayed. This is the work of the missionary societies of our country. Our government, in giving the nomination of its agents among the Indians to these societies, has done what it can constitutionally do to remove this impediment. It is greatly to be lamented that several denominations of Christians have come far short of doing what President Grant justly expected of them, and have failed to furnish missionaries to instruct in Christianity a large part of the Indians whose agents they have nominated. It does not suffice, as many of these societies seem to think, to furnish a better class of agents and employés than existed under the old system of political appointments, which a colonel in the United States Army, more than forty years ago, in my hearing, very appropriately characterized, as saddling the sinecures of the country on the poor Indians. If these agents and their employés were all earnest Christian men, which is not the case, they are not employed or paid to teach religion. They might, by exemplifying Christianity, greatly aid the missionary, but cannot supply or fill his place. When one of them attempts to act as a religious teacher and ambassador of God, the Indians look on him as dishonest in neglecting the business for which he is paid, and wish none of his instructions. I hope no one will think, from what has been said, that Christians support no missionaries among the aborigines of our country. In the Commissioner's Report for 1874, the number of missionaries is stated at 111, and nearly \$37,000 is stated to be expended in their support and for the education of these Indians. The A. B. C. F. M. alone has sustained not less than seventy-five missionaries—ordained ministers—for a longer or shorter time among them, and the whole amount of voluntary contributions expended among them can hardly be less than a million of dollars. Nor have these expenditures been in vain. About 90,000 Indians have been brought under the influence of Christianity and more or less civilized; made friendly, and the larger part of them self-sustaining; and thus many millions of dollars have been saved to our government, which, but for these missionary labors, it would have been necessary to expend in feeding or in fighting them.

Nevertheless, far less has been done to make known the gospel to them than ought to have been done. The increase of missionaries among them of late years has been small, not nearly such as might have been expected, when there was a change from agents—many of whom were ever ready to hinder missionaries in their work—to such as aid and encourage them in it. Many suppose that American Indians are less disposed to receive the gospel than other heathen. This opinion has its origin in the fact, that most of the efforts to evangelize them have been guided by human wisdom, rather than divine. The money and labor have been chiefly expended in trying to instruct them in the English language, instead of preaching the gospel to them in their own language, wherein they were born. Whenever the latter method has been followed, the success has been far greater than in Hindostan or China, or most African missions. The former is so unscriptural that missionaries have scarcely attempted it, except in our own country.

2. The other impediment to the civilization of the Indians is the insecurity of person and property. Immigrants from every land thrive in our country, because our laws afford them ample protection. It matters not whether he comes from Europe, Asia, Africa, or the isles of the ocean, after landing on our shores, if injured in person or property, and the offender found, and the crime proved, our courts decree the same punishment against the criminal, as if one of our own citizens had been injured. The original proprietors of the soil alone have no protection from our laws. They may be robbed, or murdered, by day or by night, on reservations assigned by our government, with promise of protection, in their own dwellings, or on the public highways, or in the streets, stores, or hotels of our cities, in the presence of any number of witnesses, and if the criminal be an Indian, when he is brought into court our judges release him, declaring they have no jurisdiction in the case; and on the principle generally acknowledged, that it cannot be a crime for a white man to do what it is lawful for an Indian to do, if the offender be a white man our jury will not find him guilty.

In April, 1875, two Santee Sioux, from the Sissiton Agency, were brought into court at Yankton, the capital of Dakota Ter-

ritory, for murdering a Panka almost in sight of his home. There had been no previous hostility between their people, nor the slightest provocation; but one of the U. S. Inspectors of Indian agencies, ignorant of the nature of Indian dances, had told them at the Sissiton agency to dance, and a scalp was wanted to make the dance interesting, so three young men had traveled three hundred miles in search of one, and killed a poor, unsuspecting Panka. These Pankas are few and feeble; so a detachment of U. S. soldiers were quartered in their village for their protection. These soldiers captured the murderers, and kept them prisoners, till the U. S. court assembled in the territory in which the crime was committed. When brought into court, the attorney appointed by the court to defend them moved to quash the indictment for want of jurisdiction, and after some hours' discussion this was done, and the murderers turned loose. This is by no means a solitary case, but is one of the most recent decisions of U. S. judges, that our laws afford Indians no protection.

We do not deny that Congress has made several laws for the protection of Indians. But these laws are all unequal. They make it criminal for a white man to do what they allow an Indian to do with impunity; and as it is absurd to expect a stronger race to enforce such unequal laws in favor of a weaker race, against themselves, those laws are a dead letter—an incumbrance to our statute books. They never have been and never will be of any use.

But some persons suppose that the Indians have governments of their own, which afford them adequate protection, and Prof. Walker seems to be of this opinion. Such governments among the wild heathen aborigines of our country are a myth. There is no evidence extant that they ever had any real existence. We know that they exist now only in the minds of white men. I have been intimately acquainted with the red men for more than forty years, most of that time residing among them and conversing with them daily, and in all that time I never heard of one of their chiefs attempting to punish one of his people for injuring another.

It is true, when a number of families were going together on a hunt, it was customary for them to choose some men to regulate the hunt; who made and proclaimed certain rules for

that purpose, and who punished those found violating them without any form of trial. These rules—or laws, if we choose so to call them—were made only for that hunt, and were of no force after it was over; nor did the men who made them retain any authority after they returned to their planting places, though they retained their title of masters of the hunt, which is generally rendered into English by soldiers, but might as well be rendered captain, if there were not too many of them.

Wild hunters, such as were all the aborigines of our country east of the Rocky Mountains, have but little property—need but little—and so have little need of protection, as they are always armed to protect themselves.

But civilization implies property and industry. Black men have been compelled by the lash to do much labor and make property for their masters; but we know white men do not labor so industriously, except when expecting a remuneration for their labor. The exceptions to this are so few, that no man expects white men to labor industriously where they have no assurance of any reward for their labor. Nor ought we to expect red men to do it. Yet the latter are called lazy and worthless, and it is seen to be impossible to civilize them, because they will not do it. We blame the Indian for not making and holding property in circumstances in which it is impossible for him to do it. Here is a Dakota who has heard the gospel and become a Christian. He no longer fears the gods his fathers worshiped. He has seen the comforts of civilized life, and earnestly desires them. By years of toil and self-denial he has built himself a comfortable cabin, and gathered into it a crop sufficient to feed himself and family till he could raise another. It is winter, and his neighbors, who, while he was working hard, were lounging about, abusing him for violating the religion and customs of his people, ridiculing him, and calling him woman and slave, now have nothing to eat. They come to him and ask him if he has. He answers in the affirmative, and they tell him they are hungry. If he feeds them, they will come again till he has nothing left. If he refuses, they say he is a bad man, and deserves to suffer for violating the customs of his people, and kill his team. If that does not bring him to his senses, so as to give them food, they destroy his house and its contents, or they say the man is in-

corrigible, and kill him. Many such instances have occurred, with only this difference, that but few have been suffered to go so far as we have supposed this man ; for a Dakota man is not permitted to acquire a team and house and crop by plowing, until Christianity has made a strong impression on the community in which he lives.

Nearly all the civilization existing among Indians is owing to such security for person and property as has been obtained through the moral teachings of Christian missionaries. But though red men are not so much worse than white men as they are generally supposed to be, they are not so much better that we may safely trust to moral teachings, and the expectation of the rewards and punishments of the future world, to restrain all of them from crime. Nor should we expect that such teachings alone, before the millenium, will afford sufficient security to make them, or any other people, industrious and economical.

We have seen the disease, and what is necessary to cure it, namely, security. How can this security be obtained?

Some say, "Let them make governments for themselves." As many as know how to do this have done it already. A large majority know not how to do it, and if they did know how, we would not let them do it, as is shown by the expulsion of the Cherokees from Georgia forty years ago.

Others say, "Make special laws for their benefit." This has been promised many times, but never done ; nor is there the slightest probability that it ever will be done. It is not desirable that it should be done, for we could not make better laws for them than we have done for ourselves. It is very improbable that those made for them would be as good as those for ourselves ; and if they should be, the difficulties in the way of enforcing them would be immensely greater than in enforcing our own laws among them.

There remains one way, and only one, of giving them the needed security : that is, to subject them to our laws, just as all other peoples, of whatever race or color, as soon as they land on our shores, are subjected to and protected by these laws. Immigrants from every country of Europe, from Africa, India, China, and Polynesia, delight in and thrive under this protection ; why may not the aborigines of the country?

It cannot make their condition worse than it is. It does not necessarily imply depriving them of their amenities or reservations, or of any other good due them from us; not dispersing them among the white population, nor giving them the ballot. The wild Indians cannot be benefited by the use of the ballot till somewhat educated, though it would be far less dangerous in their hands than in those of the greater number of negroes to whom it has been given. Our government pays its own citizens, as well as those of other nations, for services rendered or property taken for the public use. Why, then, might it not continue to pay to Indians, even after they became citizens, annuities or other moneys justly due? What good reason can be assigned for requiring of natives of the country, in order to the taking of homesteads and becoming citizens, more than is required of Germans, Scandinavians, and Russians, as was done of the Santee Sioux near Flandreau, who, in addition to all that is required of foreigners, were required to renounce claims against our government amounting to several hundreds of dollars each? Or why, as is the case with the Sissiton, are more extensive improvements required of them in order to secure a valid title to a quarter section of land, which has been theirs from time immemorial, than is required of immigrants from Europe, Asia, or Africa, in order to obtain a similar title to a like portion of the public domain? The easiest and most certain way of giving the Indian that security which he so much needs, and which all other men in our country enjoy, is to strike from our constitutions and laws the words "except Indians not taxed," wherever they occur. Acknowledge that he is a man, and allow him all those rights which at the origin of our nation we declared belong to all men, and make him, before our laws, equal to an immigrant from Asia, Africa, or Europe.

We have pointed out the two great impediments to the civilization of the Indian, and the appropriate remedy for each. They are amply sufficient to account for his lack of industry and economy. No scheme for his improvement which ignores them, or fails in making him feel that it is safe for him to labor, and that he may probably live and enjoy the fruit of his labor, can succeed. It is not certain, however, that the removal of the causes will immediately cure the disease.

Fevers, and other diseases of the body, unless appropriate remedies are used, are liable to continue long, or prove fatal, after the cause is removed. So it is with evil habits. It is fair to suppose that something more than security will be needed to secure the civilization of a part, at least, of the red men. We have made them paupers by depriving them of their hunting grounds. Our right to do this rests on the fact, that we can make a better use of them than he could. If we can do this, we are able and morally bound to make remuneration by putting him in as favorable circumstances for getting a living as he was in before we seized his hunting grounds, or destroyed the game on which he subsisted. In order to do this, we must not only protect him from being robbed, or murdered by his red or white neighbors, but also reserve for him agricultural land, and furnish a team and implements to cultivate it; or pasture lands, and furnish him with flocks or herds to feed on them, and give him needed instruction as to the care of them. The assurance of eating of the fruit of their labor is to most men a sufficient stimulus to industry. But in countries where life and property are most secure, there are white men and black men who are so indolent and improvident that they are a burden on society. That some of the red men will be so too, is probable. The divine injunction, "That if any will not work, he should not eat," not only intimates that there were such people of old, but makes known the proper remedy, namely, that they should be required to labor in providing for themselves, as a condition of being fed and clothed.

Many suppose that the plan of feeding the Indians is a benevolent measure for their especial benefit. Prof. Walker shows clearly that this is not the case; that it was devised for our benefit, not theirs; and he justifies the government in adopting it, because at the time (1868) we were not able to provide for the security of our widely extended frontiers in any other way. It was devised by military men, and as a military measure it has been eminently successful. It has for the time given greater security than we could have obtained by fighting them, and at less than one-tenth of the expense; and it has also diminished their ability, as well as their inclination, to fight us in time to come; for by it many of them have

lost the ability to support themselves. By being supported for seven years in idleness, most of the Sioux have become indolent and effeminate; and if a war should arise from our people taking the Black Hills, these Sioux could not do us half the injury they would have done before we fed them. It may well be doubted whether they have not lost as much in strength, energy, and courage, as they have gained in comfort, by what our government has bestowed on them. This feeding of them has made them more accessible to missionaries; but missionary societies have availed themselves of this in regard to only a few of them.

Reservations are necessary for the 'Indians at present. Christian Indians are doing well on homesteads in various places, as the Dakotas at Flandreau, in Dakota Territory; the Chippewas and Ottawas, in Michigan; and some of several tribes in Kansas. But not a few of various tribes who have taken homesteads have got in debt, sold their homesteads, or been cheated out of them, and are now poor and miserable. So long as they remain ignorant of our language, it will be conducive to their welfare, and ours, too, that some tracts of country be reserved for them, from which the white population should be excluded, except so far as needed for their education, and the proper enforcement of our laws among them.

The chief reason why the Indians should have reservations is, that neither they, nor any other people, can long prosper in our country without religious instruction. Men can be instructed in religion only in a language in which they think. The construction of the Indian languages, and consequently their modes of thinking, are so different from ours, that few of them ever learn to think in English. Hence, few converts have been made by preaching to them in English. Scandinavians, Germans, and French, who come and settle in our country, with some exceptions, soon learn enough of English to transact ordinary secular business, but still insist that their religious instructors must speak their mother tongue. If this is necessary for them, it is still more so for the Indians, because their languages are all much more different from English than any two European languages are from each other; and, also, because the first principles are most difficult to learn, and most of the immigrants from Europe have learned

years, and though they have now been prosperous for many years, are by the latest census less numerous by several thousands than before they went there, though they have had no war, and are in about the same latitude as they were in before they went there. The Sioux in the meantime have increased, nearly doubling their numbers, though they have had almost constant wars, and their means of subsistence are greatly diminished, by ceding to us the best half of their country, and the buffalo, on which most of them formerly subsisted, having disappeared from nearly all of what they retain. Their home is ten degrees north of the Indian Territory.

2. Another objection, to concentrating all the Indians on the Indian Territory is, that being hereditary enemies, when corralled together they will be engaged in incessant wars, unless we keep a large army there to keep them from killing each other.

3. A third reason why we should not place all the Indians in the Indian Territory is, that it will delay if it does not entirely preclude our doing that which we have shown is necessary for their civilization, namely: subjecting them to our laws. It is claimed for the Christian and semi-civilized tribes of that territory, both by themselves and others, that they have governments of their own, affording adequate protection, which is not the case with any of the other aborigines of our country. These Indian governments are independent, each tribe having its own government and laws. The Chickasaws, though speaking the same language and mingled in some measure with their more numerous kindred, the Choctaws, refuse to be governed by the same laws or officers. These tribes having governments, do not propose to subject other Indians settling in that territory to their laws. They well know that any attempt to do this would be resisted. The wild Indians, by calling our president Grand Father, and the agents he sends among them Father, acknowledge some kind of allegiance to our government and expect it to exercise a fatherly control over them, and a large majority of them would gladly be subjected to our laws, that they might be protected by them. But none of them acknowledge any allegiance to, or are willing to be controlled by, Indians of another tribe. I think it would be better for Indians of Indian Territory, as well as others, to be subjected to our laws; but

each other must be in much greater proportion. Confining them on small reservations, without subjecting them to our laws, will increase their liability to be injured by each other, by precluding flight, the main resource of the weak and defenseless in times of danger. This is not a reason why the Indian should not have a reservation, but it is a reason why we should make it safe for him to live on it. There is no other way in which we can keep him on it, without violating the fundamental principles of our government. We often boast that our constitution and laws have made our country an asylum for the oppressed of every nation. Shall we deny to the natives of the country, when in danger, that which we give freely to every other human being? The writers whom I have quoted, with many others, are all in favor of confining Indians to a reservation, or reservations. They can hardly be ignorant that this is no easy business; that feeding them and paying their annuities to them has not been sufficient to keep them from leaving the reservations assigned them. Superintendent Dudley tells us how he would accomplish it, namely: by making it unsafe to leave their reservation. If the others have proposed anything better I am ignorant of it. How he reconciles this with his other advice—"To do to them as we would have others do to us"—is to me a mystery. Many of the reservations have not been chosen by the persons to whom they are assigned, and they are not safe on them. I cannot suppose he is so unlike other Americans that he would be willing to be confined on any one of them, at the risk of life or limb if he should venture to travel outside of them.

The Indian Territory is the reservation to which Mr. Ainslie and several other writers wish to remove all the aborigines of our country. To this there are several serious objections.

1. The climate will be fatal to many of them. I know that these writers contend that it is healthy. This may be true as to those born or acclimated on it. Kingsbury, Byington, and Evan Jones, who were not young when they went there, lived to be old men; but most of the missionaries who were young when they went there, lost their health, and either died or had to leave after a few years. The Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks lost about one-fourth of their number in a year from the time they started to go there, and continued to decrease for several

of our people believe that the welfare of the Indians requires them to leave the land in which they were born and the graves of their fathers, and go and reside in a country which is to them insalubrious and unpleasant. But he does not believe it, and refuses to go. Our right to enforce our opinion is no better against the Indian than against the negro.

Art. III.—OUR INDIAN POLICY FURTHER CONSIDERED.

By General R. H. MILROY, late Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory.

Man in a state of nature is both gregarious and communistic, and hence is little disposed voluntarily to separate himself from his tribe or nation. This peculiarity unites the individual members of every barbarian or savage tribe, and constitutes the greatest obstacle to civilization. Just in proportion as any savage tribe advances in civilization, the gregarious and communistic bonds of that tribe are weakened and supplanted by a disposition among the individual members thereof to own and accumulate separate property and separate homes; which disposes individuals and families to migrate to those localities promising the greatest improvement in their circumstances. Hence, the word *want* expresses and leads to the entire difference between the savage and the civilized man. The savage being but a little above the animal, has comparatively few intellectual or moral wants, and these are satisfied with but little physical and mental exertion. Hence, the greater portion of his time is passed in unproductive indolence. But the civilized man, besides a great number of animal wants, has many intellectual and moral wants. Hence he is driven to the greatest physical and mental exertions to satisfy them. This leads him to the development of commerce and the various mechanical arts and sciences. In fact, *want* is the great motive power of progress and civilization. Take away wants from mankind, except those held in common with animals,

and all the present partially civilized portion of the human race would speedily drop back into pure barbarism. Then, clearly, the true and only means to start the savage on the road to permanent civilization is to multiply and stimulate his better wants till they arouse and drive him from his native lethargy and inactivity to the ceaseless industry of civilization. Clearly the highest duty of our government toward all the Indians within her borders, is to *civilize them to such an extent that they may be safely made citizens, and melted into the body politic of the nation*. How can this be done most speedily and effectively? is, or should be, the all-important question in our Indian policy. As before shown, this can only be accomplished by stimulating and multiplying their individual proper wants. The first step toward this end is to wean the Indians from their wild nomadic lives by giving to each family a fixed and separate home, with a good title to the land on which each home is situated, and by assisting and encouraging each family to fit up, adorn, and surround such home with the appliances of civilized life. But with adult and old Indians this is a difficult matter, and can only be accomplished to a limited extent, for the reason, that with all grown-up Indians idleness, inactivity, and the scanty gratification of a few animal wants, have become so fixed by life-long habit as to be second nature, and can be very little changed by any system of culture. But with Indian children this is wholly different. Their habits are yet unfixed. Industry and a civilized way of life are *habits* acquired between infancy and matured manhood. These facts place it in the power of the government to *civilize and make citizens* of every Indian tribe within its borders in *one generation*, by taking charge of all Indian children over five years old, educating and training them up to industrious habits, and imparting to them a knowledge of Christianity and of the various avocations of civilized life. The principle of compulsory education, so vital to the principle and prosperity of free government, should be at once adopted and strenuously enforced by the government of the United States toward the children of her Indian wards. All Indian children over five years old should be taken away from under the authority and influence of their savage parents (from whom they absorb only poisonous barbarism) and placed wholly under the control of white male and

female teachers possessing the proper qualifications as to capacity, industry, firmness, kindness, pure morality, zealous missionary spirit, etc., who would train up these children to habits of industry, Christianity, cleanliness, economy, a knowledge of the English language and elementary branches of education—giving to the males in addition a practical knowledge of and training in agriculture and the common and necessary mechanical arts; and to the females a thorough knowledge of and training in the duties of housekeeping, sewing, making and mending garments, etc. Of course, Indian children thus brought up and cultured, upon arriving at adult age, would be well qualified to assume and discharge the duties of fully enfranchised citizens. Every Indian tribe could thus be safely melted into the body politic, and, with the Indian Bureau of our government, cease to exist, except in history and the records of the past. This, in my opinion, should be the only object and aim of our government in her Indian policy. She has the *right*, *power*, and *ability* to do this, and from personal observation and intercourse with Indians for many years, I feel very certain that it can be fully accomplished in *one generation*, if taken hold of by the government with that energy and determination which its importance demands.

But, unfortunately for the Indian race, our government has, since her first dealings with the tribes within her borders, pursued a policy diametrically opposite to this, and the results have been uniformly disastrous to the Indians, expensive to the government, and injurious to her citizens.

The Indians of America, at its discovery, were found in savage, nomadic, warring tribes, without any idea of individual property in the soil. Our government, since its organization, has recognized and encouraged the continuance of this ancient condition of Indian affairs, by making treaties with the tribes, and, to a great extent, recognizing the sovereignty and independence of each within the boundaries of its country or reservation—an *imperium in imperio*; thus creating many little sovereignties within a sovereignty. The moral and, to a great extent, intellectual structure of every human being is absorbed and formed from his or her surroundings during the formative period of life between infancy and mature age. The Indian policy of our government has been, and still is, to keep every

Indian, from birth until death, surrounded by barbarian Indians. They are herded upon the reservations, without any individual property in the soil, like cattle and sheep in fenced pastures; thus insuring the transmission of the savage ideas and superstitions of the parents to their children from generation to generation.

Though Indians are all native inhabitants of the country, they are regarded and treated by the government as "domestic aliens." We have naturalization laws by which immigrants from any foreign nation may become naturalized citizens of our government; but there is no law by which an Indian can dissolve his tribal relations and become a citizen of the United States, whatever may be his progress in civilization. Thus he is cut off from one of the greatest inducements to progress.

Every Indian reservation within the boundaries of our government is now (I believe) within the limits of an organized county, yet the jurisdiction of law is not extended over Indian reservations. Hence, violence and crime may be committed by Indians against each other, within the limits of a reservation, with legal impunity.

No marriage relation among Indians is legally binding. Divorce or separation of man and wife is optional. Polygamy is not prohibited among them, and hence is no legal offense. Schools are maintained by the government a large portion of each year on many of the reservations; but from the fact, that the Indian school children are allowed to visit their savage parents frequently, and to reside with them a portion of each year, when the schools are not in session, they naturally acquire from their parents superstitions and habits of barbarism to such an extent as to neutralize and counteract largely the training and civilization acquired from their teachers. Furthermore, being allowed to return and permanently reside with their parents and friends after quitting school, they sink down into their savage habits, and whatever education they may have received seems, as a general rule, only to make them more receptive of the vices of the white man, and a curse rather than a blessing to their people.

The grosser vices of the white race are learned by the uncivilized and unchristianized Indians, when they are brought into contact therewith, as naturally and as certainly as miasm

is taken into the human body when brought in contact with it. Thus almost every Indian reservation, under the present inefficient and erroneous policy of our government, is like a great sponge for the absorption of the grosser vices of our imperfect civilization, which have already destroyed two-thirds of the Indian race, and are rapidly exterminating the remainder. Our Indian policy is, therefore, really a policy of extermination, and if not speedily changed for something better, the whole Indian race of our country will become extinct within the next half century.

Art. IV.—ORGANIZATION THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

By J. H. MCILVAINE, D.D., Newark, N. J.

There is not a little prejudice in the minds of many sensible and well-informed people against what is called sociology—that is, the science of human society. This prejudice is due to a variety of causes, of which one is, that this whole department of knowledge has commonly been identified with political economy, though, in fact, this latter is properly only one of, at least, six co-ordinate branches of social science. The influence of this cause has been all the greater from the fact, that the methods and conclusions of political economy, in the hands of its different authors, have hitherto proved anything but harmonious or satisfactory. Besides this, the social forces are so numerous and so complicated with each other, that a complete analysis of them seems to be impossible. But probably the most influential of all these causes is, that the subject has had a peculiar attraction for, and has been most copiously treated by infidel authors, such as Comte, Buckle, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer. In this article, therefore, we shall endeavor to remove this prejudice, by showing that the science is a possible one, and that it has as strong claims as any other upon the thinkers of our time, inasmuch as it involves a vast

number of most interesting problems, the solution of which may affect the welfare of mankind as deeply and permanently as any which have been agitated since the rise of the Protestant Reformation.

We begin, then, with the observation, that there are two all-sufficient reasons for undertaking a critical examination of the nature and complex structure of human society, of which one is general and the other specific. The first is, that man is essentially rational, and hence, under a necessity of striving to render to himself a rational account of the phenomena of his own life, in which attempt he is immediately struck with the predominance of the social element in all these phenomena. In the interest, therefore, of his own well-being he is constrained to undertake a description and classification of the facts of social life, in order to determine the laws by which they are governed. The other reason is, that such a rational comprehension of these facts is the condition upon which the social instincts come under the government of reason and free-will, apart from which they are like an untrained and unpruned vine, which runs wild, wastes its redundant energies, and frustrates its own ends. For whatsoever is distinctively human is such from its connection with reason and free-will. Everything else in man is either animal or vegetable.

The social instincts, which we have just mentioned, are the primary cause of all association among living creatures. In the lower, as well as in the higher, elements of his complex nature, man is a social being. As birds by nature fly in the air, as fish by nature swim in the water, so man, by that which is common to him with birds and fish, lives in society. As mere animals, human beings would associate together for the same reason that bees live in hives or swarms, and beavers in tribes. Also, the higher elements of human nature are equally social. As rational beings, we have an inborn consciousness, an intuitive perception, of our dependence upon society, whilst the moral nature in man is pre-eminently social, and incapable of being otherwise comprehended or developed and perfected. In fact, man is not man otherwise than in and through association with his kind. Human life is essentially a communion. The idea or perfect type of humanity can never be realized apart from that great principle which is enunciated in the words of

the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in the communion of saints." Accordingly, in all ages and countries, whether in that undeveloped or degraded condition in which the animal predominates over the rational and moral nature, or in the highest degrees of civilization and enlightenment, in which the spiritual gives the supreme law to human life—men have lived, and must ever live, in society. Solitude is naturally hateful, and an adequate punishment for the worst of crimes. Hence the peculiar form in which the death penalty was prescribed by Moses: "That soul shall be cut off from his people."

The principle of association, however, in all living creatures, is limited by the boundaries of their several species, by specific unity of life. For among animals, except under artificial conditions, diverse species do not flock, or herd, or swarm together. Even the most closely-allied forms of animal life, such as the dog and the wolf, the bison and the cow, although their faculties, habits, and wants are almost identical, are naturally the bitterest enemies. They seem to be incapable of understanding or sympathizing with each other, and hence of associating together. It is the same with man. We can form hardly any conception of the consciousness or experience of a mere animal, or of an angel, or, indeed, of any creature of a different species from our own. If there were not this unity of life in mankind, if we were not properly all of one species, there could be no mutual understanding or sympathy among us; we could not associate with each other any more than the fox with the dog, or the bee with the beaver.

Notwithstanding, there is a fundamental distinction between man and the lower creatures in this respect, that animal association is inorganic, whilst the most essential characteristic of human society is that of organization. The reason why gregariousness, in default of a better word, is thus inorganic is, that among animals of the same species, which alone can associate together, there is none of that diversity of faculty and function, of special characteristics and adaptations, upon which organization is founded. The individuals of a *grex*, whether a flock or tribe or swarm, are substantially all alike, being little more than mere numerical repetitions of each other. This statement, however, requires to be qualified by the distinction of sex, with which organization in society begins. But the

uniformity among the individuals of a *grex* is so striking that it is marked, in the most widely separated languages, by the use of the singular for the plural, as where we say, a flock of sheep, not sheeps, a herd of deer, a tribe of beaver, a school of fish, not deers, nor beavers, nor fishes.

It is true, however, that in some species of insects we find a striking semblance of organization. In a beehive, *e. g.*, there are several distinct classes of individuals included within the specific unity, each of which is charged with a different set of operations. Here we have, first, the mother or queen bee, and the males or drones; secondly, the nurses; next, the workers in wax; and lastly, the workers in honey. But even in this case, the individuals of each class are mere repetitions of each other, and are engaged in the same operations, to which they are confined by a distinct and peculiar physical constitution. We can discover nothing here of the nature of voluntary division or organization of labor. One bee does not gather wax, and pass it to another, to be worked into a cell; neither does one gather honey, and pass it to another to be stored. Even here, the *grex* offers us nothing beyond that semblance of organization in which, as in so many other cases, the operations of instinct counterfeit those of reason. Among animals in general there is not even this semblance. Those of the same species are all confined to means and operations which are precisely or nearly the same. Birds of the same species build their nests in the same manner, and there is no part in the work of a beaver-dam which one beaver cannot perform as well as another. Mere animals are incapable of specializing their employments, incapable of voluntary division and organization of their labor, and hence their association is properly inorganic.

But whilst the *grex* is thus incapable of organized association, the individuals of which it is composed are abundantly capable of coöperating together for common ends, and thus of increasing their force by massing their numbers. And in this way the principle of animal association enters into human society most largely, as we should anticipate, in its lowest forms, that is, where man is least developed, or most degraded, and his condition approaches most nearly to that of the brute. For it is in such communities that we find the fewest and

least marked divergencies from the common type, the least diversity of special characteristics and adaptations, and hardly any specialization or diversification of employments. Here each wild man builds his own hut, or finds for himself a natural cave, makes his own weapons, does his own hunting and fishing, and gathers with his own hands the spontaneous fruits of nature. Here, also, marriage and the family—the foundation of organized society—are almost or quite unknown. Consequently, whilst all are thus employed in the same operations and pursuits, their human capacity for personal differentiation remains undeveloped. They are almost as much alike as the wild horses of the South American savannahs. We find it so to this day in Africa, Australia, and among the ante-Brahminical tribes of India. Also, the striking resemblance of the American Indians to each other, in color, stature, features, and other numerous particulars, has often been remarked, and various explanations of the fact have been suggested. But the true reason is, that their wild life affords them the least possible diversification of employments. Hence, they have no other way of increasing their force but that of massing their numbers. In these low forms of life human beings and mere animals, in their associations, as in other respects, resemble each other.

This principle of animal association enters, also, as a substratum, into the higher and more developed forms of human society. We see it in a gang of cotton-pickers, in a gang of "loggers" felling timber, in a gang of laborers digging a canal, and wherever the word gang is applied to a company of human beings. These, indeed, are not perfect examples, because some degree of specialization enters into all human employments. But this simple coöperation of numbers, with little diversity of the means employed, is of such importance to the objects of human society, that but little could ever have been accomplished without it. For the units of personal force are so small and feeble that, apart from mutual aid, they could hardly fail to be swallowed up by the hostile forces of nature—those vast and fatal forces which threaten us from every quarter, and which destroy without mercy all the feebler forms of vegetable, animal, and human life; but which man, by his associated and organized energies, subjugates to his own uses

and ends, until, with all the docility of domesticated animals, they grind in his mills, carry his messages with lightning speed, and transport his merchandise and himself, as the bird flies, from continent to continent, from ocean to ocean, and from pole to pole.

These grand results are mainly due to organization, which is the leading characteristic of human society, as distinguished from gregariousness, and the most fundamental principle of social science. It is our light and clue in the exploration of the labyrinths of this department of knowledge. By it alone are we enabled to comprehend the phenomena with which we have to deal. It is to the infinite number and complexity of the social phenomena and forces what the principle of gravitation is to the physical universe. Without it, society is a chaos; with it, a cosmos. Hence, we can make no further progress until we have formed a distinct and precise conception of this principle.

An organism in nature, then, is a body possessed of life and various organs, which organs minister to the support, development, and manifestation of its life. For this purpose, they are in vital union with the body, as also with each other, in consequence of which they are mutually interdependent, and contribute to each other's support and well-being by a system of vital exchanges among themselves. Thus the human body is an organism. It is possessed of life and of organs, such as the hands, feet, stomach, heart, lungs, brain, eyes, nose, and mouth, which are in vital union with the body, and thereby with each other. Also, they are various, or different, and perform different functions in their ministry to the body and to each other; and they are mutually interdependent by a system of vital exchanges among themselves: the hands provide food for the mouth, the mouth prepares it for the stomach, and the stomach distributes it as nourishment to the hands, mouth, brain, and all other organs and parts of the body. Such is an organism in nature, which is the type of organic society.

Equally necessary is a distinct and clear conception of the principal differences between the higher and lower forms of organization in nature; because these represent the more or less advanced stages of organization in society. The higher than an organism is, the more numerous and perfect are its

organs, the more diverse they are from each other, the more special are their functions, the more interdependent they are, the more full and complete is the system of exchanges between them. The highest organism in nature is the human body: and we see how numerous and perfect are its organs; how different they are from each other, as the eye from the ear, the stomach from the brain; how special are their functions, so that by no means can the heart perform the work of the lungs; how dependent they are upon each other, so that a lesion of one will often paralyze them all; and how full and perfect is the system of vital exchanges between them. On the other hand, the lower an organism is, the fewer and less perfect are its organs, the more do they resemble each other, the less special are their functions, the more independent they are of each other, and the more feeble is the system of vital exchanges between them. The angle-worm is an example of these lower organisms; and how few are its organs—they are but three or four of them—and these are so much alike, perform so nearly the same functions, and are so independent of each other, that, if it be cut in two, each part, it is said, will continue to live, and will become a perfect worm. Whether this be true or not of the earth-worm, it is certainly true of the polyp, an example of a still lower class of organisms. There are, of course, many other differences between the higher and lower forms of organization, but these are the principal ones, and sufficient for our present purpose.

In further illustration of these differences, we quote from the *Morphologie* of Goethe as follows:

“The more imperfect a creature is, the more do its parts resemble each other, and the whole to which they belong. The more perfect a creature is, the more dissimilar are its parts. In the former case, the parts are more or less a repetition of the whole; in the latter they are unlike the whole. The greater the resemblance between the parts, the less subordination there is of one to another. Subordination indicates a high grade of organization.”

Also Professor Arnold Guyot, in his *Earth and Man*, applies these points to illustrate the nature of human society, as follows;

“Differences are the condition of development. The mutual exchanges, which are the consequences of these differences, waken and manifest life. The greater the diversity of organs, the more active and superior is the life of the individual; and the greater the variety of individualities and of rela-

tions in a society, the greater also is the sum of life, the more complete, and of the more elevated order."

In all these particulars, and in many others which might be enumerated, do organisms in nature represent human society, especially the differences between its higher and lower, its more and less advanced stages of organization. In fact, this analogy is so complete and obvious that it has always been recognized, until it has become so familiar that the "social organism" seems hardly to involve a figure of speech. Thus, in the model republic of Plato, the citizens are divided into three classes, corresponding to the three general faculties of the human mind. The first is that of the rulers, which represents the intellect or reason of society; the second is the military class, typified by the human will; the third includes all who are engaged in the pursuits of industry, who correspond to the blind passions and appetites of the animal nature. Here, indeed, the analogy is very imperfectly comprehended, and is made to inculcate gross heathen errors, especially that of the essential degradation of the industrial class. Aristotle, also, teaches us, that "a state is composed of dissimilar parts, as an animal is of life, and body . . . of these and many other dissimilar parts." But, unlike Plato, he makes little or no use of this analogy, though he inculcates the same errors which had been drawn from it by his great predecessor. For in another place he says:

"It is impossible for one who is a mechanic, or hired servant, to practice a life of virtue. . . . It is not proper for any man of honor, or any citizen, or any one who engages in public affairs, to learn these servile employments."

In modern times this analogy has been more fully recognized, as in the celebrated work of Hobbes on *Civil and Ecclesiastical Society*, entitled *Leviathan*, which name is applied by the author to society itself, as follows:

"That great leviathan, called a commonwealth, or state, . . . is but an artificial man, though of greater strength and stature than the natural, . . . in which the sovereignty is an artificial soul; . . . reward and punishment the nerves; wealth and riches . . . its strength; *salus populi* . . . its business; . . . concord, health; sedition, sickness; civil war, death."

In all this, as, indeed, in everything else by the same author, there is a great deal that is very "artificial," but the co-

tion which underlies the whole work, that of society as an organism, is none the less true and profound. In the *Sociology* of Comte this conception is developed and applied with great fulness of detail; it is also the fundamental idea of the *Principles of Social Science*, by Henry C. Carey, and of all his writings upon this subject. In fine, Herbert Spencer lays down the three following points of resemblance between organisms in nature and human societies, though he fails to make any adequate use of them for the solution of social problems :

"The first is, that, commencing as small aggregations, they—that is, both organisms in nature and societies—insensibly augment in mass, some of them reaching eventually perhaps a hundred thousand times what they originally were. The second is, that while at first so simple in structure as to be almost considered structureless, they assume, in the course of their growth, a continually increasing complexity of structure. The third is, that though, in their early undeveloped state, there exists in them scarcely any mutual dependence of parts, these parts gradually acquire a mutual dependence, which becomes at last so great that the activity and life of each part is made possible only by the activity and life of the rest. These parallelisms will appear the more significant the more we contemplate them. . . . The orderly progress from simplicity to complexity displayed by societies, in common with every living body whatever, . . . distinguishes them from inanimate bodies, . . . and this functional dependence of the parts . . . is exhibited by the noblest animals and highest societies in the greatest degree. . . . The lowest types of animals do not increase to anything like the size of the higher ones; and similarly we see, that aboriginal societies are comparatively of limited growth. In complexity, also, our civilized nations as much exceed the primitive savage ones as a vertebrate animal does a zoöphite. . In simple communities, moreover, as in simple creatures, the mutual dependence of the parts is so slight, that subdivision or mutilation causes little inconvenience, whilst in complex communities, as in complex creatures, you cannot remove or injure any considerable organ without producing great disturbance, or death, to the rest."

We conclude these citations with one from St. Paul, which, beyond comparison, contains the most full and significant exhibition of the organic structure of society that has ever been given. In this passage he sets forth the ideal state of society, as first to be realized in the Christian church, and ultimately in all mankind, by comparing it to the human organism. Elsewhere, also, he refers to this analogy, but here he devotes a long chapter to a detailed exposition of the diversity of organs, functions, ministries, and operations, within the organic unity

of the social body, in order to show that the individuals of which it is composed bear to it, and to each other, relations similar to those between the human body and its members, and between the members themselves. The passage is as follows :

"As the body is one, and hath many members, and as all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ [Christian society]. For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, because I am not the hand I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, because I am not the eye I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor, again, the hand to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary; and those members of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor, and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness. God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honor to that part which lacked, that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should all have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular."

If now we compare this splendid exhibition of the organic structure of society, and of the relations and duties of the different members of the organism, especially with respect to the honor here given to the lowly and despised members—comparing all this with the feeble grasp of the idea by Plato and Aristotle, who condemn the laboring classes to hopeless degradation, we obtain a glimpse of the immeasurable superiority—intellectual as well as moral—of Christianity to heathenism, even when this latter is thus represented by the greatest minds it ever produced. The view which the Scriptures take of those members of society "which we think to be less honorable," is altogether different from that which was inculcated by heathen philosophy; and there would be fewer infidels than there are among the laboring masses, if they only knew how much they are indebted to the Christian religion.

Here, then, we may take occasion to lay down a fundamental principle of method in our science, as we may hope that it

will one day come to be exhibited. This consists in the application of the moral laws of Christianity to the solution of the social, but especially of the industrial, problems. For, however skeptical men may be with respect to the supernatural origin of our holy religion, they seldom fail to recognize the excellence of its moral laws; and the scientific value of these laws, as distinguished from their religious obligation, is illustrated by our social science in an entirely new and striking manner. Hence we may anticipate that this line of investigation will develop the crowning argument in the evidences of Christianity. For, in an experience of many years' teaching, we have found it the most effectual antidote to that distressing skepticism which is now so rife, even in the minds of our ingenuous and thoughtful young men. But, however this may be in the application of these laws to the solution of the industrial and all other social problems—problems which agitate and divide the most advanced thinkers of our time—we can feel that we touch bottom; that we have struck the solid rock; and, building upon this foundation, we can foresee that we shall be able in time to establish a science of social life which time itself will never overthrow.

We come now to exhibit the organic structure of society in the relations of its organs to their organism and to each other. Of these organs there are two classes, which we may characterize by the terms *vital* and *teleological*. The vital organs, in a different sense from that which the words have in physiology, are the individuals or living persons of which society is composed. The teleological organs are the institutions which embody and represent the general aims for which society exists.

In the first place, then, we must consider the organic structure of society as depending upon its vital organs. Here we are immediately struck with the fact, that among the innumerable multitudes of the human race, no two persons can be found who are, in all respects, precisely alike. All human beings are either different from each other by nature, or there is in them by nature a wonderful capacity for differentiation. Each person has some peculiar characteristic, or quality, or capacity, or some peculiar faculty, or combination of faculties, or degree of their development, in virtue of which he is adapted

to do something which cannot be so well done, or to fill some place which cannot be so well filled, by any other person. One is endowed with great physical strength, another with superior intellectual power; one has a natural or acquired adaptation for recluse study, another for business and affairs; one is born a poet, another becomes an orator. In so far as society depends upon the rational and moral nature in man, rather than upon animal instinct—in the degree in which it shapes itself to rational and moral aims—that is to say, just so far as it becomes distinctively human, do these individual differences develop themselves.

For the original differences—those which exist by nature—lead to diversity of occupations. It is natural for men and women to employ themselves differently. Those who are possessed of great physical endowments naturally apply themselves to those pursuits in which success depends upon such qualifications. Those of superior intellectual power, but perhaps of feeble health and strength, are naturally guided in their selection of employments by their special adaptations. The natural tendency is for every one to addict himself to that mode of life in which he feels himself to be most capable of achieving success. Also, differences of taste and of outward circumstances have much to do with this diversity of occupations. From some of these causes, no doubt, “Abel became a keeper of sheep, and Cain a tiller of the ground; Jabal was the father of such as dwell in tents, and have cattle; Jubal was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ; . . . and Tubal-Cain was an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron.”

On the other hand, this diversification of employments reacts upon the natural differences in which it originates, and gives them a more copious development. For, as each person occupies himself with some specialty, he becomes more specialized. The sailor and the farmer are thus differenced from each other by their peculiar modes of life, in their physical forms, in the muscles which are most fully developed, in their gait, features, language, mental faculties and habits, and even in their moral characters, to such a degree, that it is almost impossible to mistake one for the other. A similar differentiation takes place by the almost infinite diversification of em-

ployments which exists throughout the whole circle of every highly-organized community, where we have the farmer, the miller, the baker, the grazier, the butcher, the cook, the carpenter, the mason, the blacksmith, the spinner, the weaver, the tailor, the hatter, the shoemaker, the merchant, the shipper, the sailor, the engineer, the conductor, the brakesman, the stoker, the telegraph-operator, the lawyer, the doctor, the teacher, the artist, the clergyman—these, and numberless others engaged in other special employments and pursuits, in their endless subdivisions and branches.

Moreover, these personal differences—partly natural and partly acquired—and these different employments, are the counterparts and complements of each other just as, in the human organism the stomach is of the mouth, the heart of the lungs, and the senses of each other. This counterpart and complementary relation is most conspicuous in the case of the two sexes; but a similar relation, only in a lower degree, subsists between the farmer and the miller, the miller and the baker, the iron-miner and the iron-manufacturer, the merchant and the shipper, and so on throughout the whole circle of organic society; in consequence of which both the individuals and their employments are mutually adapted to, and do fit into each other, like the carpenter's mortises and tenons, or the fans of dovetailing, or the ball and sockets of the animal joints, or the sutures of the human skull. Hence we have one of the main sources of that intense attraction which binds society together, and which constantly increases as organization advances. For it is in virtue of these counterpart differences that individuals are mutually dependent upon each other, and supply each other's wants, by that vast system of exchanges which is inseparable from organization.

Societary attraction from this source has often been illustrated by that association which naturally takes place between two beggars, one of whom is blind and the other lame, in which the blind carries the lame upon his shoulders, and the lame guides the blind, so that the legs of one and the eyes of the other serve for both. Also, it has been illustrated by a beautiful analogue in the inorganic world, as if even here nature were striving upward toward organization. For no two particles of matter which are precisely alike—that is, no two

atoms of oxygen, or of hydrogen, manifest any attraction for each other. But as soon as we bring together unlike particles, atoms of oxygen and hydrogen, under the proper conditions, they rush into each other's embrace—into chemical combination. Moreover, as even unlike atoms will not combine in other than definite proportions, so many and no more of oxygen with so many and no more of hydrogen, so must there be a definite proportion or correspondence between these differences, both in human beings and in their employments, in order that societary attraction should act with its full power, and the organization of society attain to its highest development. So many tailors and no more can combine with so many shoemakers and no more in any particular community. Where either of these trades is in excess, a portion of its members will be out of work, and ready to leave their place in search of employment elsewhere. But the more perfectly these differences correspond to each other, the more completely do the deficiencies of each find their supplies in the endowments and productions of the others, the stronger becomes the societary attraction, the more firmly society is dovetailed or sutured together, the higher its organization rises, and the nobler is the life which it develops and sustains.

But the most perfect example of all this we have in marriage, which is itself a beautiful organism. For it is wholly founded upon these counterpart differences in their most pronounced form. The two sexes differ from each other in a greater number of particulars, and these differences are more perfectly the counterparts of each other, than in the case of any two individuals of the same sex. With respect to their physical forms, this is sufficiently obvious; but here, as elsewhere, the outward and material is the type of the inward and spiritual. For in man, the intellect predominates, in woman, the affections; and of the intellect itself, the reasoning or logical faculties are the more active and influential in man, the intuitive in woman. In man strength and courage, in woman patience and fortitude, are the distinguishing traits. Prudence is the stronger in man, whose governing motives arise from consideration of the fruit of actions, from foresight of ends or objects to be attained; faith and spiritual instincts are the stronger in woman,

whose most influential motives arise from inward promptings of the heart.

It is from these counterpart and complementary differences that the two sexes, in the marriage union, are mutually and equally dependent upon each other, that which is lacking in each being supplied from the fullness of the other. Hence arises that beautiful system of vital exchanges, that veritable communion of life, in which, on both sides, it is found more blessed to give than to receive. The woman is supported and defended by the strength and courage of her husband; the man is sustained and comforted by the patience and fortitude of his wife. He imparts to her of his prudence and forethought; she to him of her faith and spiritual insight. Her logical faculties are strengthened, become clear and steady, by communion with his understanding; his intellect is informed and quickened by communion with her more direct and living intuitions, and his heart is warmed by the flame of her affections. These vital exchanges are accompanied by others also, which arise from the different employments which are appropriate to man and woman; and here, if we had space to develop it, we should find the ultimate solution of the whole woman question. From what has been said, however, it is sufficiently evident that the two sexes were created to live in organic relations to each other, as members of one organism—that is to say, in marriage; and that from this source the highest development and welfare of both must proceed.

In fine, the mutual attraction between the sexes is due to the same cause. For apart from these differences, together with the mutual dependence and exchanges to which they give rise, there were no place for love or marriage; but in consequence of them, this union is the closest, the most intimate—that is to say, the most perfectly organic—of all human associations. Here the organic structure of society comes forth and discloses its true nature in its most typical form. For it is not, as is often supposed, those things in which men and women are alike, but those in which they are different from each other, which draw them together. The proverb, that “like seeks its like,” refers to more general resemblances than those now under consideration, such as pertain to creatures of the same species, apart from which, as we have seen, no natural association can

exist. But within the specific unity, contrast rather than similarity is the great source of attraction. Accordingly, it has often been observed, that marriages take place more frequently, are more fruitful and happy, and the offspring are more healthy in body and mind, between those who present strong contrasts—physical, intellectual, and moral—than between those who most resemble each other. For where the husband and wife have very similar endowments, temperaments, tastes, and habits, as in the case of very near relatives, the marriage is seldom a happy one, and the proportion of feeble, defective, deformed, and idiotic children is greater than in other marriages. “Breeding in and in” causes animals to degenerate. “Crossing the breed” expresses a physiological law, which is of no less importance for the improvement of mankind than for that of mere animals. This is a sufficient reason, though it is not the only one, for that prohibition of marriage between near relatives which we find in the law of Moses, and in the codes of all civilized nations.

We have treated this example at such length in order to illustrate the great truth, that it is in and through these counter-part differences in persons and their employments that the organization of society develops and perfects itself. For where they are few and feebly marked, there we always find societary attraction feeble, and a low grade of organization. There the people are undeveloped or degraded, and often migratory in their character and habits, ready, on every slight occasion, to abandon country and kindred, in order to form new associations. Hence the migratory tendencies of the Tartar tribes in all ages and countries. Hence, also, those immense migrations of barbarians in the earlier ages of our era, and the great exodus of the Irish in modern times. In the case of the Germans, indeed, we have a similar phenomenon, which has a different explanation. But that of the Irish people is not adequately accounted for by their poverty. For there is as much pauperism in England as in Ireland, but the people do not emigrate in anything like an equal proportion. The true explanation seems to be, that the diversified industries of Ireland have been destroyed by the overshadowing competition of English manufactures, brought to bear upon them through the existing political union between the two countries. From this

cause the Irish are now mostly confined to one form of industry, that of agriculture, in consequence of which their individual differences have merged in one common type of degradation. For the emigrants are so much alike that no one can fail to recognize them wherever they are seen. Hence the decay of the organic structure of society, the loosening of the bonds of societary attraction, and the scattering of the Irish people over the world.

The organization of society perfects and crowns itself by that vast system of mutual exchanges between its interdependent organs which arises out of these counterpart differences. We have the type of this, as we have seen, in the human organism, in which the hands provide for the mouth, the mouth prepares and passes the food over to the stomach, and the stomach distributes it, in the form of nourishment, to all the other organs and parts of the body. Thus, also, the eyes direct the feet, the feet bear the eyes from place to place, the brain supplies intelligence to the body, and the body blood to the brain. The organic law of the whole is mutual interdependence, the supply of the wants of each organ by exchange with all the others. Such, also, is the law of human society, in the degree in which it attains to fullness of organization. For the personal quality, or capacity, or development, in which one individual is deficient, is found in another, and the wants of those who are engaged in the production of one commodity are supplied by other trades. Each person is dependent for the supply of his deficiencies upon all the others, and each contributes something to complete the endowments and productions of the social organism. For as each member of the human body, so each member of the social body, is indispensable to the full and perfect life of the whole. This is limited, however, by the case of a diseased organ, that is, a bad member of society, when, for the welfare of the body, it becomes necessary that he should "be cut off from his people;" but the analogy holds equally good here as elsewhere, for the health of the human body sometimes requires that a diseased member should be amputated. Hence the interest, as represented by St. Paul, which each member of society ought to feel in the safety and welfare of all the others, for "if one member suffer all the other members suffer with it." Hence, also, we might predict, what we always find

as a matter of fact, that only in the more highly organized communities is the life of the individual valued and protected ; in those of low and feeble organization it goes for almost nothing. Recklessness of life, therefore—the bowie knife or the revolver ever at hand—is an infallible sign of a low social organization, of an undeveloped or degraded humanity.

In the most highly organized societies we have the exchange of ideas, of sympathy and affection, of services, and of commodities ; and social life, in its whole development, depends upon the freedom, promptness, and regularity of these exchanges, as much as the life of the human organism depends upon the circulation of the blood. Moreover, they are always the most free and prompt and regular where the differences in persons, employments, and productions are most numerous, and most perfectly the counterparts and complements of each other. Each of these forms of exchange has its own place for detailed exposition in the vast scheme of social science which the analysis of the teleological organs will give us, but here we can only touch, by way of example, upon the exchange of ideas.

Upon this form of exchange, then, depend, in a degree which cannot be over-estimated, the increase and diffusion of knowledge, the development of the human faculties, and the progress of civilization. Its importance may be indicated by the fact, that it is the chief function of language, of speech, writing and printing, and of all other modes of representing or symbolizing thought. The intellectual, no less than every other form of life in man, is essentially a communion. Thought is begotten by mutual intercourse of mind with mind, and it does not go beyond the embryo state until it is brought forth in words or symbols, so as to communicate itself to the minds of others. No man perfectly understands himself until he has made himself understood by another, nor fully believes in his own ideas until he has persuaded others to believe in them. In the words of Novalis: "It is certain that when I have won another to believe as I do, I believe more strongly than I did before."

By this means the knowledge of each becomes available by all, and that of all by each, with comparatively little expense of time or labor. What I know I can communicate to another in a thousandth part of the time it has taken me to learn it, and

that other, of course, can do the same for me. A bare hint is often enough to possess another mind with the fruitful germs of thought which it has taken the lifetime of the author to originate and develop. Thus both parties to this exchange profit by what they receive, and still more by what they give ; for here, as everywhere else, it is more blessed to give than to receive. Thus both are enriched in a twofold manner, and enter upon a new course of acquisition and development, with all the advantages of an intellectual capital so easily acquired, to bring back again, from time to time, into the social circle, their ever increasing treasures.

It is in this way that the faculties of each member of a highly-organized community receive their richest nourishment and most varied culture, attain to their full growth, put forth their most beautiful bloom, and bear their noblest fruit. For the sum of knowledge in society constitutes a common pabulum upon which the minds of individuals nourish themselves ; or, to change the figure, it is the atmosphere which they breathe, and by which they are invigorated and their vision is extended and purified. From the almost infinite diversification of special studies and employments in every such community, it results that the knowledge possessed by each individual of any particular subject, such as health, agriculture, or maritime affairs, is immeasurably greater than it is where no one has ever made a specialty of medicine, farming, or navigation. This difference, which is just that between civilization and barbarism, applies not only to individuals in a particular society, but also to nations which stand in organic relations to other nations, as compared with those which are insulated from the rest of mankind. For in the degree in which communication between the different nations becomes full and free, the human race becomes one organism, each member of which reaps the harvest of the studies and labors and progress of all the others. These relations, moreover, are not limited to present time, but each succeeding generation inherits the accumulations of intellectual, moral, and material capital which have been stored up by all the past ; and, hence, progress in all the elements of wealth—that is, of well-being—must be recognized as a fundamental law of human nature, than which no physical law is more amply verified by the number of facts which it coördinates and explains.

Thus far we have been chiefly occupied with the organic relations of the individual members of society to each other, although this conception of the social organism is no less fruitful with respect to the relations between society itself and its members. But here we must content ourselves with two or three of the plainest inferences.

The first of these is, that the individual does not exist for himself, but for society—the organ for its organism. Consequently every person is bound to have some higher object of life than a merely selfish one, and this object must be the welfare of the community of which he is a member. This is the only principle that can justify a man in laying down his life for his country; and the fact, that there have been so many and such heroic sacrifices for this object, is abundant evidence that the principle lies deep in human nature, and often determines the actions of men, even where it has never been formally recognized by the intellect. Its practicable application in the industrial world would lead to this result, that every person, whatever be his avocation, would aim to produce that which should best promote the welfare of society, and would account nothing else as honorable or lawful, though it might seem to promote his own selfish interest. For an organ which aims to advance its own interest, to the damage of its organism, deserves to be exterminated. This grand result, however, belongs to the future, although the idea itself is a prophecy that it will some day come to be realized.

The second inference is, that society, as an organism, is clothed with the power of government over its own organs. How far it may be wise to exercise this power is a large question, which we cannot here undertake to discuss. Doubtless, the individual should have all the liberty which is consistent with the welfare of society. But what these limits are it is for society, not for the individual, to determine. Also, this power of government must be conceived of as extending to industrial, as well as to all other matters which are of general interest and concern. For what must we think of a man who should abnegate all control over his own organs as to how they should be employed? Society, therefore, has the rightful authority to influence, by wise legislation and other means, the flow of industry; to protect and cherish any particular branch

of production, such as that of iron or silk, leather or broad-cloth, for which the country affords peculiar resources and facilities, and which would be every way beneficial; as also to prohibit and suppress other occupations, which, though they may seem to promote the interests of individuals, are demoralizing, and every way detrimental to the community, such as gambling, lotteries, the liquor traffic, and houses of ill-fame. That theory of government which maintains that industrial matters must be left to take care of themselves is irreconcilable with any true conception of the social organism. It is one, moreover, which is chiefly advocated by those who seek their own selfish interest at the expense of society, and by the strong in order that they may be left free to break down and destroy the weak.

The third inference is, that society is bound to educate, defend, and provide employment for its members. For what must we think of a man who should neglect to educate his own organs to any useful employment, or who should fail to see that they have work to do, or to defend them in their proper functions when assaulted by hostile organisms, or who should renounce the care of them in sickness or infirmity? We must think the same of every organized community which renounces or neglects these high functions and sacred duties with respect to its members, for which society was instituted of God and exists among men. For the right of the poor to labor is simply the right to live. This idea, moreover, strikes deeply into our present system of general education, which turns out our youth utterly unskilled to do anything with their hands, with which the great body of them must earn their living or starve or steal, instead of teaching them some trade or art, so as to enable them to support themselves by their honest labor. This is one fruitful source of crime, but here we cannot develop the idea.

We come now, in conclusion, to exhibit our whole scheme of social science, as based upon the analysis of the teleological organs of society. These organs, as we have said, are the institutions which embody and represent the special aims of social life, and by means of which these aims are realized.

Now, the most general or comprehensive object of society, for which it was instituted of God, is human welfare. For society originated in the creation of woman, when God said:

"It is not good for man to be alone ; I will make a help meet for him." It is true this was spoken with reference to the primal form of human association, yet manifestly it was intended to apply to marriage, considered not only in itself, but also as the fountain-head of the streams of life and population, which are the elements of all society. Therefore, man's true well-being, in its most general sense, cannot be realized otherwise than in and through association and communion with his kind. This welfare, moreover, consists in the satisfaction of all the wants, in the gratification of all the lawful and ordinate desires of human nature ; and these wants and desires, under a rigorous analysis, resolve themselves into six classes, comprehending six special aims of society, together with six corresponding classes of institutions for the realization of these aims, or the satisfaction of these wants. The first is the want of society itself, which seeks its gratification through the institution of marriage, and the offspring which flows from it ; the second is the want of education, which is supplied through the family, and all other educational institutions ; the third includes the material wants, for the supply of which we have all the institutions of industry : the fourth is the want of justice and order in society, to satisfy which is the aim of civil government ; the fifth comprises all those wants which spring from the love of the beautiful in man, and which seek their gratification through the institutions and appliances of art ; the sixth class is that of the religious wants, which are supplied through the institutions of religion. These six classes of institutions, for the reason that they represent the special aims of human society, are here characterized as its teleological-organs.

1. The first of these—marriage—of which the great end or aim is the procreation of human beings, for the satisfaction of the want in man of society itself, as it was the first in time, so also is it the first in importance of all the social institutions. For this object God created man male and female, and blessed them, saying : "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." Its paramount importance is abundantly illustrated by the subjects which are included under it in social science, and which are such as the following : The fundamental laws of marriage, as laid down in the Word of God and in the nature of man ; its influence upon human well-being, according as

these laws are observed, and the evils which flow from their violation, by promiscuous intercourse, adultery, polygamy, and unlawful divorce; population, the causes, laws, and effects upon human welfare, of its increase and decline; the organic nature of marriage, together with the mutual exchanges to which it gives rise in its relations to the other teleological organs. The true doctrine of marriage is the corner-stone of the whole structure of social science.

2. The second of these teleological organs includes the educational institutions of society, at the head of which stands the family. For the family cannot be comprehended in its true nature and objects otherwise than as an educational institution. This is the object above all others for which "God setteth the solitary in families." But education must be taken here in its most comprehensive sense, as that the object of which is to satisfy the human want of development—the development of all the physical and mental faculties, not only those of children and youth, but also of men and women throughout the whole of life; and not only individuals, but also the race. Consequently, the institutions and appliances of education are not only schools, colleges, and universities, but also learned societies, and whatever is intended to promote the increase and diffusion of knowledge. Under this head in social science we have a vast range of subjects the interest of which is constantly increasing, and which have never yet been treated as a whole, such as the following: The organic nature of the family, and of all other educational institutions, and their organic relations among themselves, to the other teleological organs, and to society itself; the education of children and youth of both sexes, the object of which is general—that is, the development and control of all the faculties of mind and body, together with the methods, means, institutions, and appliances by which this object can best be obtained; the education of adults, the object of which is special—that is, the development and culture of particular faculties and aptitudes for the practice of the different trades, arts, professions, and pursuits, together with the means by which this object can be most effectually realized; the education of society itself, regarded as a self-perpetuating and ever-progressive form of life, the object of which is universal—that is, the development and culture of humanity by means of all the institutions and appliances for the increase and diffusion of

knowledge, such as the public press, popular lectures, lyceums, academies, and learned societies.

3. The third of these organs includes all the institutions of industry, for the satisfaction of the want in man of material well-being. This form of wealth resolves itself at last into human control over the physical forces and the properties of matter. This third special aim of society was divinely prescribed to man, and its relation to his social nature was indicated, when he was created. For God said to the first human pair: "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." Here nature, in its utmost extent, is given to man, and he is commanded to subdue it to his own uses and ends. Thus we are divinely authorized to acquire and possess material wealth, and are directed to the only source from which it can be derived—that is, the subjugation of nature. The subjects included under this head, together with those under the first, constitute nearly the whole of that department of social science which goes by the name of political economy. They are such as the following: The nature of wealth, value and its measures; the distinction between national and individual wealth, the former consisting of utilities, the latter of values; the production of wealth, the wealth producing power or labor, skilled and unskilled, free and slave; division and organization of labor; the industrial arts, capital, and wages; the instruments of production, tools, machinery, and domesticated animals; agriculture, or the production of food and raw materials, the occupation and improvement of the soil, land tenures, rent; mines, forests, and fisheries; manufactures, or the production of finished commodities, the distribution of wealth, commerce, home and foreign trade, free trade, and protection, industrial independence of nations; harbors, rivers, canals, roads; the media of exchange, money, credit, banks; taxation, war, and other checks upon the production and distribution of wealth; the organic relations of all the institutions and branches of industry to each other, to the other teleological organs, and to society.

4. The fourth in order of these organs includes all the institutions and appliances of art, or the fine arts, for the satisfac-

tion of the love of the beautiful. Under this head we have the following and kindred subjects: The importance of art culture to the welfare and happiness of mankind; the influence of poetry, music, sculpture, painting, architecture, the drama, public spectacles and amusements upon individual and national character and development; means for the promotion of art, and for the culture of the æsthetic faculties; the significance of great municipal and national monuments of art; the organic relations of the different arts and art-institutions to each other, to their coördinate organs, and to society.

5. The fifth of these organs includes all the institutions of civil government, the object of which is the realization of justice and order in society. In this department of social science we have the following and kindred subjects: The nature, powers, and functions of government; laws—municipal, constitutional, and international; the history of government, from its origin in tribal associations, through its various forms, patriarchal, monarchical, despotic, aristocratic, republican, democratic, and mixed; the progress of civil liberty, the development of free institutions; the organic relations of governmental institutions to each other, to the other teleological organs, and to society, also of different nations to each other—this last being as yet imperfectly realized.

6. The sixth and last of these organs comprises the institutions of religion. For religion is an essential element of human nature, and the want of communion with God is an original want of the human soul. Never yet was it, nor ever can it be, well with man without the supply of this want. Religion, moreover, is essentially, though not exclusively, a social principle. Pre-eminently the religious life is a communion. Solitary asceticism, in all its forms, is a wretched abuse of the moral and spiritual nature. Hence it is one of the special aims of society to make provision for the supply of this want by institutions for the social worship of God, and for the communion of his worshipers with each other. Under this head, although it has never before been included in any scheme of social science, we have all subjects which pertain to religion, in so far as it is a social principle.

The foregoing analysis of the lawful and ordinate wants of human nature, in the supply of which its welfare consists, of

the corresponding aims of society to supply these wants, and of the organs or institutions which embody and represent these aims, and through which they are realized—this analysis is exhaustive, and furnishes a scheme for the classification, or grouping, and exposition, of all the social phenomena. There is no social fact or interest which does not range itself naturally under one or other of these comprehensive divisions. Of course it does not lie in the power of any man to fill out this vast scheme, for

Art ist lange, und kurtz ist unser leben.

The laborers also are as yet few in this great harvest-field, but they are constantly increasing, and each one who faithfully cultivates any little nook or corner of it contributes something to the crowning result. It is true we have had in this, as in every other new science, a great crop of premature theories, with comparatively little of harvested truth; for this crude theorizing has distorted, perverted and even denied, many of the most simple and obvious facts of social life—the love of system being ever liable to become stronger than the love of truth, than which there is no more copious source of errors. But all this must in time give way to the method of observation and induction, which has already produced the most encouraging results. The time must come when this most comprehensive and most human of all the sciences shall be no less productive of welfare and blessing to mankind than it is now full of promise and of hope.

Art. V.—THE ORGANIC UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

By WILLIAM E. KNOX, D.D., Elmira, N. Y.

CHRIST prayed that believers might be made perfect in one. And never were so many lips repeating the prayer as now, nor so many ears waiting for the heavenly answer. We speak advisedly in saying, that the signs of a speedy answer were never so bright to the vision of the church as to the generation now coming upon the stage, and which, we have faith to believe, shall not pass away until these things are fulfilled.

Our discussion includes the Nature of this Unity; its present state of Advancement; and the Causes at work for its speedy consummation.

First, as to the Nature of the expected church Unity and the elements that compose it. We assert, in the general, that it is the highest possible unity. Christ prayed that his disciples might be made *perfect* in one. The adjective, *τελειος*, is defined by Robinson as something "complete, full, perfect, deficient in nothing." The word used by the Saviour is *τελειωμενοι*, and had an adverbial sense, so that Robinson would have us read: "that they may be perfected so as to be one, *i. e.*, that they may be perfectly united in one." Tholuck says the idea of unity is expressed in a stronger way here than elsewhere; "it is a perfect unity." Other authorities might be cited as showing that the unity in the divine thought, and which ought to be in our own, is a complete unity, in distinction from one that is partial, unsymmetrical, ineffective.

1. The starting point, of course, is unity of faith, especially faith in Christ. The union of believers to one another results from their union to a common Lord and Saviour. "I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one." It is what men believe in regard to any human leader, whether emperor, president, or candidate for these high offices, that unites them to one another as his followers and supporters. And it is by believing in Christ that we become "followers together of Christ." We must be at one in the main articles of evangelical doctrine before we can be at one in any gospel

sense. It is an awkward and irksome agreement that comes from bringing into a common enclosure those who have nothing in common with Christ. Paul calls it an unequal yoking of believers with unbelievers; a concord as discordant as that between Christ and Belial; a communion as uncongenial as of light with darkness.

2. The second element of a true unity is love. We need not dwell here, for it is a point conceded. To have faith in Christ is to believe most of all in his love; for the love of Jesus in the redemption of men is his distinguishing characteristic. And to believe in his love, is to have love in our hearts to him and to all who are his. "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."

3. The third element is oneness of aim and effort. The conversations and prayer of the 15th, 16th, and 17th of John show that faith and love in Christian hearts are with a view to definite results. In the 15th chapter it is said: "He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing." And in the 17th chapter this fruit and this doing are declared to be the glorifying of Christ, and as contributing to that, the bringing the world to believe in him. All highest glory to God, and good to man, are contained in believing and loving the Lord Jesus. All the fruits of the Spirit enumerated by Paul in Galatians, depend from the branch that abideth in Christ the vine. No man can be in Christ by faith without wishing all others to be—without praying the prayer of Jesus, and working the work of Jesus, that they may be. And this being the effect on all real disciples, it is clear that a union of faith and love is also a union of aim and effort.

4. We are prepared to say, in the fourth place, that the one thing remaining to render this union complete—a perfect unity, such as Christ prayed for—is oneness of organization. By organization is meant, as the word imports, everything pertaining to the outward structure and furniture of the church—its government, methods of operation, ordinances, worship, etc.

The mention of these things will suggest to some, as we are

well aware, that we have passed from a higher to a lower plane in the discussion, and perhaps by so sudden and sharp a descent that the jar on our readers' nerves will be a tax on their patience. That patience we bespeak, for we have much labor to expend on them in this part of the subject, and which we fear, as Paul said to the Galatians, may be in vain.

It is noteworthy, that in a day when Christian union is so much discoursed of, organic union is by common consent counted out of consideration. If any mention is made of it, it is only to suggest, that of course no one pleads for *that*. The union that is in the general thought is something, we are told, much higher—an essential, and not a formal, superficial union. But the more we reflect on the subject, the less do we understand why organic union should be lightly esteemed, or set in opposition to that which is interior, spiritual, and essential.

I. We can but observe, in the first place, that most of the good we know in this world is connected with organization, and is nothing without it. It is the nature of all life to organize, and the most perfect of organisms is that which we have in the human form—scriptural type, by the way, of the organization belonging to the spiritual life that is in Christ's body, the church. No one thinks it necessary to depreciate the organic part of man in order to exalt that which is intellectual and moral. If a student in the theological seminary were to submit a sermon on the text about presenting the body a living sacrifice, we presume the homiletical professor would not think it necessary to suggest that the only thing of importance here was not the body at all, but the mind and heart. Having these right, the body might be left to take care of itself, or, in the noble scorn of some, the old Gnostics might be put under foot, and even into the Epicurean mire. The acknowledged fact, on the contrary, is, that the forces of a man within the body are nothing practically to the world except as they are organically connected and outwardly manifested through the body, and that the unity of the consecration implied in a living sacrifice would be fatally incomplete, if the body were not included. It is not enough to say of human life in the general, "What we want is good will, right understanding between man and man—no matter about society and government. That is merely exterior and organic—we wish to do

with essentials." For all the ends of social welfare it has ever been found that organized society *is* one of the essentials, and without it the public weal cannot be promoted.

II. Especially ought we to note how this fact of exterior organization has been recognized in the provision for the general *spiritual* well being. If you say the elements of that well being are primarily interior and spiritual, such as love, faith, fellowship—yet as positively are they never dispersed from the exterior and physical; that is, from the organism through which they obtain their manifestation. The church is that organism. Hence, wherever under apostolic preaching there was in any community the beginning of Christian knowledge, faith, obedience, there was the immediate beginning of a Christian church. As individual piety finds expression through the individual bodily organs, so collective piety is expressed through the common body—the church. The apostles were not content with any fruits of their preaching that did not have this opportunity of expression. They would not leave behind them on their evangelical itineracy a piety that was simply interior and isolated, but always that which was associated, and thus effective. In all their epistles and prayers it was that *visible* as well as vital thing, the church that is in Rome, Ephesus, Corinth, which they have in their eye as an object of beauty and blessedness: "Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular, ye are all baptized into one body." "Now," says Paul, comparing the church body to the human body, "are they many members, but one body." The apostles would have the individual and interior experiences of their converts combined in oneness of spirit and oneness of association. Their virtual unity must become visible; their essential unity, organic unity.

So with denominational unity. To promote that, you must have the Calvinists in one body and the Arminians in another. There must be efficient organization. Organic unity must be secured in order to actual unity. No one undervalues it for such ends. And just as clear is it, that a general union, that shall include all believers, must in the end and in its completeness be a church organization. There must, as Paul says, be one *body* and one spirit.

III. Note a third fact. Just in the ratio that effort for a common end becomes earnest and efficient, does it tend to a

common organized method. There is always a best way of accomplishing an end, and all true enterprise seeks to find it. In the ordinary art processes, when said processes become enterprising; in commerce, agriculture, and manufacture, the most skilled and scientific method eventually takes the lead and absorbs every other. The most effective machinery, whether it be a printing-press, a sewing or mowing-machine, becomes the model after which every implement in that department is fashioned. In politics, common ends, where they are earnestly sought, tend always to a common organization. At the first the several American colonies, with much diversity of individual polity, were simply a confederation; but in the prosecution of the common end of liberty, they took on a likeness of state organization, and a common constitution was found needful. The confederation gave place to the Union. Italy furnishes a more recent instance. The moment the separate provinces took heart for freedom from imperial and papal tyranny, there was a movement toward oneness of political reconstruction under a common head, and out of it came the consummation of Italian unity. Germany supplies a yet later illustration.

We do not base our argument for ultimate unity of organization on the assumption that there is a divinely appointed organism defined in the New Testament. We may believe the Scriptures contain nothing explicit on this point—no *jure divino* model of church polity. If, however, there is such an appointed form—which is here neither affirmed nor denied—we insist that it is the best form, and our point holds good, viz., that in the coming development of an earnest faith and fellowship, that form will ultimately be apprehended and accepted. In that mental condition into which the church is soon to come, it will be recognized that the end is the main thing, and the agency of no account except as it is adapted to the end. And as in the arts of ordinary life, as in politics and public education, it is at length discovered what the best way to the desired result is, and as the earnest effort for the valued result lays hold at last of the best method, which thus becomes the common one. so must it be in the great earnest religious movement of these latter days, looking to the millennial age. Mark well the process. The faith and love of the church, quickening into new

life in these pre-millennial efforts, will emerge into a spiritual earnestness little short of a new experience; this earnestness will content itself with nothing short of the most effective method; the effective method will be accepted as the best, and the best method is the one method which shall complete the spiritual unity of God's people in an organic unity. But more of this presently.

IV. Oneness of organization is indispensable to oneness of manifestation. The union for which Christ prayed is apparent as well as actual—"perfect in one, that the world may know that thou hast sent me." Now, it is certain that the numerous church organizations are in apparent conflict with unity. They are regarded by multitudes as diverse, and even adverse, corporations. Allow that this, to a great extent, is only in appearance; yet just to that extent it is an evil. The impression is not the one Christ seeks of an impressive unity. And ecclesiastical history reveals how often the evil appearance has been identical with the actual evil. The setting up of separate church establishments tends inevitably to jealousy, strife, ambition, alienation, as the universal experiment proves. It will of course be suggested, how much sharper the alienating tendency would become were these diverse organizations suddenly fused or confused in one, and how certainly peace is sometimes better promoted by the separation of the herdsmen of Abraham and Lot, than by the union of those of Isaac and Gerar. But here let it be distinctly understood, that it is no forced unity we are advocating. We are not such zealots for union that we are impatient to add unionism to the number of the sects—a weakness sufficiently illustrated in days gone by, if they are wholly gone. Christian union can only live in an atmosphere of freedom, and it would not edify us to see "volunteers," even to so sacred a cause, "dragged to duty." Christian union implies the essential equality of the sects, and we are not such High Church unionists as to insist that the Lord's mountain shall come to little Mohammed, instead of little Mohammed (however large he may feel himself to be) going to the mountain. It is a part of our creed on this subject, that the church is not yet ready for the complete union we are advocating. It would be a positive obstruction in the way if the sects should be brought instantly together. A work of preparation

must be done, one part of which is the encouragement of the church universal to hope and pray and labor for this end. And this encouragement we propose to do our part in affording, by showing how much nearer the church is to the great event than she suspects, and what causes are mightily at work, and with swiftly accelerating revolution, to bring it to pass in the lifetime of another generation.

As things have been, we know full well that separation were, in some cases, a better peace expedient than association; that it was better forty years ago, for example, for the Presbyterians to be taught in two schools a lesson they would not study in one school. But what has been in the history of Presbyterianism was no prophecy of its present record. And what has been in the relations of the several denominations is no criterion of what is to be, and that speedily. *The change of relation in the two Presbyterian Schools within the thirty years past, making them one, is greater than need be in all the Schools the next thirty years to make them one.* There is no such antagonism between the leading evangelical denominations of Christendom as, within a generation, existed between the sections of our own church. And, as we shall show, the self-same causes are at work to dissolve the antagonism in the latter case as in the former, and with as little possibility of its re-crystalizing. Of course these causes must have time to work; but do not let us be looking into eternity for what is to be an event of time.

V. Organic unity is a required element in the *moral power* the church is yet to wield. The Romish church has borrowed untold strength from this source—one in name and form the world over. If her actual unity had answered to her organic, Protestantism must needs have been still heavier armed to make head against her. As it is, we gladly recognize the Protestant diversity in an imperfect unity as a better attribute than the papal unity in an irreconcilable diversity. But when the day dawns that shall give us a visible springing from an interior unity, that will be a spectacle like the sign of the Son of Man in the heavens. Though Satan, in the person of Rome and Rationalism, "dilated stood," as Milton describes him in his attitude toward Gabriel,

"Like Teneriffe or Atlas unremoved,"

he would know that sign, as when Gabriel showed him the golden scales aloft, and he

———"Fled

Murmuring, and with him fled the shades of night."

Who does not see how the moral power of the Presbyterian Church has gained by the union of six years ago, and how the Calvinistic heart takes new cheer from every added instance that greets us from Canada and the British Isles? But think of the whole church gathering thus under one upraised banner, and then moving in a body upon the enemy's works. No imagination can conceive the inspiration, the irresistibleness, of such an army of the Lord!

VI. Organic unity is demanded by a regard to that element of efficiency that lies in economy. The Lord we serve abhors waste, and easy to him as it is to feed five thousand men with a few barley loaves, he will have the fragments gathered up and nothing lost. It must be very displeasing to him when more is wasted in the fragments than is given in the food. It is what has been done innumerable times in the dissevered fragmentary church. It is what is in repetition now in thousands of feeble churches, fainting missionary out-fields, and forlorn colleges and theological seminaries. The cry on every hand is for money. We have plenty of men, but a poverty of means to give them efficiency; field enough, but no seed to sow it with; waving harvests, in fact, but no wages to pay those who should be gathering them in. When times are easy, the treasury, nevertheless, is overdrawn; and when the times are hard, we know too well how it is—the Boards fairly creak under the pressure, and the cry is, "there is no where any money—therefore, can you not send in the more?"

There are resources squandered in fragments of aid that are never gathered up into any result, enough to feed the needy thousands and millions, if Christian leaders only knew how to bring order into church work, and make the hungry multitude sit down "in ranks," while the ministers of the church feed them consecutively "by companies," instead of a dozen ministers trying to feed the same company, leaving a dozen companies without one to feed them. When French cooks undertake to teach Americans domestic economy, they complain that one point of weakness is not in the quality of the food we consume,

but in the quantity we waste. Here is the weakness of the universal church. Only in union is there the strength that replaces such weakness. In the unity Christ prayed for, there will be a high regard to efficiency, and therefore economy—the sacred husbanding of mental energies and material resources for the work of God. And there is no unity where economy can be thoroughly systematized, except where the unity is organic.

We come now to a still more interesting inquiry—the Evidences that such a Unity is Practicable, and that very speedily. Believing fully in a practical and visible union near at hand, we submit the following hopeful considerations.

1. There is first the cheering indication as to oneness of faith. Here it is a joy to say, that our Christian differences are more in appearance than actuality. The evil of our separate organizations consists in part in magnifying the appearance above the substance. Our notable outward divisions make the impression that the inward differences are equally marked. In fact, however, there is throughout our evangelical Christendom a substantial unity of doctrine. Let us illustrate. The Protestant Episcopal Church has 39 Articles of Faith. When the Methodist Episcopal Church became a secession, and especially when it was organized in this country, it abridged the 39 Articles to twenty-five, omitting such as referred to sin after baptism, the homilies, etc. The Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Baptist Churches could adopt the 39 Articles with still less abridgment. In truth, we hold some of the original articles (as the 17th), more thoroughly than our Episcopal brethren. Whereas, they *tell* us about predestination being a "sweet and pleasant" doctrine; we have *tasted* for ourselves, and found it so. And for all the evangelical sects there could be a Confession of Faith framed that would include their main doctrines, without abridging the 39 Articles more than the Methodists have done, and in most instances not so much. And in such a formula what have we? The doctrine of the Unity of God in a Trinity of Persons; the Divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit; the inspired Rule of Faith in the Scriptures; the universal depravity of man; the vicarious atonement; justification by faith in Christ; righteousness; the existence and authority of the church,

its ministry and sacraments ; the relation of faith to good works as cause to effect ; the doctrine of eternal reward and punishment. Where is the evangelical church that will not say these articles contain the eminent and essential truth of the Gospel.

As entirely confirming this statement, we quote from the address of that renowned master of theology, Dr. Charles Hodge, at the last Evangelical Alliance, and to which there came back a response like the voice of ocean waters from the world-wide representative assembly. "There is," said Dr. Hodge, "no more common reproach against Christians than that they are divided so much in their belief. There is some truth in this ; but, my brethren, we are one in faith ; we believe in the Apostles' Creed ; we believe in God the Father, in Jesus Christ, his only Son ; we believe in the Holy Ghost, in the Holy Catholic Church, the forgiveness of sins, and the life everlasting. All Christians believe in the doctrine of the Trinity, the perfect manhood of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Where is the Christian that does not bow his knee to Christ ? In believing Christ as our Saviour, we believe that he died for us, he saved us by his blood, bearing our sins in his body on the tree, and there is no salvation in any other name under heaven. We all believe in the Holy Ghost, and that without his sanctifying power men are dead in trespasses and sins. Are we not one, my brethren, in faith ?"

2. How increasingly great also is the unity in love and good works. We may appeal to general observation here without dwelling on the point. Consider the absence of denominational controversy from our pulpits as compared with fifty and thirty years ago. Compare the facility with which ministers generally unite in religious services, the meeting of Christians of every name in institutes, unions, and conventions ; the oneness of feeling in such a world-representative body as the Evangelical Alliance. To modify a figure borrowed from Dr. Hodge : let an anatomist place his ear upon the breast of any man, white, black, or red, and he hears the pulsations, the reverberations, the mystic murmurs all the same. So let him place his ear to any Christian man's heart—to the heart of any great Christian assembly—and he will hear the inward beating and reverberation and mystic evangelic murmurs all the same. The echoing sound is one. It is not Calvin, nor Wesley—it is Christ.

3. In respect to aim and effort, there is also a far advanced and steadily advancing unity in the church. Recall the sermons of late years preached and prayers offered in Sabbath congregations, the discussions in our assemblies, associations, conferences, and conventions—the burden of them is everywhere the same, viz. : the honor of our common Lord, and the wants of an unevangelized world. The great enterprises of one church are those of all—home and foreign missions, church erections, ministerial education, freedmen, etc. The cry is one in all the courts of the Lord's house, "O Lord revive thy work, make thy ways known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations;" "And especially as to the holy church universal, that it may be guided and governed by the Spirit of God, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life."

So much being granted as to the rapidly increasing unity of faith, affection, aim, what remains as to the point most in question, and which writers on this subject so much avoid—the prospective Unity of Organization?

(1.) At the outset, may it not pertinently be asked: If the former things are practicable, why not the latter? If the greater, why not the less. If the eminent doctrines of religion on such high themes as the trinity, redemption, and retribution, are not too remote to be grasped and held in a common understanding by Christians of all names; if the controlling enterprises of the church springing from these doctrines are embraced in the common work of the church, why may not the subordinate questions that relate only to the manner and the means? The doctrines and designs of the gospel once taken into the common heart of the church, the remaining problem is how they shall be made real to other hearts? It is a question of simple conveyance. You have the common treasure—the Gospel; you have the common vehicle—the church; you have the common motive power—the spirit in the church; you lack only a common track, of the right gauge and grade, for the Lord's chariot to run upon. In fact, you have the roadway already prepared as to bed, ballast, direction, and grade. You only need to broaden the gauge.

It is observable that at the last Evangelical Alliance the dif-

ferences of outward organization were commonly spoken of as "petty differences," as well they might be, and yet as differences which, from variety of mental and moral temperament, Christians could not be expected to surrender. But we repeat the question, if the pre-eminent differences of doctrine are admitted to be capable of solution—are, in fact, already dissolved in a substantial unity—why may not this be yet true of the petty differences of method? Are there no varieties of mental temperament to interfere with doctrinal agreement? Is it all the same in these respects, whether the theologian is born within the arctic circle or under the tropics; whether he is an effervescent Methodist, or a self-contained Presbyterian?

The problem, otherwise stated, is like this: The representatives of universal Christendom having arrived in New York to the Evangelical Alliance, find themselves confronted with a practical difficulty. After some conference they say, it is certain we are in great harmony of opinion and object—the difficulty is to give our common agreement a common expression. We have a substantial unity, but we need to embody and emphasize it, and that can only be done in some kind of organic unity. In other words, we need to organize our convention, and adopt some rules of government and methods of procedure. We need a chairman or president or moderator or bishop or superintendent, and a secretary or scribe or temporary clerk. We want a committee or session or stewardship or vestry. But on these "petty differences" of name, we know, dear brethren, differences of mental temperament widely separate us, and it is so doubtful whether we can agree upon these and other details as to worship and ordinances and speeches, and possibly sermons, that really it will be best not to speak of them. Individually we are very near right, but organically we do not know where we might be. The wider apart we keep, the nearer we are like to be together.

Of course, you say, we cannot imagine sensible men in a perplexity over so small a matter. They will see at once that nothing can be well done without organization; that feeling and thinking alike will amount to little unless they can put themselves in mutual communication. But they will see, also, that to men in real earnest to get into communication, a way will be opened. The question of organizing the Alliance is

not one that should discourage them, if the greater questions of faith and fraternity are not in the way. Even a Sunday-school convention of all the denominations finds a way always of organizing itself. It does not get over the organic difficulty by ignoring it, or treating it as of no moment. It will be said this sort of organic arrangement is for a temporary purpose, and so, of course, is not difficult. But some of our Sunday-school conventions, as is also the case with the world's Alliance, have permanent organizations, perpetuated from year to year. So far as they need organization they secure it. They give the organic question a place, and just the place that belongs to it.

(2.) Furthermore, the church has once been in the perfect unity we are advocating. The members "continued steadfast in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread, and in prayers" (Acts ii : 42). The unity, according to this record, began in theological doctrine, but extended to outward organization (fellowship), to visible sacraments (breaking of bread), and forms of worship (prayers). This was what Christ had just before prayed for—a making perfect in one; a unity, interior and exterior, spiritual and organic.

(3.) It is also universally admitted and expected that this lost unity will at some time be regained. Of course in heaven, and as certainly in the heavenly condition of the church during the earthly millennium. Then it will be possible for the petty, as well as principal, differences to be waived—wholly swallowed up in absolute identity of faith and fellowship. That being granted, it must be conceded, also, that the church will approximate this state as she approaches the millennium. We are aware some of the brethren fear that organic unity will only help postpone the millennium. It will only endanger the disruption of the body with new violence. They think the church cannot endure so near a contact of its members without a mutual and fatal repulsion. The thought comes from an inadequate view of the surroundings of the future church. Certainly of the church of the first-born in heaven, there should be no fear from the prospective neighborhood of its members. Something, never fear, will be provided in the surroundings there to prevent disastrous explosion. And so there will approximately, as we approach the heavenly state in the earthly mil-

lennium, whither we are now tending. No doubt the majority of those who read this REVIEW hold to the old-fashioned millennium that comes steadily by the use of means, and not suddenly by miracle. They are consistently bound to hold that the organic unity of that time does not come by sudden miracle, but by a gradual movement, and that such unity must be initiated, if not perfected, before the millennium. Now that such an organic unity is near to the initiative, with a view to the millennium, is a point to which we solicit special attention.

(4.) For observe, as our last point, that the failure to recognize the coming Organic Unity of the Church is due to a non-appreciation of the tremendously efficient causes now at work to produce it.

This cause, first of all—the earnest realization, into which the church is entering, of the work she has to do. *Is entering*, we say; for the church has been far enough from realizing the truth she has so often dreamily, if not cantingly, uttered—that the world is to be converted to Christ. It will be an era in her history when she fully apprehends that this is her work—her one great work. A new era, when the world, too, comes to understand this, and to raise up all her forces against it. Then we shall know fully, as we have yet but feebly, of that scene prophecy 3,000 years ago pictured—“the kings of the earth setting themselves, and the rulers taking counsel, against the Lord and against his anointed, saying, let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords from us.” We think we know something now, but nowise as we shall then, of the mischief the powers of wickedness in high places intend in the demolishing of our Sabbaths, the degradation of the ministry, the disbanding of the church, the denial of Scripture revelation—nay, the blotting out of God’s providence and personality from men’s hearts. If the sacred things entrusted to the church, or the family, or the state, are to be maintained, it will be because of the defenses set around them in the living barricade of brave, believing hearts. It is because God’s host is to be made ready for a battle that shall be the least like a holiday parade this world ever saw. It would seem as if none were too blind to perceive the initial mustering of the elements of evil in our land, to look no further; though the further you

look, the more ominous the vision is. It is the growing realization of things to come that has given birth to the Evangelical Alliance, and brought so many awakened and anxious hearts to her councils from all the church enclosures of Protestant Christendom: the Dean of Canterbury at last among them, bearing a letter missive from the Archbishop and Primate of all England. "Never since the Reformation," says his alarmed Right Reverence, "has it been more important that Christian men should understand and coöperate with one another, and that they should, by the manifestation of their union in faith and good works, offer an effectual opposition to the growing progress of superstition and infidelity. And never has this union been more earnestly longed for than in the present day." It means much when once such a chief dignitary breaks through the reserve with which usage has hedged him about, and despatches his plenipotentiary, thus armed, to a convocation of denominational delegates. He sees, as other leading divines of his church are beginning to do, that this is no time for standing on points of ecclesiastical etiquette and technical nicety; for dividing on rules of government, forms of worship, and modes of procedure, when the enemy is thundering at the gates, and it needs all our men-at-arms to withstand him. In the presence of such a foe, what are all our sectarian distinctions, that they should divide the army of the living God?

In the day of our great Rebellion, so long as we under-estimated the adversary we had to deal with, we could discuss sectional questions and indulge a party spirit that made sedition take heart for its evil work. But when the danger rose to view in its magnitude, it quickly closed up our ranks, silenced our discussions, and made us one army of attack and defense. So, increasingly, is it to be in the church, as the battle with anti-Christ waxes warm, and our imperilled interests plead for vindication. More and more the church in all its branches is coming to see that her one work, to be prosecuted with one mind, is that which Christ inaugurated and with dying words enjoined. The church presently is to be so absorbed in that work that she will care for nothing but the best way of accomplishing it. There is a best way, and she will insist on finding it. No matter whose way it is; whether

some one mind or communion suggests it, or whether, more likely, many minds and communions contribute to its completeness—the moment it is seen to be the eminent and effective one, the whole church will claim it.

We have something more than a fine fancy in all this. There is the basis of an accomplished fact beneath it. We have been outlining the process by which one of the unexpected wonders of the day was brought to pass—in the re-union of the Old and New School Presbyterian Church. There were many of our wise brethren who were positive that re-union in that quarter was a miracle, to be postponed to the millennium. So sagacious a man as ALBERT BARNES, not ten years before the actual event, said to the writer of this article, with emphasis on every word, "*That, sir, is a thing that can never be.*" He spoke what he thought he knew, and had profoundly learned by the opportunities of experience as well as observation. He had also written many commentaries on the Scriptures, and no doubt had noted what Solomon says of the contentions of brethren being like the bars of a castle. Yoke an Arminian heifer to a high Calvinistic barb, and expect them to draw the ark without shaking it, but look for no such service by coupling Old and New School war horses. We have in distinct remembrance all the old-suggested impossibilities in the way of reconciling that family difficulty, proverbially the most sour and stubborn of all our theologic antagonisms, and it comforts us in recalling them to find there is not left a new impossibility to be named in the way of the greater reconciliation we are now looking for. The arguments against the union of the Old and New Schools were those and only those urged now so positively against the union of all the schools. It was then foreseen by our excellent but uninspired prophets, that our coming together would be only the renewing of our old hair splitting exertions, dogmatical wranglings, and personal exasperations, until we should fly off into a sharper and wider repulsion. But there were others who differently understood the altered aspect of the times, and how the great church work God was pressing on our hands, at home and abroad, would furnish us other employment more to our tastes, and thus a new attraction too strong for the old repellant forces to overcome. And so it has proved. The one question in the united Assem-

bly has concerned our church work and the way to do it. Occupied with that, we have had neither occasion nor inclination for theological differences. If some ambitious professor or preacher could not find swing enough among us for his eccentricities, the judgment of the Assembly was, let him take his rope with him and depart in peace to any other platform that shall better serve the end that awaits him.

The objectors to union were positive that we could never arrange the details of our coöperation ; the politics and policies, for example, of our Boards and Committees. But here, again, the urgency of our church work came to our aid. It put us, as in the notable instance of the Home Missionary Board, upon our best effort to find the best way, without caring whether it were an Old School or New School way ; and when it was found the Assembly adopted it by overwhelming majorities. Till we came together we did not see just how this was to be ; but the door to our adjustments seemed to open of itself, and we had only to pass through. And so it will be when all the church schools are in one. Again, the old question is asked, how shall we settle the details of doctrine of polity and policy, of ordinance and usage ? Why, by learning to waive doctrinal disagreements that are not radical, and by being in such earnest upon the great practical end to be gained that the means shall be nothing cared for only as they conduce to that end. Of course, the details are more numerous in the anticipated union than in the accomplished one, but the facilities in mastering them are to be more numerous also ; our earnestness in church work is to be vastly intensified, and our spiritual insight, aptness, and energy proportionally quickened.

To recur to the analogy of the world's Alliance. There they were, gathered from the churches of all countries, far apart geographically and ethnologically, but near together spiritually. Did they have to pause long at the threshold to ask, how shall we govern ourselves in the convention ? How shall we organize ? Who shall be first ? What shall be the order of deliberation ; the form of worship ? So far as they had to do with organic unity, it proved manageable enough. And yet their temporary organization was just as important, relatively, to the temporary purpose it served, as the permanent church organization will be to the permanent use. And

if the one could be agreed upon, almost without effort, is the other beyond all reach of effort?

We recall, too, how it was feared by many presbyters, lest in the union of the Old and New Schools the gain of volume should be with the loss of momentum. We should lack the incitement derived from the Scripture rule of provoking one another to good works, possible though it was that some of our provocations had been of a sort not always bounded by Scripture lines. But here, again, church work came in to more than supply the lack of church rivalry. If we needed incitement of a personal sort, it was ascertained we could obtain it from the active enemy we had to deal with—so active that while Christian men had been sleeping he had kept on sowing his tares. In the day that the trust Christ has committed to our hands for a lost world comes to be estimated according to its sacredness, we shall not need much incitement from sectarian competition or empty divisive ambitions. The field, which is the world, and white then as never before to the harvest, will be the incitement. The enemy rushing to gather that rich spoil will offer the sufficient provocation. At an ordinary military muster your regiment may need the emulation of other parading regiments to put you on your best evolutions; but in the day of battle, when issue is joined for God and the country, the patriot volunteer needs only the thought of what he is fighting for. If that is not enough, give him a sight of the enemy marching down on his fields and firesides.

Some object that this event of organic union will be at a large cost of grateful variety. It will be so monotonous, after all our sectarian animation (animosities included), to come down to one uniform way in everything—one style of thinking, planning, and doing. Why this suggestion did not occur to Paul, when exhorting the Corinthians to be perfectly joined together in the same mind and the same judgment, or to our Lord himself, in praying that his disciples might be perfect in one, must be a problem to our objectors. How, in fact, the perfect unity of the millennial and celestial state is to be saved from the tedium of this dreaded monotony, is also a point they need to solve. Our own consolation is, that sectarian differences do not so exhaust the variety of Christ's kingdom as to leave it to utter poverty in their absence. In the

primitive church, when Christ would have the body constituted with diversity—not all head, or hands, or feet; not all hearing, seeing, or smelling, but a body with many members, and each member its own function—he yet did not think it necessary this diversity should be sectarian in order to be Christian. He did not give some to be Episcopalians—high, and low, and ritualistic; some to be Congregationalists—associated, and consociated, and independent; some to be Methodists—Protestant, Primitive, and Episcopal; some to be Baptists—open and close; some to be Presbyterians—old and new, Cumberland and Covenanter, Associate Reformed and Presbyterian Reformed, and others perhaps unreformed, to say nothing of Burgher and Anti-burgher, Secession and Relief. Here was variety—a very millennium of it, such as it was. It was a variety, however, that finds no place in the New Testament, and no mention in Christ's catalogue of particulars. This was his list of bestowments that Paul enumerates, when he “gave some to be apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.” Having these, the body was thought to be well furnished without the modern inventions above specified. Here was variety, and here was efficiency. “Many members, but one body.” “Diversities of gifts, but one spirit.” “Differences of administration, but the same Lord.” “Diversities of operations, but the same God, which worketh all in all.” Read the whole 12th chapter of 1 Corinthians and the 4th of Ephesians, and see how amply diversified is the church of God: all the more beautiful and useful for the reason Paul here declares, that God has so constructed it that there should be “no schism in the body.” The variety and beauty lie in the varied members and their varied functions; not as our sectarian conservatives would have it, in there being different organic bodies with features facing all ways, hands striking one against another, feet moving off in independent directions, and lips uttering the whole alphabet of shibboleths.

Here comes in again the influence we are so much insisting upon, of the church work God is giving us increasingly to do. It is enough for all the church; it is adapted to every grade of talent in the church. It is one work in all its numerous de-

partments—a diversity in unity the furthest removed from monotony.

The second powerful cause at work to promote the coming unity is education. Everywhere it is the illiterate who are of narrowest mental range, and cannot look beyond their neighborhood boundaries to the world beyond. They are the untaught minds in our churches who find it so difficult to discover any good outside the sectarian enclosure. And conversely of this, the clergy and laity of the different denominations, in the ratio of their advance in intelligence, come into fellowship and recognize the good that each has for the other. One fact is most significant, that which separates the churches from one another is, after all, not difference of doctrine or of ordinance. The interchanges constantly occurring between the denominations are traceable mainly to another cause than change of creed. The question with such persons is not, which church is nearest to the apostolic model, but which is best suited to my individual taste? Where shall I be most *at home* in the gratifying of my mental and moral preferences, and in meeting my social wants? The general conviction is, that any of the evangelical sects have enough of the truth to make them true churches, and graduate their members into the church of the first born in Heaven. But it is not every one of these churches that can give me such associations as I prefer on my way to heaven. At any rate, there is a difference which I am at liberty to regard in this thing, and though I may hope to feel at home with all the saints hereafter, yet just now and here that home feeling is better cared for in this church more than in the other. And so one, on the strength of the home feeling, decides for one church, and another for another, and in a majority of cases this is a determining reason.

Well, where is there so powerful an assimilation of mental, and social tastes as education? Who does not see how it is at work in all the churches as never before, and that it is by its help in great measure that Christians of all names are able to meet together and be at home together in acts of worship and labors of love. Let our Public School system go on with its up-leveling work for a generation longer, and to that be added all the power of our Sunday-school's, our academies, and colleges,

and the desired assimilation will be well nigh complete. Gone for ever will be the barrier that once so divided Methodist from Presbyterian, that they could neither pray nor exhort together with comfort, nor make the hymnings of one communion to be much better than howlings in the ear of the other.

We add still another to our list of efficient causes in the service of Organic Unity. It is the agency of interdenominational intercourse. The word of prophecy touching the pre-millennial days is this: "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." We know what an annihilating foe travel has already become to provincialism. How thoroughly it has assimilated us as a people, making us, but for the inrolling floods of migration, a people virtually of one language and lineage. As it is, our constant intercommunication leaves us, from Maine to California, no such dialectic differences as you will find in crossing from one English county or French department to another. We are a nation of travelers, as is no other on the globe; and it is this, in the face of our rapidly enlarging domain, which is our salvation. States, widely separated territorially, are neighbors sympathetically and socially. And this political intercommunication is to the unity of the state what our denominational intercommunication will be to the unity of the church. Its effect is two-fold. It makes the various sects know the good that is in one another, and makes the good that is known still better. Each denomination has its special excellencies, and in the process of mutual acquaintance these become appreciated and appropriated. No one can help seeing how active this interchange is becoming, and how fruitful already in its results. What church is not already largely the gainer? Have not the Presbyterians learned of the Methodists how to sing with more spirit, and the Methodists of the Presbyterians how to pray with more understanding? The Baptist brethren have been in too open fraternity and fellowship with their neighbors not to have it take evident effect on their close communion. The Episcopalians are finding out how to do pioneer work—witness their recent achievements in the new fields beyond the Rocky Mountains; and the non-Episcopalians are ascertaining that it is not necessary to be more timid than Calvin and Knox of liturgical effects. High

Church exclusiveness has been wonderfully helped to abate from its lofty bearing, since statistical figures have given it an inkling of the swift movements of the non-prelatical sects. There was a moral reason why it should be recorded of the Pentecostal ingathering, that the number of the men was about five thousand. There is a power in the pertinent use of numbers when they run up into the thousands, and, in our day, the hundred thousands and millions. Such accessions to the membership, area, and resources of the sects make them respect one another. We study one another's methods to learn the secret of such progress, and end by appropriating the lesson to our own use.

Thirty years more of this acquaintance and interchange will work marvels of assimilation not now dreamed of. As a generation ago no one could have foreseen the unity of spirit, of method, and result, in the Sunday-school work, as it is now carried forward in all the churches, even to the reciting of the same lesson, the adopting the same style of lesson paper, Sunday-school journal, Scripture commentary, the singing of the same hymns to the same tunes, with the result, that when the teachers who have grown up in these schools meet in conference and assembly at Chautauqua, Cazenovia, and Sea Grove, they all seem to have been trained by one teacher: so no one can too enthusiastically forecast the vision of what shall be in the next thirty years in all other departments of church work and Christian worship. The image of Christ in one denomination will be his likeness in all; and their continued absorption in the great work he will be still laying upon all hearts and hands will keep the image ever bright and yet brighter.

The cheering fact is, we are nearer to the grand practical realization of Christ's prayer for a perfect unity than most believers for their sins dare credit. The situation is better than our unbelief deserves. But it is not better than the merits of Christ's prayer, and of the atoning sacrifice that followed, and in respect to which it is charged upon us, that if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.

Art. VI.—THE GREAT AWAKENING OF 1740.*

By LYMAN H. ATWATER.

THE great revival of 1740 in this country, in which WHITEFIELD, EDWARDS, and the TENNENTS were the most conspicuous human instruments, had for its efficient cause what will be assumed throughout this and the following article as the efficient cause of all genuine revivals, the sovereignly imparted and efficaciously transforming operation of the Spirit of God upon all who were the subjects of it. But, viewed from its human side, it had its upspring, mode of development, distinguishing features of truth and error, and results alike of immensely preponderating good, and incidental, but by no means insignificant evil, in a protest and reaction in behalf of experimental religion against the formalism which had so largely supplanted it. This formalism had arisen from an abuse or perversion of the scriptural doctrine of infant church membership, the relation of baptized children to the church, and the proper conditions of their admission to the Lord's Supper. The true doctrine on this subject, which more or less distinctly and intelligently had been accepted as the basis of membership in the Congregational and Presbyterian, or in general, the Calvinistic churches of this country, is: 1. That the visible church consists of those who profess the true religion and their children. 2. That these children were therefore proper subjects of baptism, and if properly taught and trained in the Christian religion, may be expected, through the inworking of the Spirit, blending with and rendering effectual this Christian nurture, to experience and manifest the saving and transforming power of the truths so taught and symbolized in their baptism; that is they will commonly be prepared, on reaching the years of discretion, adolescence or maturity, to "recognize their baptismal obligations," and come to the Lord's table upon an

* *Thoughts on the Revival of 1740.* By Jonathan Edwards, the elder, President of Princeton College.

The Great Awakening. History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield. By Joseph Tracy. 1842.

intelligent, conscientious, and credible profession of their faith ; that this is the normal order, and contrary cases abnormal and exceptional. 3. That the only proper internal qualification for the communion is repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, wrought by the Holy Spirit in regeneration ; and the only, but indispensable, external requisite is, what the church ought, in the judgment of charity, to regard and treat as a credible profession of the same. 4. That these qualifications might exist in the case of many, especially those baptized and brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, when it is impossible for the possessor of them to give any account of the particular time or conscious exercises of the beginnings of this Christian experience ; who can only say, I know not the time when I did not fear God : or " whereas I was blind, now I see : " and that the church or its officers, while glad to hear such historical accounts of the first uprising and progress of conversion, yet cannot rightfully make such a narration a test of fitness for communion, on the part of those who now, in the judgment of charity, appear to believe in and obey the Lord Jesus Christ. 5. That therefore such cannot be properly excluded from the communion of the church.

We suppose that none of these principles are now questioned, either theoretically or practically in the Presbyterian or other Calvinistic communions. But it is easy to see that great perversions of them might arise from a too exclusive respect to some portions, and neglect of other portions of them—the usual effect of one-sided views, and half truths, often resulting in the worst form of error.

The generic error which in various forms grew out of the perversion of this system, was a practical reliance on these externals of baptism, baptismal church membership, christian parental teaching and training, regular attendance on public worship, and a good moral life, to insure salvation. They did not, indeed, theoretically hold, and few if any ministers taught, that these things of themselves constituted religion, or superseded the necessity of a true evangelical experience in the soul, wrought by the supernatural agency of the Spirit. But multitudes were strong in the faith, that living thus they made sure that God would in his own time and way work in them whatever experience was

necessary to salvation ; that they were in reality safe, and in no danger of final perdition. It was but a step further, a step into which, in the absence of clear, earnest, and constant warnings fitted to dispel the delusion, many were sure to glide, that a moral life, and regular attendance upon divine ordinances, are the sole requisites for adult church membership, admission to the Lord's Supper, and a full title to heaven. Multitudes came to live and die in this delusive hope, which, if not directly sanctioned, was very inadequately undermined by a large body of the preachers and pastors of the time. In New England special theories and platforms were devised to modify the Congregational doctrine, that the only legitimate, organic, and visible church consists, as to matter, of regenerate believers, and, as to form, of a confederated local congregation of them, into accordance with this way of church life and procedure. Stoddard, the predecessor at Northampton, and maternal grandfather of Edwards, one of the greatest of New England's early divines, propounded, and published a treatise advocating the doctrine that the Lord's Supper is properly a converting ordinance ; and hence, no credible profession of religion or evidence of regeneration are necessary to admission to it, while such coming to it affords every promise of subsequent conversion. Another practice more widely prevalent was the famous "half-way covenant," which, upon an assent of the parties to it, usually recently married persons, wherein they avowed their acceptance of the fundamental articles of Christianity, and promised for substance both to seek due preparation for coming to the Lord's table and to come to it when thus prepared, also to teach and train their children in a Christian way, entitled them to have their children baptized. The genesis of this whole system was due in part, not only to the causes we have specified, but to that early ecclesiastico-political system in New England, by which the church and town were so identified, that membership in the former was essential to the right of suffrage in the latter. We can only indicate this, without explaining or pursuing it further. In all such cases more than one cause is apt to be concerned in effecting the result. But the result, however caused, was simply this, that ways were devised, almost avowedly, to substitute the form for the power of godli-

ness; to provide a place in the visible church for those who had no presumptive place in the invisible through a credible profession of piety; and to lead men to rely on outward morality and religious service, in place of inward experimental piety. Even so, many truly pious people remained in the churches. But they contained still larger numbers who, though of Israel, were not Israel. Finally, religion and the distinctive manifestations of piety declined, and in the wake of their declension public morals also suffered great decay. The condition of a large portion of the churches was very analogous to that which succeeded the Revolutionary War in Massachusetts, and, wherever not corrected, went to seed in Unitarianism.

Against this dead formalism the revival of 1740 was a protest and an antagonistic reaction. It arose from the war made upon it by the sounder and more zealous divines of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches, led by Edwards in the former, the Tennents in the latter, and Whitefield in both. It had its origin and distinctive form of development in the Scriptural doctrines and practical truths they inculcated and urged from the pulpit and press; in making plain the delusion and danger of this formalism, along with the distinguishing characteristics of Scriptural religion, and the doctrines of grace on which it depends. In pursuance of this end, the following points were specially emphasized and pressed. We quote from Tracy's *Great Awakening*, the great work on this subject, which, along with that of Edwards, is to a large extent our authority for what we have said and shall say upon it; although we see cause occasionally to differ from his judgments and conclusions—scarcely ever to question his facts.

As early as 1734 Edwards preached to his Northampton congregation those great sermons on Justification by Faith, which form an important part of his published works, and ground of his title to greatness as a theologian.

"The effect of these discourses," says Tracy, "was, first, to make men feel that they now understood the subject and had hold of the truth; and next, to sweep away entirely all those hopes of heaven which they had built upon their own doings—upon their morality, their owning the covenant, partaking the Lord's Supper, or using any other means of grace. They were made to see that God has not appointed anything to do before coming to Christ by faith; that all their previous works are unacceptable in his sight, and lay him under no obligation, either on account of their worthiness or his promise,

to grant them any spiritual favor. These discourses were followed by others, in which he taught 'God's absolute sovereignty in regard to the salvation of sinners, and his just liberty in regard to answering the prayers of mere natural men, continuing such.' That idea of 'God's liberty' is an idea of tremendous power. It includes all that is meant by the doctrine of election, and expresses it most philosophically, unencumbered by forms of speech derived from human ideas of time. God is at liberty with respect to bestowing salvation. His liberty is perfect. . . . And this liberty is just. . . . Sinners have merited and now deserve instant damnation; and God's liberty to inflict it upon them now, or defer it for the present, or save them from it wholly, according to his own pleasure, is a most 'just liberty.' When the sinner sees and feels this doctrine to be true, he knows that no course remains for him but to call on God for mercy; and he knows that when he calls upon God, there is nothing in his prayers that at all impairs God's just liberty with respect to hearing him, and that he has nothing as a ground of hope that he shall be heard but the mercy of God in Christ. He can make no appeal to the justice of God, for that only condemns him; nor to any other attribute but mercy, which in its very nature is free and not constrained. And he can find no satisfactory evidence that God is disposed to be merciful to sinners, but in the fact that he has given his Son to die for them. . . .

"But will not the cutting off of his hopes drive him to despair and make him reckless? It would but for the doctrine of 'Justification by Faith, which encourages him, who has no good works, to trust in him that justifieth the ungodly. It teaches the sinner that, in being destitute of all claim to acceptance with God, and dependent on his mere mercy, he is only like all others who have been saved through Christ, and therefore need not despair. . . . And this and faith works by love, and transforms the whole character."—*Great Awakening*, pp. 10, 11.

We wish here just to note, as the negative germ of some peculiarities of some earlier revivals of the past century, particularly in New England, that it is not quite explicitly enough stated that faith is simple trust in the promises of God, offering Christ and a free salvation through him and the sole merits of his blood and righteousness, to all who accept him as thus offered; and that, while God has not bound himself to give repentance or faith or any saving grace to the impenitent and unbelieving, he has sovereignly bound himself by word of promise unconditionally to save all who thus rest on Christ as offered in the gospel.

The effect of this sweeping away of formalism and the false hopes encased in it was to initiate at this early period a series of awakenings, in Northampton and vicinity especially, which culminated a few years later in the great and all-pervading

revival of 1740—so designated because then at its height, though reaching into preceding and succeeding years. It will be seen that it was produced instrumentally by bringing the doctrines called Calvinistic, but in reality Pauline and Scriptural, into unwonted distinctness and prominence, in preaching to congregations whose ministers, though generally Calvinistic, had neglected so to emphasize them as was needful to dispel prevailing formalism. All accounts agree that these were the doctrines preached and signalized invariably by the promoters and leaders of the revival; and that, under God, they incited, shaped, and moulded it, while the disorders and extravagances which marred and ultimately terminated this great work arose, or mostly took on their form, from certain exaggerations of Calvinism, or hyper-Calvinism.

One great practical principle grew out of this preaching, in contrast to the habit which had prevailed of vaguely confounding religion or a state of salvation with a merely moral life or formal observance of religious services, viz., that the religion of the gospel is a positive life of faith, repentance, holiness, quite above any mere worldly or natural desires, feelings, purposes, habits, and acts; that it is supernaturally imparted by the Holy Ghost; in short, a real religious experience; and that it is distinctive and ascertainable by the subject of it and by others.

It was but a corollary from this view that none should be admitted to the Lord's Supper who do not give credible evidence of such a change. This proposition, abstractly considered, and *in thesi*, is indisputable, and was even then scarcely contested by any class. It was rather in the mode of application of the principle, in the manner of ascertaining this change and the kind and amount of evidence required to make it credible, that a great revolution in practice arose. This demanded such a course of conscious evangelical exercises as the Scripture requires of and ascribes to those who obey the gospel, capable of being discerned by the subject of them as the evidence to himself, and of being set forth by him to others, especially to the church and its officers as the evidence to them, of conversion. Out of this grew the doctrine that truly experimental Christians could, from the narration of experiences, decide upon the genuineness of the conversion of those professing it, or

professing religion, and that they were warranted in rejecting from ecclesiastical and social recognition as true Christians, those who could not or would not give such a distinct and intelligent account of experiences, conformable to the standards of their judges and examiners. It was quite natural in such circumstances that it should come widely to be deemed and treated as essential to a sound Christian experience, that the convert should always be able to state not only his present faith in and obedience to the Saviour, but the history, time, origin, order of the upspring of these evangelical exercises in his soul. The carrying out of these principles, in the main essentially correct, subject to proper limitations and exceptions, in preaching and church administration, brought with it a virtual revolution and an overwhelming excitement in thought and feeling, life and manners, church and society. It gave the revival a tremendous impulse, both as to the zeal and numbers of those espousing and yielding to it, and the intensity of the opposition to it. The evils and disorders, too, which came in its train, and finally brought it to an end, were but the logical and necessary outcome of certain exaggerations and distortions of the foregoing principles, which we will now briefly note.

1. The overdoing and misdirection in the matter of judging of experiences, whether those of the person or parties so judging, or of others. In judging their own experiences, multitudes came to regard impressions upon their minds, especially if attended with the recollection of some text or verse of Scripture which they construed to be congruous with and confirmatory of these impressions, to be the voice of God to them; that thus they were divinely assured of their own salvation and of the genuineness and infallible truth of their own religious feelings and views, as a measure for judging, and a justification for condemning, those of others not according to their standard, whether in kind or intensity. Thus their own subjective states came to have the authority of a divine revelation over and above all other teachings of the word or ministers of God. Edwards well says, in his *Thoughts on the Revival*: "This error supports all other errors."

2. Rash and uncharitable judgments, with corresponding denunciations of ministers and Christian professors as unconverted who fell short of the measure of those thus self-exalted to the

throne of judgment. It first took the form of a simple denunciation, by some who were forward as promoters of the revival, of those who kept aloof from it as unconverted, no matter how devout and holy their lives, or fruitful their ministry in the quiet and steady winning of souls to Christ. While Edwards constantly exposed and denounced such procedures, there is no doubt that the earlier and more immature preaching of Whitefield was leavened with something of it, which he afterward came to see and deplore, while the preaching of the Tennents and their coadjutors in the Presbyterian church had too strong a tincture of it. Thus all alike contributed, undesignedly, to give it encouragement, and a far more dangerous impetus from the mouths of inferior men following in their wake. But as the spirit of exalting personal subjective impressions to the plane of divine revelations, co-ordinate with or superior to God's objective word, gained ground, all this uncharitable denunciation and fulmination against ministers and people truly or presumptively pious, of course became thrice offensive, destructive, and intolerable.

3. Closely connected with all this, and essentially due to the same causes, was the exorbitant exaltation of lay exhorters and teachers to invade the province, usurp the prerogatives, of and assume lordship over, the regularly ordained ministry. We need not here discuss the proper scope and limitations of lay-exhorters and preachers. That they have their field, and that this field has its metes and bounds is undeniable. What those bounds are is still a *quæstio vexata*. But all will now agree that where they claim a virtual inspiration and authority equal to the Word of God for their impressions, or an equivalent right to eject from the communion of saints, and deny the competency to preach and teach, of those who do not recognize their infallibility or God-sent character, they are intruders upon the rightful sphere and authority of God's ministers, and as such, ought to be frowned down by all Christian people. Such cannot succeed in making their way through the churches without scattering fire-brands, arrows, and death. Such a body of fanatical lay preachers, assuming the style and authority of official ministers, came to the surface in the latter part of the revival. They assumed the right to go into the parishes of ministers whom they denounced as unconverted, and to teach the

people their frantic extravagances as the infallible truth of God, for lack of which they were ready to perish. Of course they spread spiritual desolation in their track. It is easy to see how such a corps of self-commissioned preachers, mistaking their own conceit, arrogance, and dictation for a divine call and authority, should instigate the withdrawal of their followers from regular churches and pastors, and the formation of separatist churches under their own oversight. This divisive process went forward most extensively in the eastern part of Connecticut, and caused desolations of many generations. Rev. Dr. Asahel Nettleton, of whose career as a revivalist three-quarters of a century later we shall, elsewhere, have occasion to speak, labored in this region in early life, and was a close observer of the disastrous effects of these disorders. This, along with his personal traits, accounts for the extremely sensitive repugnance which he at a later period cherished against the disorders, real and apparent, connected with some Western revivals.*

4. Less directly and logically connected with the foregoing principles, except as all fanatical disorder tends this way, were the bodily agitations, convulsions, outcries, and screamings in religious assemblies under stirring and startling preaching, which at length came extensively to characterize these awakenings; to be encouraged by forward, and especially fanatical revivalists, and to be by many higher men considered as evidential of or identical with true religious experience, or indicative of the highest form of it. No principle is better settled, than that these wild bodily agitations are no proof or disproof of the genuineness of the religious exercises which accompany them, and that they certainly are not religious exercises themselves. "Bodily exercise profiteth little." It is also certain that profound and intense inward emotions on religious or other subjects may betray themselves in the uncontrollable agitation, or strange aspects, or outbursts of the outward man. But no grosser delusion can exist than the idea that they are or evince the work of the Spirit, or that he who has them is therefore undergoing the throes of birth into newness of life. Their pre-

* See Tyler's *Memoir of Nettleton*, p. 246, *et seq.* See also the errors of the Separatists, set forth by the Windham County Association in Connecticut, and the full justification of the same by extracts from the Confession of Faith of one of the Separatist churches.—*Great Awakening*, pp. 316-17.

valence in religious excitements tends to divert attention from the spiritual to the sensuous, from the soul to the body, as the cardinal element in religion; to substitute confusion for order in the house of God, and to banish to a returnless distance the Holy Spirit, which flies from the realms of noise and strife, thus making room for that other spirit which is from beneath. All history proves the evil of introducing these things into religious excitements, and their certain tendency to corrupt and arrest any work of grace. Yet, it is quite certain that the principal promoters of the revival, doubtless owing to previous inexperience, were not sufficiently guarded here; and that even Edwards, while carefully protesting that they were not of themselves spiritual exercises, or the necessary evidence or fruit thereof, did none the less believe and teach, not only that they might naturally result from intense emotions of the soul in regard to its relation to God and salvation, but that they were to be rather encouraged than repressed, because "the unavoidable manifestations of strong religious affection tend to a happy influence on the minds of bystanders, and are found by experience to have a happy and durable effect, and so to contrive and order things that others may have opportunity and advantage to observe them, has been found to be blessed, as a great means to promote the work of God."—See *Great Awakening*, chap. xiii: p. 229.

These disorders had their culmination under the lead of the Rev. James Davenport, in the early stages of the revival a favorite of Whitefield, but who afterward outran all the true promoters of it, and led the corps of irregular raiders on all Christian propriety and ecclesiastical order. He was condemned by all the true friends of the great and blessed work, and at length came to see the folly and mischief of his own career, and to endeavor to undo their effects as far as possible by a public "retractation" of his errors. But while he humbly and penitently confessed, he never could fully repair the evil he wrought. See *Great Awakening*, chap. xiv.

The consequence in New England was, that all parties, including the sober and judicious friends of the revival, as well as its opponents, found it necessary to organize for the repression of these disorders, which were so injurious to ecclesiastical order, doctrinal truth, and consistent piety. By the extreme fanatics

they were all, of course, denounced as enemies of the work of God. It must not be forgotten, withal, that many who ranked as opposers of the revival were not opposed to the genuine work of grace which it brought with it, but to the disorders and extravagances which they detected in it, and that their fault was chiefly that of so underrating the former, and overrating the latter, that in their view, the evil preponderated over the good in it. And they felt unwarrantable aversion, not so much to barring the communion against those who could not bear that undue inquisition into their religious experience which usurps the divine prerogative of searching the heart, as against any reasonable inquiry into the apparent Christian experience and evangelical feelings of the candidate. The great effect, however, of these disorders, was that they brought the revival which had been so fruitful of blessing to a melancholy close, but not so that it failed on the whole to have given the cause of religion a great and blessed advancement. Owing to the unhappy association in the minds of the ministers and people of religious excitements with such disorders, the disorganizing and anti-religious influence of the Revolutionary war, with its antecedents and consequents, political, social, and military, the influx of infidel sentiments from France, with rare and sporadic exceptions revivals disappeared from New England and largely from the Presbyterian churches for half a century.

In the Presbyterian church, then extending itself over the Atlantic slope south of New England, the course of things, though circumstantially different, was in essential features much the same. Instead of such a slight ecclesiastical rupture as that induced by it in New England, ending with some separatist congregations, the Presbyterian communion itself was split into Old and New Side Synods in 1841; the main issue being the manner of testing the fitness of candidates for the ministry and the Lord's table by an examination into religious experience; the denouncing of ministers and professors as unconverted who opposed or refused this; the intrusion into the congregations of such alleged unconverted ministers and people, to preach the gospel to those thus ready to perish for lack of knowledge, without consent of their pastors or presbyteries; the non-requisition of certain diplomas or other testimonials as to literary qualifications in candidates for the min-

istry who were found to possess the "gracious qualifications" for it; all which were too much sanctioned by the New Side, and resisted by the Old Side, with a vehemence and bitterness which resulted in the excision of the Presbytery of New Brunswick and those adhering to it by the Old Side. This, however, afterward dwindled, while the excised party increased in numbers, until both sides becoming sensible of, and acknowledging, their respective faults and the evils of outward division, healed the schism and became one body in 1758, and so continued till the second disruption on different grounds in 1837. There can be no doubt, however, that while both parties held to the Confession of Faith and preached its doctrines, the New Side party preached its distinctive and most Calvinistic doctrines with most clearness and intensity; that they relied on these doctrines for the promotion of the work of grace; and that, whatever their faults or irregularities, they were the great instruments of promoting the revival in the Presbyterian Church. They were in perfect accord and coöperation with the promoters of the revival in New England. Some of them, particularly Gilbert Tennent, preached there with such wonderful power and success, that his course was attended with one continuous series of great revivals. Whitefield had been the great preacher of the revival, both among the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, North and South. The work, however, did not stop among the Presbyterians as suddenly or completely as in New England. Revivals appeared in many congregations onward to and after 1750. They arose in Virginia from the reading of works on experimental religion where the people were without ministers, and produced the germ of churches, which were afterward enlarged and organized under the labors of the great President Davies and his coadjutors. Thus were the foundations of much of the excellent Presbyterianism of Virginia laid. The fact that Edwards was called from New England, and, after his death, Davies from Virginia, to the presidency of Princeton College, which was born of the revival and founded to promote it, shows the intimate relation between the revival leaders in New England and out of it.

Another attempt at inter-communion between the revival element in New England and Princeton is less pleasant to re-

late. It illustrates the danger of a union of church and state, no matter what may be the denomination of Christians placed in this relation. Until a long time after the great awakening, the parishes of New England were separated from each other by geographical, and generally by town boundaries, legalized by the State, which taxed the inhabitants within them for the support of the gospel—*i.e.* of the churches of the standing, legalized, or Congregational order. When the fanatics and separatists, at last thrown to the surface in this great excitement, had thoroughly aroused the leading ministers and laymen of Connecticut to organize against them, these invoked the strong arm of the legislature to aid in putting down these disturbers—by this persecution doubtless giving them a strength and vitality they would not otherwise have had. In pursuance of this end the Legislature passed laws ordering that all strangers, or persons unlicensed to preach by regular ecclesiastical authorities of the State, who should presume to preach within the geographical boundaries of any parish without consent of the minister of the same, should be arrested as vagrants and transported out of the colony. This was doubtless specially intended for Davenport and his like, his home being out of the State, in Southold, L. I. But in the height of their indignation at these intruders, they actually applied this monstrous law thrice to the Rev. Samuel Finley, the successor of Davies and predecessor of Witherspoon, as President of Princeton College, and once with special harshness and indignity, for preaching to a Presbyterian congregation in Milford, and a congregation in New Haven which had separated from the First Church, while the New Haven County Association forbade any member of the Presbytery of New Brunswick to preach within their bounds! Surely the world moves. And whatever may have been forty years ago, our New England friends will scarcely claim as against Princeton, or the Presbyterian Church, Old or New School, in view of the past or the present, a monopoly of revivals!—*Great Awakening*, pp. 237-8,

The contemporaneous awakening in Great Britain, under Whitefield and the Wesleys, which ultimately crystallized into organic Methodism, with its prodigious development in the Old World and the New, had many characteristics in common with that already sketched in this country. It had a like re-

lation to the prevailing formalism of the Anglican church, but accomplished its reformatory effects, not so much within that church, as by an exodus and new organism without it. Hence it retained, as a part of its recognized and permanent method some of those bodily manifestations as implicated with true Christian experience and emotion, along with some other things which were ranked prominent among the disorders coming in the wake of the great American revival that brought the latter to a close. Falling under the efficient lead of John Wesley, who broke with his co-laborer, Whitefield, on account of the Calvinism of the latter, it was also organized and developed upon the basis of Arminian theology. In regard to all this, however, we refer our readers to the first article in this number on Methodism. But what we wish to signalize now and here is the fact, susceptible of conclusive proof from a cloud of witnesses which we do not quote solely for want of room, but which may easily be found in Tracy's volume, that the revival of 1740, in this country, was carried forward under the emphatic preaching of the sternest Calvinism according to the *ipsissima verba* of our Confession of Faith, without the slightest softening dilution, or mitigation of what are esteemed its sterner features; and that its disorders and errors were mostly in the line, or in consequence of, the exaggeration or distortion of those principles.

Art. VII.—REVIVALS OF THE CENTURY.*

BY LYMAN H. ATWATER.

AMONG the phenomena of the century just closed which deserve distinct commemoration and discriminating review, none rank higher than those known as revivals of religion. It is quite certain that our Christianity has infused into our national life its highest powers of endurance and safe development, and beyond all else fortified it against that multitude of hostile and destructive forces which, without this counteracting agency, would have left us utterly to perish at the hands of those who, "while they promise liberty, are themselves the servants of corruption." No two maxims are more trite or indisputable than that virtue in the people is indispensable to sustain a "government of the people, by the people, for the people," and that religion is the only true spring and support of national virtue. To this we may safely add, that Christianity, as the only God-sent, is the only adequate religion for this purpose—the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, not only from the curse, but from the pollution and immorality of sin. This may safely be said without danger of sinking Christianity to the low function of being a mere "aid extraordinary to the police."

But if this be so, it is none the less true that the Christian

* *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, by W. B. Sprague, D.D., with an *Introductory Essay* by Leonard Woods, D.D.; also an *Appendix*, consisting of *Letters from various Clergymen*. Albany, 1832.

Memoir of the Life and Character of the Rev. Asahel Nettleton, D.D. By Bennet Tyler, D.D. Hartford, 1844.

Remains of Asahel Nettleton, D.D. Edited by Bennet Tyler, D.D. Hartford 1845.

Life and Labors of Daniel Baker, D.D., Pastor and Evangelist, edited by his son Rev. Wm. M. Baker, 1859.

Autobiography, Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher, D.D. Edited by Chas. Beecher, in two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1865.

Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney. Written by Himself. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1876.

Gospel Sermons. By D. L. Moody.

piety of the country has been chiefly preserved and increased through the last two centuries, especially that now ending, by the agency of revivals of religion. Adopt whatever theory we may as to the ideal state of the church, and assuming that only a steady and continuous growth, which excludes alternations of intense excitement and persistent languor, is compatible with its highest thrift; were we to admit even, as we do not, what some maintain, that, had there been no revivals, there would have been a better average religious condition on the whole than now, yet it cannot be denied that, in point of fact, the strongest and most influential religious life of the country has been largely due to these revivals. This is surely so of those Christian denominations that are at once most aggressive and progressive in character; whose members reach the highest grade of holy living and Christian morality; which are most felt in antagonism to prevailing immorality and vice; and become in every way the "salt of the earth." Even those Christian communions whose theory and practice are adverse to revivals, or are even ostentatious in denouncing them, often owe much of their growth to the direct or indirect influence of revivals. Their members catch the heavenly gales which, during these scenes, are sweeping through and renovating society. Then, too, is the time of their golden harvest. Many have been the confirmations this year in ritualistic churches whose ministers would take no part in a powerful revival going forward around them, of persons who found Christ, along with their associates, in that revival. More than one Episcopal bishop can trace to such scenes the first upspring of his Christian life. Is it strange that in these celestial visitations, when they became all-pervasive, some most prejudiced against them should "breathe the heavenly air," and catch something of their inspirations?

We propose to consider the revivals of the century now closed, not in any way of minute historical details. This would fill more volumes than we have pages for this work. We can only aim at a general review, which shall deal with the successive revival epochs and the distinctive characteristics of each, bringing to view important lessons and inferences, theoretical and practical, deductive and inductive, to which they fairly lead.

As our topic is, the revivals of the century, it technically rules out what, if its extent and results in proportion to the population of the country be the basis of comparative estimate, may be regarded as the first and greatest of American revivals—we mean, of course, the Great Awakening of 1740, which occurred not far from the close of the first century of Protestant church life in this country. This being the only simultaneous widespread revival of that period, may be taken for the concentrated revival of the century which preceded and culminated in it. We have, however, made this the subject of a short, separate article, both for its own sake, and on account of the direct and indirect light it may serve to throw upon some of the phenomena of the revivals of the last century.

From causes specified in our paper on that subject, there was, with sporadic exceptions, a cessation of revivals after the Great Awakening of 1740 in the American churches till about 1790. Then they began and continued to appear with greater or less frequency in one congregation and another till they reached their culmination, and became very general near the beginning of the present century. After this they did not cease. From that day to this they have come to be regarded, not as exceptional, but normal phenomena, in the great body of evangelical, certainly of Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian, churches. We shall confine our survey more especially to the latter two, although analogous phenomena in the former two have come to be, in an increasing degree, coincident and simultaneous. This has gone forward in later years with the increasing growth of charity, catholicity, and unity among evangelical churches. Union meetings and co-operative measures among them for the promotion of religion have been more and more common. The meetings and measures under the preaching and conduct of Mr. MOODY have been entirely on this basis. It is rare that any special outpouring of spirit and ingathering of souls occurs in a church of one denomination in any community, which does not extend more or less to others. Moreover, there are few such churches in which, whatever accessions to the communion may occur with some regularity from year to year, there are not, also, at times unusual and more extended ingatherings. The Lord, working after the manifold methods and exhaustless riches of his grace,

refreshes, now and then, here and there, with the gentler dews or rains, or the mighty showers of his Spirit, not excepting the great rain of his strength. But the years which we would note as climacteric years, in which the more scattered revivals of intermediate years culminated in general and all-pervading awakenings, each marked by some distinct and incidental, among the essential characteristics common to them all, since the beginning of the century, are 1821-2, 1831-2, 1843-4, 1857-8, 1875-6. Other years have been more or less marked in this respect. But we think these have a decided pre-eminence.

The revivals culminating in the early years of this century and the close of the last, were of immense power and extent, and went far toward recovering religion and the churches from the declensions of the preceding half century, induced by the war, and the reaction from the disorders of the revival of 1740. The exercises of the subjects of them were generally deep and thorough, and usually, during the first quarter of the century, were somewhat protracted before the subjects of them passed out of the alarm and dejection induced by the unsparing exhibition of the terrors of the Lord, into the joy and peace of believing. But they took on, also, two different forms of development, including certain misproportions and maladjustments, in the East and West, which either abridged their duration and usefulness, or planted the seeds of future evils. In New England and the parts of the Presbyterian church most largely and directly affected by emigration of ministers and people from it, the positions taken by the preachers and champions of the great revival in the preceding century in regard to the impotence and helplessness and worthlessness of all prayers and doings of the unregenerate; their absolute dependence upon God for a change of heart, and his sovereignty and liberty in the matter of working it, coupled with the equally emphatic assertion of the perfect and indispensable obligation of the sinner to obey the gospel, and his accumulating guilt and danger for every moment's delay so to obey it, led the pulpit in that and the succeeding period to earnest discussion as to the doctrines of sovereignty and election, and man's dependence, and the modes of reconciling them with the sinner's liberty, guilt, and responsibility. In aid of this came the ponder-

ous treatises, always acute, of Edwards the elder, and the younger, Bellamy, Hopkins, Smalley, and others, on these and related subjects, until ability and inability, natural and moral, liberty, moral agency, dependence, election, sovereignty, decrees, including refined metaphysical distinctions regarding them, became not merely exceptional or occasional, but ordinary and staple material of both pulpit inculcation and disputation. Hence it came to pass, very widely, that religious thought and feeling took "form and pressure" from this source, and that excitements and awakenings in congregations and communities, in regard to religion, centred around these high mysteries, so that conviction of sin and enmity to God was oftener drawn out in the form of enmity to the divine decrees and personal eternal election, than to the simple law of God as such, which is the proper instrument for guiding and evoking the law-work in the soul. Conversion, too, came to be run in a corresponding mould, to be conceived and spoken of as submission to or laying down the weapons of rebellion against the decrees and sovereignty of God, more emphatically than submission to the righteousness of God in Christ, "who is the end of the law to every one that believeth." The objection to this is not that true reconciliation to God according to the gospel does not include submission also to these truths rightly understood, and to all other truths revealed in the Bible, or that, in their due place and use, they are not conducive to edification; nor that such a process is not likely to be accompanied with true conversion in the case of those otherwise well instructed as to evangelical doctrine and experience; but that it displaces or throws into the back-ground what ought to be in the foreground of religious experience; it puts the unknown decrees in place of the revealed law of God; conviction of sin in a conviction of enmity to them rather than of enmity to God and transgression of his law. Submission to them, and to God as the author of them, constitutes conversion and restoration to his favor, rather than justification by faith alone, relying on the merits, blood, and righteousness of Christ as having made satisfaction to the law and justice of God for our transgressions of the same. Not that Christ and his atonement were discarded, or overlooked, or ignored, but that they were lowered in the practical dealing with awakened and inquiring souls beneath

their just and all transcending prominence, which was rather given to the fore-ordination and sovereignty. These are entitled to their own supreme place, but this is not in the centre and heart of the Christian life. The evidence of all this overflows in the narratives of the revivals outspread in the pages of the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* of that day. We have felt bound to signalize it on account of its bearing in the explanation of certain eccentric and disturbing elements in later revivals. It did not essentially impair the greatness and glory of these, and perhaps, in some respects, gave them a depth and strength that in other circumstances would have been impossible. Yet it bred a style of religious experience too little enlivened by the spirit of adoption, too much fettered by the spirit of bondage which is unto fear.

The revivals of the Southern and Western States had not only their strongest, but their most abnormal, development in Kentucky, whence their peculiarities, whether for good or evil, radiated a milder degree to adjacent States and sympathetic churches. In the absence of sufficiently large churches, the people were obliged to resort to camp-meetings—in this respect, it is believed, setting the example which our Methodist brethren have imitated, and ossified into a permanent institution. These afforded great facilities and temptations to shouting, wild outcries, convulsions, and other natural outbursts of sympathetic animal excitement, until they took the form of a peculiar kind of bodily agitation known as the “jerks,” which rapidly and widely came to be regarded as identical with, or symptomatic of, conversion. Hence, from the known constitution of human nature, it became epidemic, until religion and revivals became associated with the wildest disorders in the minds of opposers, and of too many of their friends. A natural result was, that young men, intoxicated with spiritual pride and delirious excitement, conceived themselves filled with the Spirit, and qualified not only to be lay-exhorters, but, without any regular ministerial training or education, to exercise the functions of ministers, under whose preaching the revival had been commenced, by some of whom even the foregoing disorders had been countenanced, till the whole movement got beyond their control. A new presbytery was formed, composed of such and their adherents, who proclaimed various doc-

trines, and sustained disorders, at war with our Confession of Faith, till they were decisively met by the action of the Synod of Kentucky and General Assembly. The consequence was the secession and organization of the body which was the germ of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, with divers other small secessions of fanatical come-outers. These disorders, and the desolations resulting from them, were so serious, that doubts were entertained by many of the wisest men, whether the evil did not outweigh the good of these excitements. Although many who first sanctioned these disorders at length condemned them, they could not counteract the evil of them.

Passing now to those revivals which reached their meridian development in 1821, we may observe, generally, that they pervaded the great body of the Calvinistic, especially the Presbyterian and Congregational, churches, and contributed greatly to their enlargement, and the power of religion in the land. They also, as well as those that followed them in subsequent decades, greatly aided the development and expansion of those evangelical, benevolent, and missionary organizations for the propagation of the gospel, which have distinguished and adorned the century. They were also in a remarkable degree free from all that mars the purity and benignant influence of these heavenly visitations, and attended with manifestations and fruit which generally made them unmingled blessings. In the appendix to the admirable Lectures of Dr. Sprague on Revivals, will be found letters of great value from a large number of the leading divines of the Calvinistic denominations of the country, giving copious accounts of many of these revivals, from which the reader may learn their prevailing type. It may be also found more fully and minutely brought out in Tyler's *Memoir of Nettleton*, the great revival evangelist of this period, which includes sketches of some principal revivals, in the conduct of which he rendered signal service in aid of pastors.

No proper understanding of the revivals of this and the following decades can be had, which ignores or misinterprets the character and services of this remarkable man. Having devoted himself to foreign missions in the very inception of that enterprise, greatly to his regret he was prevented by sickness from going forth in the first band sent out by the

American Board. His preaching, immediately after his introduction to the ministry, being attended with surprising effects in the quickening of Christians and the awakening of the unconverted, he was persuaded by the ministers acquainted with these facts to defer his departure to the foreign field, until the work thus initiated at home under his preaching and labors should be more fully accomplished. The result was, that his life for ten years was spent in constant labors, attended with such a glorious, uninterrupted succession of revivals as history rarely records. They were, so far as connected with his direct labors, chiefly in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and adjacent parts of New York State. He had, as we have elsewhere intimated in an article on this subject, observed the enormous evils resulting from the disorders which marred the revival of 1740 in Eastern Connecticut, which was the scene of his early ministerial labors. His conviction of their disastrous influence was confirmed by further careful observation of the effect of similar proceedings still in vogue with certain fanatical sects—partially encouraged, also, by some indiscreet evangelists of his own denomination. He deemed “calling persons to the anxious seat; requesting them to rise and be prayed for, or to signify that they had given their hearts to God; encouraging females to exhort and pray in promiscuous assemblies;” also meetings protracted till late in the night, etc., to be of this character (*Tyler's Memoir*, p. 57). Attempts were made to bring him to the sanction and adoption of such measures, but without success. He discarded them and their like throughout his whole career. But more noteworthy, while signally creditable to him, was his observation of the ill effects of the antagonism to and disparagement of the regular ministry by the whole train of pseudo-revivalists. He cherished the most profound and solemn conviction of the absolute necessity of the stated ministry, and stable Christian institutions and ordinances, to the welfare of religion, and set himself immovably against all agencies, whether under color of promoting revivals or anything else, which sought, or in any manner tended, to weaken or undermine them. Hence, he so conducted his labors in revivals as never to overshadow or disparage, but always to strengthen, the ministers he assisted. He invariably made them stronger with their flocks than

fore, and left no root of bitterness behind him. If he came to a congregation where the minister, or people, or any considerable part of them, were in opposition to him, he left and went elsewhere, where he was welcomed, and in no danger of dividing churches or undermining ministers. In this respect his example is worthy of all imitation by all evangelists, lay and clerical. In preaching he was earnest, solemn, tender, clear, searching, calm, yet impassioned, with a marvellous insight into the windings of the human heart, and the Scriptures which describe its deceits and corruptions, with their evangelical remedies. He had, too, a power of graphically depicting these things, which, with a touch of the histrionic, never failed to be vivid and magnetic. He always cherished a sacred stillness in his meetings, and frowned down noise and confusion of every sort. He was, indeed, wise as the serpent, harmless as the dove.

In doctrine Dr. Nettleton was a strenuous Calvinist, after the strictest New England type of those days, and was earnest on all matters touching the divine sovereignty, decrees, fore-ordination, election, perseverance. But he, and those of his time in New England, and the portions of the Presbyterian church most leavened by its ideas, took great pains to elaborate a view of the sinner's power and free-agency, which would prevent him from sheltering his impenitence under fatalistic views of inability and dependence on the Holy Spirit; which, in short, would harmonize man's responsibility with his dependence on sovereign grace. In attempting this, he and they brought into fuller prominence, and more explicit definition, and larger practical use than it had before obtained, the famous distinction of natural and moral ability; by the former meaning all the essential faculties of moral agency and right action; by the latter that right disposition, heart, or moral bias, without which these faculties will not, and indeed cannot, be used aright, so as to please God and pass from death unto life. Thus, in preaching from the text, "How long halt ye between two opinions," he says of this halting:

"It is not for want of power. I speak now of what is usually denominated power. It is not for the want of faculties which render you capable of doing your duty. It is true, sinners are represented in the Scriptures as being *unable*, in a certain sense, to do what God requires. But this inability

arises not from the want of faculties, but from the want of disposition. They are said to be unable to do what they have no inclination to do. Thus it is said of Joseph's brethren, that they could not speak peaceably to him. Not because they were incapable of speaking peaceably, but because they hated him, and had no disposition to speak peaceably. When I say, therefore, that it is not for the want of power that you have hitherto neglected to come to a decided choice, I mean that you might have done it had you been so disposed. It is plain that God does not condemn sinners for being unable, in this sense, to do their duty, but for being averse to their duty."—*Nettleton's Remains*, p. 117.

In the course of the sermon he changes the word "inclination," "disposition," etc., into "will," thus: "The reason why God will punish you for not obeying him is not because you *cannot* but because you *will* not. The reason why the almighty power of God is necessary to draw you, is not because you *cannot*, but because you *will* not."—*Id.* p. 122. We have noted this for the purpose of distinctly marking another step in the evolution of the doctrine of the sinner's ability in itself, and especially in its practical application to conversions and revivals. More or less confusion of thought in the way of now identifying disposition with will, in its essence as such, and now of regarding it as an accidental state of the will, or bias of the soul, which, as it is good or evil, determines the will to good or evil choices, is apparent, which we have no time now to elucidate further. We only avail ourselves of the opportunity to signalize the fact, that this method of putting the subject of the sinner's ability and inability, is one of those transitional stages of thought and expression, which, while it bridges over the chasm between what have been known as Old and New School modes of thought and phraseology, shows also a basis of reducing the disagreement to their mutual negations and of harmonizing their more positive conceptions. When Dr. Nettleton places the ability of sinners in the possession of the essential "faculties" of free-agency and responsibility, he resolves it into what all the old Calvinists, but exceptional extremists, admit and insist on. He once told the writer, that while preaching and conducting revivals in the Presbyterian churches South, on a visit there for his health at a later period of his active service, he found no difficulty if he used the word "faculties," or "natural faculties," for natural ability. Again, when he resolves moral ability and inability

into disposition and indisposition, he places it where they place it, and where the Confession places it. It declares the sinner "disabled" by being "indisposed," and thus "made opposite to all good." But this "indisposition," Dr. Nettleton insisted, requires "almighty power" to overcome it, while it is, in its very nature, sinful and blameworthy, like all bad moral inclinations, just in proportion to their invincibleness and obduracy. On the other side, we see that Dr. Nettleton and his brethren often put this truth in the form of saying to the sinner, that the sinner has full power to obey the gospel if he only had the will, and that, not want of power, but only a want of will, prevents his acceptance of Christ; that he has full power to obey the gospel, but never will do it till drawn or renewed by the Spirit. This, and like phrase, came into very abundant use at a later period. It meant more or less, according to the accompanying doctrines held or denied by those using it. Sometimes eccentric or extreme men, mostly outside of the Presbyterian body, carried it the length of asserting an extreme Pelagian plenary ability, wholly independent of divine grace, and of denying the divine sovereignty and human dependence which limit it. But after the fermentation settled, the New School brethren, in the Auburn Declaration, with great unanimity, adopted, as their chosen formula on this subject, the following, which embraces every essential point in Dr. Nettleton's representation of it:

"While sinners have all the faculties necessary to a perfect moral agency and a just accountability, such is their love of sin and opposition to God and his law, that, independently of the renewing influence and almighty energy of the Holy Spirit, they never will comply with the commands of God."—(See January No. of this REVIEW, Art. I.)

With those who asserted, or seemed to him to assert, a plenary ability beyond this, Dr. N. was always earnestly at variance. The real question at issue between the more and less conservative of the assertors of natural ability cannot be better illustrated than by the following occurrence, which we personally witnessed, and which we leave to speak its own lesson without comment. A minister who had been under the influence of a leading revivalist in those religious excitements in New York State, which begat so much bitter controversy from the year 1825 onward, examining a young candidate for

installation who had been in the same region, asked the latter: *Quest.* Is the sinner able to change his own heart? *Ans.* I think he is, if he has the disposition to. *Quest.* Can he not produce that disposition? *Ans.* (After prolonged meditation.) I think he can, if he has the requisite disposition to do it.

By disposition is meant not any faculty of the soul, but a state which may come and go, those faculties remaining unimpaired, and which constitutes an aptitude, tendency, and facility for given kind of exercises. It belongs to the changeable accidents, not to the essence or substance, or, according to a certain vocabulary, physical constitution of the soul. We say this because many, of whom Mr. Finney, in his *Autobiography*, is a strong type, often stigmatize the view which holds to such a disposition to evil—styled in the Auburn Declaration, “opposition to God and his law”—as “physical depravity,” and its removal by God’s “almighty power” in regeneration, as “physical regeneration;” by “physical” meaning what is governed according to the laws of matter—i. e., substantially what is material. This term is no part of the terminology adopted by those who hold to the human corruption and divine regeneration of the Scriptures, our standards, and of the Christian church, as consisting in such a bias to evil and its removal.* It was occasionally used by some of the Reformed and Puritan divines as the adjective corresponding to *φύσει*, Eph. ii: 3, to signify that in fallen man it is natural, in contradistinction to being merely acquired by practice and imitation on the one hand, without ascribing it to normal, unfallen manhood on the other. Dr. N. W. Taylor defined this “nature” to be that by virtue of which “men sin, and only sin in all the appropriate circumstances of their being.” It is physical just

* We have rarely met with any form of religious experience so “physical,” in the sense of being corporeal, as that found in Mr. Finney’s account of his own conversion. He says: “The Holy Ghost descended upon me in a manner that seemed to go through me, body and soul. I could feel the impression, like a wave of electricity, going through and through me. Indeed, it seemed to come in waves of liquid love; for I could not express it in any other way. It seemed like the very breath of God. I can recollect distinctly that it seemed to fan me like immense wings.”—(*Autobiography*, p. 20.) We think that one whose conversion contained such an experience might have afforded to be more charitable toward those who held to what he miscalls “physical” regeneration, or who did not conceive themselves possessed of plenary ability to produce it without divine aid.

and only as any native tendency or propensity of the soul is physical, but not in the sense of being material or corporeal.

The revivals of the period of Dr. Nettleton, so largely partaking of his spirit and feeling, his moulding influence, both in and out of New England, were characterized not only by the stillness and solemnity we have mentioned, but by a great tenderness, sweetness, love, and humility in the promoters and subjects of them. The law was preached to awaken, alarm, and convict. The gospel to heal and convert. The obligation and dependence of the sinner were, indeed, always made conspicuous. But the sovereignty and decrees of God were usually set forth in the latter stages of the revival, for the purpose of dispelling the carnal security of those who had remained callous and unconcerned before, because confident of their ability at any future time to enter the kingdom when they should be ready and pleased to do so.

And yet, we cannot do full justice to this branch of the subject, if we take leave of it without saying that the drift of discussion in respect to the sinner's ability, responsibility, relation to divine sovereignty, and the like, designed to cut off all the sinner's excuses for continued impenitence, had fixed the attention of preachers and hearers too much upon the subjective exercises of the sinner in conversion, and the power or agents producing them, whether himself or the Holy Spirit, and too little upon the objective work of Christ, his blood and righteousness; upon gratuitous justification by faith alone, which though distinguishable from, is nevertheless a condition of, that confiding approach to God, which is conditional to all true subjective love of him, and genuine sanctification. We do not, of course, mean that all this was overlooked or ignored, much less denied, but that it was not brought sufficiently into the foreground in the shaping of revivals and religious experience; and this more especially in the regions penetrated by New England theology. This tendency is all the more needful to be noted just here, because it went forward till the sinner was turned more and more to look within himself for strength to deliver himself out of the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. Hence, there was a constantly growing tendency to exaggerate that strength, and to exalt it into a plenary, and in every sense adequate,

ability in the sinner, independently of divine grace, to do all things pertaining to life and godliness. The conflict of this with the proportionally emphatic assertion of the counter-principle of the sinner's moral impotence out of Christ, is really, in itself and its surroundings, the pivot upon which some of the embittered theological controversies of the next twenty years, and especially pertaining to the great revivals preceding, culminating in, and following the year 1831-2, turned.

Dr. Nettleton, after his severe illness in 1822, never fully regained his former health. Still he recovered so far as to labor with more or less constancy and uniform success North and South during the next decade, when he was disabled for further efforts in this direction. Few men have been permitted to accomplish so much in winning souls to Christ; and fewer still have so done their work as to leave no sting or wound, no desolation or destruction, but only edification in their track.

An element came into the revivals, culminating in 1831 and beginning a few years earlier, which caused great conflict, and cannot be overlooked in any just, however brief, survey of them. These revivals were numerous and powerful, and as a whole were inestimable blessings. But bitter controversies arose in regard to a portion of them, and the doctrines and measures employed to promote them by various evangelists, whose chief original field of operation, afterward somewhat more extended, was in Central and Western New York. Foremost and by far the greatest of these was Rev. Charles G. Finney, whose recently published autobiography, so full of interest, has challenged fresh attention on the subject, alike by what it upholds, and still more by what it severely condemns. We can only give it a passing glance, although it were easy to occupy not only a whole article, but a volume as large as itself, in a profitable review of it. In order to preclude mistake, we will say here, that many of the disorders and extravagances then complained of and resisted vehemently by many of the most sound and devoted ministers and churches of the country, under the general head of "new measures," and in more or less association with the name of Mr. Finney, had about the same relation to him, as the raids of privates and camp-followers of the regular army have to its own a

sions and the orders of the commanding general. We will further add, that the early active opposition to Mr. Finney's own measures and proceedings was from ministers of New England, or of New England affiliations, headed especially by Drs. Lyman Beecher and Nettleton, supported by such Presbyterians as Dr. James Richards, of Auburn; and not at all from those specially affiliated with Princeton, which, at that time, was brought into no direct relation with them.

Of Mr. Finney, saying nothing now of the coarse and often counterfeit imitators which every such strong leader draws into his wake, it is only just to say, that he was by nature a mighty man in his Intellectual and moral, his emotional and volitional, nature. He had those native qualities which fitted him for leadership and eminence in any sphere or profession. Had he continued in the profession of law in which he started, he would certainly have come to the front at the bar and in civil life. He was also naturally a man of prodigious intensity in every element of his nature and the working of all his powers; intense in his convictions, intense in his feelings, intense in his conscientiousness, intense in his reasoning, from premises however imperfect, to conclusions however sweeping, radical, revolutionary. He was no less intense in his self-reliant and self-asserting confidence in these reasonings, no matter what they might come athwart. And, as usually happens in such cases, he was not slow or dainty in denouncing whatever stood against them. He had an extraordinary fondness for abstract and metaphysical reasonings, and a strong power of setting them in plain terms of blunt and pithy Saxon and homely illustration, sometimes degenerating into roughness or coarseness, which carried them home, as if concrete and living realities, to the common people who heard him gladly. When he became a Christian and was passing through exercises preliminary to it, he spent hours daily in prayer, which continued a life-long habit, sometimes with only slight interruption extending through days and nights together. His consecration to his work on all sides was scarcely less entire. With all this "blood-earnestness" of spirit, fiery logic, simplicity and clearness of style, impassioned conviction of the infallible truth and supreme importance of his message, his preaching fairly stormed the hearts of his hearers. It either stormed

down opposition to himself in the communities, churches, and ministers where he labored, or rendered it implacable. His ever-favorite term for overcoming opposition was, "breaking it down." There was no medium, no neutrality. He that was not for, was against him. Right or wrong, there could be no compromise. With the spirit of an iconoclast and radical reformer, he must denounce and overthrow what seemed to him adverse to the salvation of souls, however entrenched in sacred and tender association, or even in the faith and reverence of the church.

The career of such a man, preaching everywhere doctrines terrific and alarming to the impenitent and secure, with motives to conversion vast as eternity, the whole surcharged with denunciations of worldly and unfruitful professors, and of the very prayers and activities usually deemed indicative of piety, with whatever errors and defects it might be deformed, could not but be attended with a continuous series of religious awakenings such as this book records, with whatever incidental evils it might be marred. Indeed, it would be strange if the phenomena were not very much such as it describes. But it is equally obvious that it must needs be to an unhappy extent overbearing, denunciatory of those who could not agree and coöperate with him, often needlessly arraying good men against himself; and, however unintentionally, often weakening the standing of pastors with their flocks—too often causing their removal.

In aid of this came the unfortunate deficiencies of his early religious training and ministerial education. His own account of his early life is, that until he was twenty-six years old, he "had never enjoyed what might be called religious privileges." "When I went to Adams to study law, I was almost as ignorant of religion as a heathen. I had been brought up mostly in the woods. I had very little regard to the Sabbath, and had no definite knowledge of religious truth." "I was never a classical scholar, and never possessed so much knowledge of the ancient languages as to think myself capable of independently criticising our English translation of the Bible" (pp. 5, 6, 7). The first Bible he ever owned, he purchased while studying law, because he found it so frequently referred to in his text-books as authority for legal principles. At th

time, too, he first heard regular preaching from the pastor of the Presbyterian church—a Mr. Gale, recently settled there, from Princeton Seminary. “Although,” says he, “I now think that I sometimes criticised his sermons unmercifully, still,” he adds, “as I attended the prayer-meetings, heard Mr. Gale preach, and conversed with him, with the elders of the church, and with others, from time to time, I became very restless. A little consideration convinced me that I was by no means in a state of mind to go to heaven if I should die” (pp. 8, 9).

Years afterward this minister assured Mr. Finney that he did not believe he (Mr. Gale) had ever been converted. Yet Mr. Finney no doubt honestly takes what he conceived to be the views advocated by this minister, or his own conception and representation of them, as fair and adequate exhibitions of Princeton theology, which he is fond of portraying as near the reality, as the fleshless and bloodless skeleton of a man would be like the man himself. But we do not attribute the distortions, exaggerations, omissions, and misconstructions, by which he so often does injustice to schemes of theology repudiated by him, to any intentional misrepresentation. They are the natural misconceptions of a mind so intense and self-asserting, whose qualifications for interpreting Scripture are what we have seen his to have been, and who “had read nothing on the subject except my (his) Bible” (p. 42). He appears to have regarded the Shorter Catechism and Confession very much in the same light as Princeton theology (pp. 125–6). His special abhorrence appears to have been the doctrine of our standards respecting decrees, native sinfulness, inability, etc. Yet, more than once he represents himself as realizing in his own experience precisely the inability to reach his own standards without divine aid, so abundantly set forth in the Bible; for truth will ever and anon assert itself in the language and speech of those who imagine they have discovered it to be error. Thus, in his account of his original conversion, he says, “When I came to try, I found I could not give my heart to God. My inward soul hung back, and there was no going out of my heart to God. I began to feel deeply that it was too late; that it must be I was given up of God, and was past hope” (p. 15). In reference to the impending death of his wife, he says: “For hours I struggled to give her up unqualifiedly

to the will of God. But I found myself unable to do it. I was so shocked and surprised at this that I perspired profusely with agony. I struggled and prayed until I was exhausted, and found myself unable to give her altogether up to God's will" (p. 375).

As concerns the constant holding up of Princeton and its doctrines as in antagonism to revivals, which is conspicuous in this volume, this is contradicted by all fact. The history of Princeton College, born, as it was, of, and cradled in revivals, is a history of refreshings from above, now gentler, and now poured down in the great rain of God's strength, culminating in that mighty work of this year, which not only passed over the college but the town, and was propagated thence, through deputations of students, to large numbers of congregations far and near, and to other colleges. *Laus Deo*. Surely those who notice the attitude toward revivals in which this book places Princeton, will "forgive us this boasting." Indeed, he seems to have found the prevailing doctrine of Christendom as much in his way, and in need of reconstruction by himself, as that of Princeton and the Confession. He says, p. 257: "In all my ministerial life, in every place and country where I have labored, I have found this difficulty." (Princeton views). Yet there was some piety in the world, and, God be praised, has been since. We think it greatly to be regretted, but not wondered at, that Mr. Finney declined, as he was advised, to go to a theological seminary, to repair, as far as possible, his great lack of adequate educational preparation for the ministry. It would, if nothing more, have given him better and truer conceptions of the principles he so violently and constantly denounced, and preserved him from much of the uncharitable and divisive denunciation which detracted so much from the great good he accomplished, and left more or less evil in its track.

It was a natural consequence of the foregoing conditions, that Mr. Finney should often feel that his own mental states and convictions, especially in reference to those measures and views of his which were most offensive to others, were divinely revealed to him. He says he more and more "became confirmed, in the fact that God had led me, had taught me, had given right conceptions in regard to the best manner of wi

souls. I say God taught me; and I know it must have been so, for surely I never obtained these notions from man" (p. 87). He used even stronger language in respect to these divine revelations to him elsewhere (see p. 114). We often meet with this disposition to confound his great confidence in his own convictions or experiences with divine revelation, and to fortify that confidence by such a supposed revelation of their truth. This became the germ—more in some of his weaker followers and imitators than himself—of that tendency to exalt personal impressions to the authority of divine revelations, which was one chief bane of the great revival of 1740, and had much to do with many ultraisms and fanaticisms which distracted many churches reached by this influence. It also had to do with a certain mystical tendency which we discover in the later Higher Life and Perfectionist views of Mr. Finney and others, in which exalted spiritual states of feeling were made a standard of truth seemingly co-ordinate with the word of God. On this we have now no time to dwell, but it will richly repay thorough study and careful analysis.

The "prayer of faith" was another subject on which Mr. Finney preached some novel ideas—pushed much further, to more fanatical extremes, by inferior men—which occasioned great dissatisfaction and evoked earnest opposition from very many sober and godly men. We will not venture any definition of it, because we do not find one so definite given by its advocates, that any statement we could make might not be questioned. But it is quite safe to say, that he severely criticised the ordinary prayers of Christians for spiritual blessings, especially for revivals and the conversion of the impenitent, as not being animated by a positive expectation or assurance of the precise things asked, in manner, form, and time, as asked for; and insisted on prayers more or less inspired by such a confidence as to the answer, as alone likely to receive the blessing, or entitled to be considered the prayer of faith. It is easy to see to what extravagances and disorders such a doctrine might lead in the hands of weaker and less discreet men.

The introduction of the anxious seat, or some equivalent method of bringing the anxious and awakened to rise or take a particular position in religious assemblies, in order to be

prayed for, thus openly taking the stand before God and man of being committed to the pursuit of salvation, was very strenuously and almost universally objected to by all who were known as not belonging to this particular school of revivalists. Indeed, if there is anything against which there is a unanimous protest by the leading divines, whose letters appear in the appendix to Dr. Sprague's volume, it is this, together with the immediate admission of those appearing to be converted, in this or other ways, to the Lord's Supper. The opposition to those measures was so wide, earnest, and persistent that they were generally given up for a considerable period. But they have eventually returned, and in recent revivals have, in some form, largely prevailed. And it cannot be denied that these measures have a kind of power in developing religious awakening, through a rapid, if brief, course, which gives them great favor with most revival preachers. Yet we think this procedure by no means clear of difficulties, and that the whole subject requires a discussion—for which we have now no space—before it finds its due adjustments and limitations.

The Oneida Association of Congregational Ministers issued, in 1827, a pastoral letter to the churches under their care, warning against certain dangers and errors on the subject of revivals, while Mr. Finney was laboring in great awakenings within their bounds. They do not name any persons or communities. But Mr. Finney, in his autobiography, refers to the publication as aimed at himself and his measures, while he strongly denies the justice of these allegations. However this may be, it shows what their complaints were against the general system which they believed to be pursued by many of this class of revivalists. The reader of Mr. Finney's autobiography can readily judge how far they had any basis of truth or verisimilitude as respects him. But our space compels us to conclude our exposition of this subject with a brief summary of their warnings and complaints, as spread out in this letter. They objected to "calling men hard names," in violation of the charge that "the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God, peradventure, will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth" "making too much of favorable appearances," where

ports are made of "great, powerful revivals," which afterward "come to little or nothing;" "ostentation and noise," "The Lord did not cry nor lift up, nor cause, his voice to be heard in the streets." God was not in the earthquake, the fire, the strong wind, but in the still small voice. "Going to particular places to obtain the Spirit and be converted," while neglecting God's ministry and ordinances for this purpose in their own church;" "not guarding against false conversions;" "the hasty acknowledgment of persons as converted;" "injudicious treatment of young converts, such as turning them into exhorters and teachers," etc.; "suffering the feelings to control the judgment; giving heed to impressions, feelings, and supposed revelations; allowing any body and every body to speak and pray in promiscuous meetings, of whatever age, sex, qualification, or want of it; wrong means of exciting fear, as saying to the sinner, "if you don't repent to-day you will be in hell to-morrow;" "you are a reprobate, you are going right to hell;" trying to make people angry; studying harshness and abruptness of manner, in the pulpit or in private conversation, for the purpose of giving offense; the affectation of familiarity with God in prayer: language of profaneness, such as the frequent repetition of the name of God as an expletive, for want of something else to say; its use in the pulpit for the same purpose that it is used by the profane swearer, merely to give force and energy to the expression; the familiar use of the words *devil*, *hell*, *cursed*, *damned*, and the like, with the same kind of tone and manner as they are commonly heard from profane lips; disregard of the distinctions of age and station, such as young men and boys saying, with regard to their elders and parents, "this old hypocrite," "that old apostate," "that old veteran servant of the devil," etc.; imprecations in prayer; denouncing, as enemies to revivals, those who do not approve of everything that is done; female prayer and exhortation in promiscuous assemblies; loud groaning; speaking evil, or falling down in public or social worship; taking the success of any measures as an evidence that those measures are right, and approved of God; disorderly and disorganizing measures, such as ministers or others interfering in any way in the concerns of congregations to which they do not belong; going into them, getting up

meetings, or introducing any measures under pretence of wishing to promote a revival, without being invited or authorized to do so by the minister of that congregation; putting forward the younger members of the church above the elder; leading children to despise the authority of their parents, and much more of the like. It is not unlikely that, while a few of these things would escape reprobation now, others are exaggerated, and still others are more directly due to other parties than Mr. Finney. But that the great and blessed work, whose noon-day was in 1831, was in many places more or less marred by influences and agencies of this kind is undeniable. That owing to such causes some places were turned into what Mr. Finney aptly calls "burnt districts" (p. 78), where for years little good could take root, cannot be questioned. That they served to distract many congregations, and drive away their pastors, is abundantly proved.

The revivals of the period just reviewed, including also those of the first two decades of the century, begat a marvellous zeal and hope for the speedy triumph of religion and conversion of the world to Christ, which flowered out in the formation of those great organizations for propagating the gospel that adorn the century. Mr. Evarts beautifully adverted to this in his recent grand oration at Philadelphia. And well he might. His own father, JEREMIAH EVARTS, was foremost in these movements. Doubtless they entered much into the fireside conversation he heard in his childhood. The American Board of Foreign Missions was formed in 1810, and the other evangelical boards and agencies speedily followed. Andover and Princeton Theological Seminaries were established and set in effective operation when the country was undergoing the throes and exhaustion of the war of 1812; and the theological seminaries which have followed in their train, in all denominations, may be regarded as due, directly or indirectly, to this primary impulse. But on these things we have no time to dwell.

During this era, too, the Temperance Reformation, beginning about the year 1825, on the basis of total abstinence from distilled liquors, and proceeding, years afterward, to the platform of total abstinence from whatever can intoxicate as a

beverage, was inaugurated and made prodigious strides, bringing in its train inestimable blessings to the church and society. In its early days it was largely carried forward by traveling agents. In its wake started a numerous progeny of other specialties of philanthropic, moral, or religious reform, also propagated by special traveling agents; all which, joined to the agents then employed by regular benevolent and missionary societies, each feeling that he had an indefeasible right to enter and operate in every congregation, and not a few to denounce, as enemies of righteousness, those ministers who denied them admission, made such a fierce raid upon the proper functions and prerogatives of the ministry, that it became necessary for the latter to contend for their very life and position, and for the proper pre-eminence and stability of the church and its ordinances, against the usurpations and irruptions of these irresponsible and non-ecclesiastical intruders upon their proper sphere and office; as also against similar demands of itinerant evangelists and professional revivalists, or pseudo-revivalists, to take command of their flocks without their consent. In this contest the ministry and church at length prevailed, and had some years of stability and peaceful growth. "Having rest, they were edified; and walking in the fear of God and comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied." (Acts ix : 3). But, meanwhile, great wrecks were caused; churches were distracted; ministers set afloat; and pastorates in many quarters came to be styled "rotary."

A striking illustration of the evil referred to, we find in a communication of Mrs. G. W. Thomson in the N. Y. *Evangelist* of July 6, 1876. The scene is in the frontier regions of Western New York, in 1825, and one of the ministers concerned her own father. She says :

"Mr. and Mrs. Bushnell left a name as a sweet savor among the people for whom they so long labored in Vernon. All these men, tried and true, who had made the waste places glad, were set afloat soon after the great revival of 1825, and thus were to enjoy the fruit of their labors from afar. A notion crept in, disappointing alike to them and their successors, and particularly so to the churches, that if separated from the early pastors, and younger men were employed, the church would surely enjoy a continuous revival. In new-born zeal, so precious a boon was to be secured at all hazards. Old ties, covenant obligations, or even pecuniary burdens, were ob-

stacles not to be thought of for a moment. The most fitting, though humbling sequel, was the subsequent frank avowal, *We were in error.**

Before leaving this subject, we wish to call attention to two facts, which will go to show that whatever may have been the continued and prolonged extravagances of other professional

* The following, from the pen of "Wyoming," in the same journal of July 27th, tells its own story with equal emphasis:

"Two things made me reluctant to unite with the Presbytery of Genesee when I went to Perry, viz.: my personal attachments, and my dislike to entering a church in the situation of the Presbyterian church at that time. It was just after the excising act. The air was full of the sounds of battle. To the lover of peace there was nothing to draw one in that direction. Nor were truth and righteousness altogether on one side. There were serious evils existing among the churches in the region. With some of them I early became acquainted. Soon after I commenced my ministry there were indications of a revival. At that time Littlejohn, a member of the Presbytery of Angelica, Synod of Genesee, was holding a meeting in Dansville, productive of no little excitement. The pastor of the church there, Rev. E. H. Walker, and many of its members decidedly opposed his course; others as warmly favored it. Some in Perry decided to secure his labors among them. My consent was asked to the invitation. The reply was that I was not sufficiently acquainted with him or his work to act intelligently. He was invited to visit in Perry for the purpose of learning his views and methods. The family by whom he was entertained had formerly lived in Dansville, and their relatives were among his strongest supporters there. At family worship, the morning after his arrival, his prayer abounded in irreverence and presumption. The family consisted of some eight or ten, each of whom was prayed for by name, except the domestic, who was alluded to as 'this other one,' with the sentence interjected, 'you know her name, I don't.'

During the day I had a long interview with him. We talked upon subjects that drew him out, and the more I learned of his sentiments and measures, the less confidence I had in him and his efforts. On the agency of the Spirit in renewing the heart, I remember he illustrated his thoughts by a figure common to him, he said, in the pulpit: "The Lord screws the sinner up, and up, and up, until if he gave another turn to the screw, snap would go his free-agency!" O! the crudeness and the coarseness which that interview brought to light! When asked what was the conclusion concerning his coming to Perry, the answer was: "That depends entirely upon the church; but if Littlejohn comes, little Joseph will go."

Subsequently I learned that the Presbytery of Ontario, a few months before this, had taken the following action: 'The attention of presbytery having been called to the subject of the efforts of evangelists, and of the Rev. Mr. Littlejohn in particular, within our bounds, after mature deliberation, believe that they owe it to themselves and the churches under their care to make a full and decided expression of their views on the subject; therefore, resolved (1) That we regard his preaching, his efforts in meetings of inquiry, and his general course, as calculated to bring the gospel ministry into disrepute, to multiply spurious conversions, and to undermine the stability of the church; (2) That the churches under our care be affectionately and earnestly advised to discountenance all efforts calculated to increase or perpetuate such irregularities, from whatever source they may proceed.' "

revivalists, Mr. Finney greatly modified his tone in reference to some of those matters which had awakened wide disapprobation and loud complaint.

Dr. S. C. Aiken, then of Utica, N. Y., whose congregation was the theatre of some of the greatest and most successful of Mr. Finney's early revival preaching and measures, and who was then in friendly coöperation with him, wrote thus to Dr. Beecher in April, 1827: "I think he used too frequently the word 'devil' and harsh expressions, but he is greatly reformed, and I apprehend that reading the very quotations which you make from *Edwards on Revivals* was the means of his reformation. Until he came to my house (at Utica) he had never read the book, and here it was frequently in his hands during the revival, also other volumes of that great writer, and he spoke of them with rapture. Indeed, next to the Bible, no book was so much in my family as *Edwards on Revivals* and *On the Affections*." (*Autobiography of Lyman Beecher*, Vol. II., p. 91.) This we apprehend to be largely true; yet we find him, as late as 1830, in Rochester, telling the impenitent that "all their unbelief was nothing but a blasphemous charging of God with lying." (*Autobiography*, p. 365.) On the opposite page, however, we find, instead of the statement, that influence of the Spirit in conversion is merely that of moral suasion, which had been usual with him (pp. 317-18-95), the following language, much in the style of Nettleton: "Sinners were taught, that without the divine teaching and influence, it is certain from *their depraved state* that they never would be reconciled to God, and yet, that their want of reconciliation was simply their own hardness of heart, or the stubbornness of their own wills, so that their dependence upon the Spirit of God is no excuse for their not being Christians at once."

The other point which demands notice is, that Mr. Finney gives an account of his having a "new and enlarged experience" after the death of his wife, and during his second winter in Boston in 1843, where he never appears to have found a very congenial or responsive atmosphere. He had 'come to the Hopkinsian state of resignation to the will of God, whether it appointed him to salvation or perdition. His own soul, too, became "too full of the subject to preach anything except a full and present salvation in the Lord Jesus Christ." "I spent

nearly all the remaining part of the winter, till I was obliged to return home, in instructing the people in regard to the fulness there is in Christ. But I found that I preached over the heads of the majority of the people. They did not understand me" (pp. 378-9). This will sound strange to Presbyterians, and to the babes in Christ, who have been taught this fulness of Christ by Mr. Moody, as the basis of the very rudiments of Christian experience.

But we can understand and joyfully sympathize with Mr. Finney in his statement: "I have felt since that a religious freedom, a religious buoyancy, and delight in God, and in his work, a steadiness of faith, a Christian liberty, and overflowing love, that I had only experienced occasionally before." We can well believe him, and do not doubt that it added mellowness and sweetness to his religious tone, while we are quite sure that not the fewest of those enjoying this type of experience are those whose doctrinal sentiments Mr. Finney so often and severely impugns.

We must bring this discussion, already much too prolonged, to a close with a bare reference to the subsequent great revival years, which, while blessed with celestial visitations of large and blessed magnitude, present little of a singular or dubious nature requiring discussion.

That of 1843 was in some quarters largely connected with that vulgar form of Second Adventism, known as Millerism, or the doctrine of one Miller, who taught that the second coming of Christ was immediately at hand, and would certainly occur on some particular day of that year.

There can be no doubt that the fear that this might prove true, served to bring many minds face to face with such subjects as judgment and retribution, heaven and hell, and thus helped to deepen and widen the salutary religious concern that was spreading through the country. It is a strong illustration of the truth, that great errors may sometimes be the occasion of fixing attention on the solemn and soul-saving truths with which they are some way associated, and which otherwise were left "bed-ridden in the dormitory of the soul." This is no reason for preaching and sanctioning errors which are always, and in the long run must be, pernicious to the soul, whose only proper aliment is truth. And it is a striking proof, that it is no

evidence of the truth of questionable doctrines or measures, that they are sometimes followed by religious excitements, which, if genuine, are due to the truth associated with them, and if spurious, are only what have attended the proclamation and use of the grossest forms of religious error, pagan and Christian, in all ages.

The revival of 1857-8 was very extensive and pervading. It was closely connected with the commercial panic and business prostration of that year, which so widely led those who were losing treasures on earth to lay up treasures in heaven. Such periods of general depression in business have often been attended with powerful revivals. Nearly all the great revivals we have been considering were, in a degree, traceable to some general gloom and depression in regard to things temporal as one immediate instrumental cause. Dr. N. W. Taylor once told the writer he had never been able to make much impression upon the people of his charge, except when they were "on their backs" with some great worldly disappointment. The revival of 1857-8 was largely promoted by lay-agency and by prayer-meetings conducted by laymen, but not with any antagonism to or from the clergy, who helped and guided it to most happy results, and seldom with any sort of bitterness left behind. It was computed that fifty thousand or more were added to the churches as its fruits.

Of the great revivals of 1875-6, which formed the glorious close of the last, and beginning of the new century, the chiefest glory indeed of our Centennial year, it is less necessary to speak, as they are familiar to all. Although the most conspicuous agents in them have been the lay evangelists, Moody and Sankey, through their labors in the two largest cities of the country, yet the great work through the land has, from the sheer impossibility of their presence in two places at the same moment, been carried forward chiefly under the lead of the pastors, seconded by the officers and membership of the churches. This is as it ever should, and, indeed, must, be in all healthy church progress—all increase with the increase of God. The work of these evangelists in New York and Philadelphia did not interfere with, it only assisted, genuine work of this sort in particular congregations, while it more largely than ordinary agencies reached the unevangelized. The teaching and tone

of Mr. Moody have been singularly scriptural and sound, his spirit earnest and loving, his attitude toward the stated ministry always brotherly and helpful, never harsh or injurious; * his measures and methods, with rare exceptions, judicious and safe. The position of him and Mr. Sankey as laymen gives them a more unfettered access to all denominations than if they were ministers of any one. This is all that can be said in behalf of their taking so high and permanent a position as Christian teachers and preachers, without the sanctions, guards, and responsibilities of ordination, and ordination vows. The whole question of the proper extent and limits of lay agency in Christian teaching and evangelism has thus a new element of complexity. It is brought to the front by these remarkable and idiosyncratic cases, and is further than ever from solution. It must soon be thoroughly discussed. God grant that any train of followers and imitators that may arise, may be gifted with their knowledge and wisdom, their love and humility, their power and disposition to utter sound speech that cannot be condemned, and that these brethren may be honored to achieve, under God, blessed results in the future, of which the past are but the dawn and the earnest.

We only add in conclusion, that with such cause of thanksgiving for the revivals in the past which have given so much life and growth to the church, and with ardent hopes and prayers for their continuance and enlargement hereafter, we deem it important to guard against the tendency so to depend upon such occasional excitements, and the conscious beginnings and visible tokens of religious experience which they develop, as to undervalue the permanent ordinances of the church, and the due training of children in the Christian life, according to the inner significance of infant baptism and of our standards. This is the great reliance for church increase and a "holy generation." Whatever additions may come from without, experience shows that even religious excitements find their most enduring and exemplary fruits

* We cannot, however, give the same commendation to some young people who, aping Mr. Moody, think they have found a patent way of effecting conversion, which warrants them in assuming airs of contempt over pastors and eminent ministers.

among those previously well instructed in the doctrines, and trained, as far as may be, to the duties of religion. Without such material to operate upon, religious excitements would produce only stony-ground conversions, which quickly wither away under the smiting heats of temptation. With such material even the most distempered religious excitements are the occasion of bringing many to a decision to walk in those ways of God to which their Christian training has or ought to have led them.* The great revival of the last century began in

* Mr. Finney, for the most part, had such materials, as he somewhere states, prepared by previous instruction and training, as the subjects of the awakenings occurring under his preaching. To this much of his best success was largely due. We take the following from an article in the *Messenger* of June 28th, by S. N. C. :

"The following item has appeared in the religious papers credited to the *Northern Christian Advocate*, an accredited organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church :

"In the fourteen years the whole church reported 2,072,686 probationers ; these made 509,316 members, being about twenty-two in one hundred ! *i. e.*, of 2,072,686 (only) 509,316 were in the church at the end of one year, and 1,587,370 lost, more than the whole number of members in the church in 1872 ; *i. e.*, in fourteen years the Methodist Episcopal Church lost more converts than would make another church equal in numbers to herself, with several hundred thousand to spare ! If this is not spiritual prodigality in labor and souls, we know not what could be.

"He (Prof. Dabney) informs us, that in canvassing the results of the wide-spread excitement which convulsed the Presbyterian churches of the Valley of Virginia (of which he gives us a general account), several years after the event, they were found to be distressing in the extreme, fully similar, we may say, to the statistics furnished us above. He tells us of one case, the Rev. Mr. Morrison, who, the year previous to the excitement, had rejoiced in the privilege of gathering one hundred souls into his congregation, in the quiet manner then common in the Presbyterian Church ; That upon the close of this harvest, he had remarked to his session, that they had now worked in all the *prepared material*, and that they were not entitled to expect further additions at that time, but that for the next year or two, after seeking the growth and edification of those already in the church, the burden of their labor would be to prepare new material by *household, Sabbath-school, and catechetical instruction*. In this state of feeling and expectation, they were visited by the "revivalists," and to their surprise and, for the time being, their great joy, another hundred was speedily added to his congregation.

"Upon the occasion of the review, he testified that of the first hundred all but three or four had run well ; of the last hundred all but about five had lapsed. He attributed the failure, in the case of the last hundred to the fact, that they were *unprepared material*.

"Here, we imagine, we have the answer to the question propounded above. From seventy to seventy-five per cent. of the reported *conversions* during the fourteen years in the Methodist Episcopal Church were *unprepared material*, and in the nature of the case, as witnessed by the ages of the church, could not be expected to stand fast."

the attempt to work out of the dead formalism, into which the perversion and abuse of the permanent ordinances of the church in this respect had run. Let us see to it that, in recovering from it, we do not go to the opposite extreme, and lose all adequate sense of the privilege and duty of bringing up the children of the covenant, not as aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and strangers to the covenants of promise, but in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; that for the heresy of baptismal regeneration, real or hypothetical, we do not substitute the coarse heresy of making some outward "bodily exercise" of our own invention—of rising, sitting, or standing—the birth-throe, or symbol, or credential of entrance into the kingdom of Heaven. Ritualism in essence may come under one form as well as another, in the evangelical as well as in the avowedly ritualistic church. In every way there is a vast deal of sound, practical, and theoretical divinity in the stanza,

Not all the outward forms on earth,
Nor rites that God has given,
Nor will of man, nor blood, nor birth,
Can raise a soul to heaven.

We have already found occasion to notice the tendency to legalism, and insufficient attention to the person, the atonement, the forensic and objective righteousness of Christ, as distinguished from his subjective and inward work of sanctification, which deformed some former revivals, so that their subjects were long in attaining, if they ever attained, the buoyant sense of adoption, and of standing fast in that liberty wherewith Christ walketh free. The danger is now in the opposite direction. The fulness of Christ is abundantly presented in recent revivals. But whether true sanctification as the fruit of that justification is adequately defined and insisted on; whether there is not danger of that Antinomian tendency, which consists in the hope of being saved *in* and not *from* sin, we think deserving of serious, critical, and prayerful consideration. The adversary of souls, if he cannot prevent revivals, is ever striving to corrupt and pervert them. He puts on the guise of an angel of light, when he cannot successfully expose his true character as a roaring lion. Let us beware lest, as he beguiled Eve through his subtility, even so we be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.

Art. VIII.—RECENT GERMAN WORKS ON APOLOGETICS.*

By HENRY B. SMITH.

It is only within a generation that Apologetics has become recognized as a distinct department of theology, and treated as an organized whole. And it is chiefly in Germany that its distinctive nature and definition, its method and relation to other branches, have been fully discussed. Planck, in his *Introduction to the Theological Sciences*,† first assigned to it a definite place in the sphere of theology, putting it, however, strangely enough, under the head of exegetical theology.

Schleiermacher, in his epoch-making treatise, entitled *A Short Exhibit of Theological Study*, published in the first volume of his Complete Works,‡ first assigned to Apologetics the leading place in the organism of the different departments of theology—as a preparatory discipline for all the rest, and having to do with the fundamental principles of theology. In this sense it is equivalent to fundamental theology; and has for its object the investigation of all the ideas, facts, and truths which logically or historically precede the system of theology proper, or Christian dogmatics, strictly so called. This is a broad and comprehensive view of the subject; but, as thus defined, it neglects too much what has always been considered as the chief object of Apologetics, that is, the specific defense of religion, especially of the Christian religion, against objections—the vindication of the absolute and final authority of Christianity as the highest and best system of truth for man. Accordingly, few have followed Schleiermacher in giving so wide a scope to Apologetics; though almost all recent writers find a specific position for it in the encyclopædia of theology. Tholuck (in his *Vermischte Schriften*, Bd. I., p. 149, sq.) and some others denied that it could be treated fully, as a whole, by itself; for the general reason, that all the doctrines, facts, and truths of both natural and revealed religion, have, and must have, their apologetic side; they can all be assailed, and must all be defended; but this, they say, should be done in detail, rather than by grouping all to-

* See our REVIEW for July, p. 479, where the titles are given of several recent German works on Apologetics.

† Planck, *Einleitung in die theologischen Wissenschaften*, Vol. I., §§ 271-362.

‡ Schleiermacher, *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums: Sämmtl. Werke*, Abthlg. I., Bd. I., § 39.

gether. In any case, the materials with which Apologetics has to do must be taken from some or all of the other departments of theology. And if its office be to reply in detail to all the specific objections, and to establish the truth of the assailed positions, of course it is an endless work, and would defy all attempts at a proper classification. But it is not to be, nor has it been, so understood. Very generally stated, it may be said that Apologetics comprises what has previously been published under the two great heads of natural theology, on the one hand, and of the evidences of Christianity on the other. And the chief problem and question has been to bring these two under one department, or under one definition; also including the general principles and questions that come up in the modern philosophies of history and religion, as well as the substance of the investigations contained in the introductions to the Old and New Testament. The facts of ethnology, and of primeval and prehistoric history—even the investigations of natural science, and the principles of anthropology, and of ethics, have also come to constitute a part of the materials of which Apologetics must make use.* So that we have here manifestly a pretty broad field; and the question is, whether it can be fairly and profitably cultivated with a scientific unity of idea and design.

Another, though a somewhat secondary question, is, to which division of the general encyclopedia of theology shall Apologetics be allotted. Nobody would now think of following Planck in putting it under exegetical theology. Only a part of its materials can be claimed as giving it a position under historical theology; but it comprises much more than this, especially when we bring into view the modern and urgent conflicts of Christianity with materialism and pantheism. It must then come under either systematic or practical theology, or have a place by itself.

Dr. Delitzsch,† in his *System of Apologetics*, assigned it to practical theology, since it has to do with the practical work and progress of the church (as has preaching). It cannot well be put under any one department. But Dr. Delitzsch's own treatment of the subject is quite like that of a work on systematic theology; it is made up almost wholly of dogmatic material.

Dr. Düsterdieck,‡ in his able articles on this question, also contends

* See PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, July, 1876, pp. 494-6.

† *System der Christlichen Apologetik*, 1869.

‡ In *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie*, 1866, on the Idea and Encyclopedic Position of Apologetics.

for practical theology as the proper rubric under which Apologetics is to be put, on the ground that Apologetics, etymologically, is the theory of apology, just as homiletics is the theory of sermonizing, and so comes under the head of practice and art, rather than of system or theory. But this seems to be too narrow a view of its nature and functions. It does not merely tell us how all vindication is to be conducted; how Christianity is to be scientifically defended; but it also defends it; and not only defends it, but tries to establish its truth and authority. As Baumstark (*Apologetik*, p. 29) well remarks: "Apologetics, as the scientific proof of the absolutism of the Christian religion, as a whole, cannot be assigned to a single division of the system of theology, but is to prepare the ground for the whole of theology. Hence it has its place in the introduction to the whole system, as proposed by Schleiermacher." It is treated of by Pelt in his *Encyclopædia* under the general caption of the "Doctrine of Theological Principles; or, Fundamental Theology." The objection to this is, that its materials are so largely taken from church history, exegesis, etc., that it must needs come after these. It would seem, then, that we must either make a distinct head for it, introductory to all the departments of theology, or else assign a place (as Hagenbach does) introductory to systematic theology. The latter is, perhaps, the most convenient arrangement for teaching, even though it be not free from all logical objections.

To return to the general idea of Apologetics. It was defined by Sack* (in the first really important and systematic work on the subject after Schleiermacher's scheme was propounded) as that branch of theology ("theological *discipline*") "which treats of the ground of the Christian religion as divine fact." He distinguishes between the *ideal* and *real* sides of Christianity; and assigns the former (the ideal) to systematic theology, while the latter (the real) is the proper subject of Apologetics—having to do with the *actuality* of Christianity; so preparing the way for dogmatics. This seems (as Baumstark says, p. 2) to separate the ideal and the real too much; and Apologetics, as a matter of fact, has to do with a good deal more than the external history of Christianity. And Sack himself concedes, that "the ideal side, or the doctrine, can never be considered without relation to the real, historical basis; and that, in Apologetics, though the main subject-matter be the real side of Christianity, yet this can never be treated without reference to the ideal element." His further treatment of the materials of Apologetics is, in fact, rather doctrinal than historical; for

* K. H. Sack, *Christliche Apologetik*. Hamburg, 1829. 2d Ed., 1841.

his chief headings are "Redemption," "Life," and "Perfection;" and these subjects are taken from Christian theory and life, rather than from Christian history.

The Roman Catholic divine, Drey,* in his work, entitled *Apologetics as the Scientific Evidence of the Divinity of Christianity in its Manifestation*, defines Apologetics as "the Philosophy of the Christian Revelation, and of its History." He is the representative of a class of German Catholic divines who felt the influence of the philosophy of Schelling, in its later form, in its opposition to the Hegelian logic; and who were led to lay the chief stress on the positive historical elements of the Christian system. Christianity, they said, is primarily historical fact; and theology should also be historical and positive in its fundamental character. Yet it can not be merely historical; it is rather a philosophy of the history—a scientific shaping and defense of the Christian church and religion. To this definition and treatment of the subject it has been well objected, that it brings the whole of Apologetics under the head of the philosophy of religion; it ceases to be a part of theology, and becomes a branch of philosophy. As a philosophy of religion, Drey's work contains valuable materials, shaped with learning and ability. It handles a part of the theme, but does not give a clear and full view of the whole of the science. Apologetics includes, to a certain extent, the philosophy of religion; but it has also a wider as well as a more specific scope.

Of the *Christian Apologetics on an Anthropological Basis*, by Pastor Christian Edward Baumstark,† only the first volume has been published. It differs from the other works on this subject chiefly in its method, as indicated by the title. The author takes the ground (on the *Method of Apologetics*, pp. 37-36), that while the historical method has been chiefly followed, the psychological is the only satisfactory and final one. The historical method tries to show that the Christian religion is, and by its history is proved to be, the true religion for man. The psychological method, on the other hand, starts with the individual, and shows that Christianity completely corresponds to the religious capacity and the religious needs of man. It is a merit of Baumstark's work that it emphasizes the latter point, and vindicates its necessity. But the fact is, that every apologetic work must, in some way, more or less consciously combine both methods.

* Apologetik als Wissenschaftliche Nachweisung der Göttlichkeit des Christenthums in seiner Erscheinung. Mainz, 3 Bde., 1844-1847.

† Christliche Apologetik auf anthropologischer Grundlage. Bd. I. Frankfurt a. m., 1872.

Even in the oldest apologetic literature, as Baumstark concedes, we have examples of both—the *Preparatio Evangelica* and *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eusebius, and the *De Civitate Dei* of Augustine, standing more on the historical ground; while the psychological method predominates in Tertullian's treatise, *De Testimonio Animæ naturaliter Christianæ*, and in the *Clementine Homilies*.

On this psychological basis, the general scheme of Apologetics, as propounded by Baumstark, is the following: First of all, in opposition to materialism and pantheism, he proposes, by "anthropological investigations," to evince and exhibit man's native religious capacities and endowments; then to show how far this natural religious basis reaches, and where this development has its limits, which require to be supplemented by a special revelation. Thus the foundation is secured which bears up all the rest. In the second part he reviews the history of the non-Christian religions—those "outside of" Christianity—to see whether, and how far, this native religious bias is manifested in them, and whether they can, and do, satisfy man's religious cravings. The third part is to give the proof, that man finds in Christianity alone the full satisfaction for his religious needs. The first two parts are well and fairly treated in the first volume of this work; the third part is not yet published. The utmost that seems to be possible, or accomplished, by this "anthropological method," is to prove that man is a religious being; that religion is a necessity of human nature; and that in the Christian religion man's religious longing and needs find their highest development and satisfaction.

The most important and, on the whole, the ablest of these recent German works is the treatise of Dr. J. H. A. Ebrard,* *Apologetics; The Scientific Vindication of Christianity*, 2 Parts, 1874-5. The author is best known outside of Germany by his *Scientific Criticism of the Evangelical History* (3d edition, 1868, 1241 pages), at first written in reply to Strauss's life of Jesus, but afterward extended in scope so as to exhibit the unity and harmony of the four Gospels in a thorough and satisfactory manner. Bleek assigns it a very high place among the works on that subject. Ebrard's *Dogmatics*, too, in two volumes, gives a comprehensive outline of systematic theology, chiefly from the Reformed point of view, though his Calvinism is of a moderate caste. It is one of the more useful works for students of theology, and has been used as a text-book in some of the Reformed institutions. His *Apologetics* has still higher claims to attention, as showing the results of wide

* Apologetik. Wissenschaftliche Rechtfertigung des Christenthums. Von J. H. A. Ebrard, Dr. phil. et theol. 2 Theile, Gütersloh, 1874-5.

and protracted studies, and making an excellent attempt to collect the somewhat heterogeneous materials of this new *disciplina* into a systematic form. He says in the preface to the first part :

“For several years I have had a growing conviction that the coming ministers of the gospel must enter more thoroughly into the investigations, questions, and principles of the natural sciences, if they would be in a condition to contend victoriously against the anti-Christian tendencies of the times.” “These considerations determined me, in the winter of 1872-3, to deliver a course of academic lectures, to which I gave the only partially adequate name of Apologetics, in order to fit it into the *Schema* of the traditional departments of theology. My hearers were theological students. I could, likewise, have wished that there might have been an equal number of students of medicine; for I well know the severe internal struggles through which a young man, educated as a Christian, must pass when he enters upon the study of medicine or the natural sciences.” He adds, that though he has always to some extent pursued the study of the natural sciences, yet for the purpose of these lectures he engaged in renewed investigations, and he claims that in the present work he stands upon the basis of the assured results of present scientific investigations—distinguishing between what is certain and what is merely hypothetical; and examining with special critical care the consequences drawn from these hypotheses in respect to supersensuous or supernatural subjects. He further claims, that this criticism of the hypotheses of naturalists is not made from the standpoint of an abstract, *a priori*, metaphysics. “Whoever will take the pains,” he says, “to read my book, will at once discern that my philosophical method is realistic throughout; I start from *observed facts*, and go forward step by step with painstaking care; I endeavor to lay at the basis of my investigation the *complete series of the facts*.”

In the Introduction to this work, Dr. Ebrard proceeds to an examination of the main preliminary questions as to the nature, scope, and place of Apologetics as a scientific vindication of Christianity. To bring these questions fairly before our readers, we can not do better than to give a translation, with slight abridgments, of the whole of this introduction.

INTRODUCTION TO EBRARD'S APOLOGETICS.

§ 1. *Apologetics or Apology*.—In giving this work the title of *Apologetics*, according to modern usage, and not *Apology*, as the fathers of the church called it, I am not without justification. And yet, before we ask, What is Apologetics? we must examine and decide the pre-

vious question, Whether there is such a science as Apologetics? According to the verbal interpretation, Apologetics is the science of the ἀπολογεῖσθαι, that is, the science or *disciplina*, which examines the nature of defense (or vindication), that is, the essential characteristics of the apologetic procedure, and thence deduces the correct method. According to this Apologetics is related to Apology, as is theory to practice; that is, it is a relation analogous to that of homiletics to preaching, of liturgics to worship, of catechetics to catechising, etc. But here we encounter a fact which makes us hesitate, and demands a more thorough analysis. For while in the above-named theoretical departments of theology we always sharply distinguish between theory and practice, doctrine and application, so that homiletics never goes over into homilies, nor liturgics into liturgies, we never, on the other hand, see, nor can we conceive of, an Apologetics which does not go right over into and become an Apology. In the military art the theory of the defense (e. g. of a country or a fortress) is clearly distinguished from the act of defending; in the sphere of Christian theology, Apologetics is never limited to the theory; it does not merely tell us what the defense should be, but it is the scientific vindication itself.

§ 2. *Apologetics a Science.*—It is not difficult to see the reason of this. The above noted separation of theory and practice has no place whatever excepting in the sphere of ecclesiastical *action*, where theology becomes a practical art. The rules of such ecclesiastical action are derived from theological science, but they cannot, without practice, be so appropriated as to become a capacity or an art. It is wholly otherwise in the defense of the truth of Christianity. It may, indeed, find a place within different branches of church activity—for example, we may have Apologetics in sermons and pastoral care, in catechizing, in the work of foreign and domestic missions, but Apologetics as such does not come under any of these ecclesiastical acts, it forms no part of church action, but it is essentially a *scientific* work.

It is only a scientific vindication of the truth of Christianity which deserves to be called a defense (an Apology), for the last end or aim of the so-called *Apologetics* is not to impart a capacity for action, but knowledge, viz., a recognition (knowledge) of the truth of Christianity. The name Apologetics does not seem to be exactly fitted, or it is only half fitted, to denote this. What the word exactly denotes, that is, the *science of defense* in general, would be only a very empty and formal *discipline*. For as to defense in the abstract, nothing more can be said than what might be embraced in a very few formal and general conceptions. Every defense is determined by the character of the object to be defended;

a fortress is to be defended otherwise than a chessman, a mathematical theorem otherwise than a philological thesis, and both of these in a different way from an ethical postulate. Christian Apologetics now has for its object the defense of Christianity; for, according to usage, by Christian Apologetics we do not understand instructions as to how any given object may be defended in a Christian way, but instruction in the way in which Christianity is to be defended. "Christian" here designates the object and not the quality; "Christian Apologetics" is equivalent to "Apologetics of Christianity," that is, it is the *Science of the Apology of Christianity*.

§ 3. *Nature of Apologetics*.—And thus we are led to conclude that there is, at least, a relative justification for retaining the designation "Christian Apologetics." Between it and a mere "Apology" there still remains a difference, though a flowing one. For, Apologetics considered as the *science* of the defense of Christianity is to be distinguished from a mere Apology as such, in both its principles and method. There are apologies, oral or written, which are designed to reply to some definite objections made against Christianity, each of which may require something special in the method; thus Justin Martyr directed both of his Apologies against a series of definite single attacks. Such a defense may be *admirable as an Apology*, and on this very account, one-sided and *inadequate as Apologetics*. Christian Apologetics must then be distinguished from mere Apology by the fact, that its procedure and method are not determined by casual attacks made at some particular time, but by its deriving its *method of defense*, and consequently the defense itself, from the *essential nature of Christianity*. Every Apologetics is Apology, but every Apology is not Apologetics. Apologetics, in fine, is that science which infers from the *inmost nature* of Christianity what classes of attacks are in general *possible*, what different *sides* of Christian truth are liable to be attacked, and what *false principles* are at the basis of these attacks. *Apologetics is the Science of the Defense of the Truth of Christianity*.

NOTE.—Hännell (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1843, 3) defines Apologetics as "the science of the common ground of the church and of theology," but this is no definition, for this ground is Christ, and Apologetics would then be the science of Christ. The definition of the Roman Catholic theologian, Drey (in the work above cited), represents Apologetics in a way which is *formally* false, as "the Philosophy of the Christian Revelation and of its History." Philosophising about some *given* object (as about revelation in general), and even about an object of faith, is, indeed, possible (this is indirectly denied by Baumstark—see below), and it can also take on an apologetic character, and every true Apologetics must also proceed philosophically, not empirically, so that for substance Drey's definition is not so far from

the mark; but in form (formally) it is incorrect, because instead of developing the idea of Apologetics, it only names one of the means of which Apologetics has to make use. Lechler's definition is better, viz.: "the scientific proof that the Christian religion is the absolute religion." (*Ueber den Begriff der Apologetik*, Studien und Kritiken, 1839, 3.) Only this says too little, for Apologetics is not merely the evidence, but the *science* of the evidence of the truth of Christianity. Then, too, the idea of the "absolute religion" introduces something foreign to the object, just as in the title to Drey's work the phrase "*divinity* of Christianity" is too specific. For the question is simply this: Is what Christianity says of itself true or false? If this is decided, everything else about its absoluteness or divinity follows of course. Chr. Ed. Baumstark ("*Christl. Apologetik auf anthropologischer Grundlage*, Frankf.-a.-m., 1872") contests the position that "Apologetics is the science of Apology," and defines it as "the scientific defense of Christianity as the absolute religion." Apologetics, as we have seen, comes to this, and I have, therefore, put the two as equivalent in the title of my book, but this is not a *definition*. Baumstark himself afterward recognizes the fact, that Apologetics, in distinction from an Apology, has to defend Christianity not merely on one or another side, but on all conceivable sides. This can be done only when Apologetics deduces from the very *essence* of Christianity the *possible* attacks upon it, and thus becomes the science of the defense of the truth of Christianity.

§ 4. *The Twofold Office of Apologetics.*—Christianity, according to its own original and documentary declaration in the Holy Scriptures, is the redemption of man by the eternal, living, and personal God, achieved in time and ever advancing to completion; it is man's redemption *out of* an abnormal state and relation to God, opposed to the will of God, and the true nature and destiny of man himself, and *into* a normal condition and relation to God, corresponding with the divine will and man's nature and destination. Thus Christianity, according to its own testimony, is (*a*) not a relative truth, or stage in the knowledge of the truth, having only a relative worth, but it is *eternal and absolute truth*, yet it is this truth, (*b*) not in the form of mere teaching or doctrine but in the form of *fact*, of *actual realization*. Christianity is an historical act of redemption in time; it is *historical fact*, but it is act and fact, having *eternal and absolute contents*. In the person of Christ "the truth" (ἡ ἀλήθεια) appeared personally; in history "the life" (ἡ ζωή); in Christ's passion and resurrection, the eternal normal relation between man and God is reinstated in and by a temporal act; and so, too, the conversion of the individual to Christ, and faith in Christ, are the filling of the soul in time with an eternal substance. If Christianity now be such an intimate union of temporal historical acts with the eternal substance of truth, it follows directly—that the attacks upon Christianity must be aimed either against its *eternal substance of truth*, or against the *temporal facts*. That is, either the *eternal truths* in Christianity can be assailed, or its *historical character*.

NOTE.—The definition of Apologetics given by Sack (*Christl. Apologetik*) is one-sided, viz.: “that branch (*disciplina*) of theology which shows that the ground of the Christian religion is a divine fact.” In accordance with this he goes on to say that the office of Systematic Theology is to develop “the ideal side,” or the eternal truth of Christianity, while Apologetics treats of Christianity as actual fact. Sack was probably led to this one-sided definition by the fact, that when he wrote this work, the attacks (of De Wette, and then of Strauss) were almost exclusively made against the historical character of Christianity. Had he written in reply to the modern assaults of materialism upon the existence of life, of soul, of personality, of design (teleology), and of God himself, his definition could hardly have been so partial. But yet he might have remembered the French Encyclopedists! But his chief error consisted in his starting out from the attacks for the moment in vogue, instead of deducing the idea of Apologetics from the essential nature of Christianity.

§ 5. A. *Defense of the Eternal Truth of Christianity. Difference between Apologetics and Polemics.*—The eternal contents of Christianity are attacked when the truths which it teaches or takes for granted are *denied, and represented as falsehoods*. The attacks which Apologetics has here to repel are directed *against these truths as such*, and thus Apologetics is distinguished from Polemics. The office of Polemics is that of contending against tendencies which do not deny the truths as such, but only call in question the connection of these eternal truths with the facts of Christianity, or present them in a perverted form.

NOTE.—The *Rationalismus Vulgaris*, as well as Socinianism and Pelagianism (like Ebionitism before them), do not deny the historical character of Christianity, do not declare it to be a myth; nor do they deny such eternal truths as that there is a God, that there is a law of God, a moral law for man, and that the transgression of this law is sin. Nor do they deny that Christ came to deliver men from sin—that is, to redeem mankind.

But they call in question that mode of conjoining the historical facts with the eternal truths which are taught by revelation in the primitive documents of Christianity. Thus they deny that the eternal substance of truth was in Jesus Christ personally made manifest; that he freed men from guilt by his expiatory sacrifice, and that deliverance from guilt must precede deliverance from sin, etc. They reduce salvation to mere teaching or example, to a sharpening of the law. This is a *perversion* of Christianity, ἀρεσις, not a direct denial.

Analogous to these Ebionitistic tendencies, only in the opposite direction, are the Docetic heresies; analogous to the legal heresies are the Antinomian—they are *perversions*. The office of Polemics, as well as well of Dogmatics, is to contend against and to refute these perversions of Christianity.

On the other hand, Apologetics has to establish the truth of Christianity against such assaults as have grown up in those systems of speculation which are outside of Christianity, or are opposed to it, and which attack and deny the eternal truths of Christianity as such. When, for example, materialism maintains that the soul and thought are mere functions of the ganglia of the brain; when materialism and pantheism

maintain that there is no immortality, neither eternal happiness nor eternal misery, and that consequently the whole *presupposition* of the necessity of redemption is from the outset deception or superstition; or when these systems maintain that the freedom of the will is a mere seeming, and that every man at every moment acts from necessity as compelled by his nerves and the ganglia of the brain, etc., that the difference of good and evil is determined only by custom and convenience, that there is no ethical law binding in itself, and hence no sin; or that there are in nature and in the order of the world no works of design, and consequently that there is no Creator:—all of these cases are denials of Christian truth as such, here the ground is taken away from under the feet of Christianity, and it is about these questions that Apologetics is to be employed. It has for its office to investigate such attacks in a philosophical manner, and to inquire how they are to be scientifically refuted.

§ 6. *Illustrations and Limitations.*—It is a matter of course that Apologetics cannot bring to these investigations any axioms borrowed from revelation and theology, but can only appeal to the facts of self-consciousness and of native rational knowledge *belonging to man as man*. We do not prove *idem per idem*; this were illogical and objectionable. To take for granted a knowledge of Christian truth, to *presuppose* a consciousness shaped by Christianity, and then to analyze that consciousness, this is not Apologetics. Considered on its practical side, the object of Apologetics is to give instructions to the practical theologian, to the minister of the church, and in general to every Christian and member of the church, how he is to defend the truths of Christianity against those who still stand aloof from the faith, against non-Christians and gainsayers. Not as though an unbeliever or scoffer can be converted to Christianity by means of deduction and proof (somewhat as Pastor Blendinger, in Franconia, tries to compel the Jews to see the truth of Christianity by demonstrations inserted in the *Nürnberg Korrespondent*). Repentance alone leads to true Christian faith, such repentance as comes home to the anguished conscience from an inward conviction of the holiness of God's law, and as leads one to ask, what must I do to be saved? But besides scoffers and unbelievers, there are also those who are weak in the faith and wavering, and who are in danger of being led wholly astray by such audacious toes; and for their sakes it is necessary to oppose the fallacious arguments of unbelief, and to do this on such grounds and with such evidence, that these opponents can have nothing to say in reply. Consequently it is necessary to come down to *their* ground, to their arena, to ignore all axioms borrowed

from Christianity itself, so as to lead the objectors *e concessis ad absurdum*; to make it evident that their own assumptions and inferences are false and perverse even on the ground of their *own premises*. For this reason the Apologetics of Christianity in its first division, where it defends the eternal truths of Christianity, has to begin wholly with the general facts of human consciousness and the assured results of the study of nature. It has to ask whether those truths and doctrines which are *presupposed* by Christianity agree or are in conflict with the facts of nature and of natural consciousness, viz.: Such truths as the existence of a living holy God, the reality of a moral law, and the freedom and responsibility of the will; the fact that man is in a state of opposition to the law, and his incapacity to save himself. The subject then of the first part of Apologetics may be thus stated: *The eternal truth of the substance of Christianity, as measured by the facts of nature and of human consciousness.*

§ 7. B. *Defense of the Historical Character of Christianity.*—The other side of Christianity is its *historical character*. The redemption through Jesus Christ is a fact which occurred nearly two thousand years ago in the land of Judea. The assaults of anti-Christianity are also directed against the historical character of Christianity, especially against its *historical documents*—the biblical writings. The foremost attack is against the historical character of the *contents* of these writings, of which (as Strauss says, in his "Life of Jesus for the German People," 1864, Preface, p. xiv) we must get quit; next, against the *credibility* of these writings; and then—as the means of contesting their credibility—against their *genuineness* and their *antiquity*. The investigation of these points, under the unfitting name of "Introduction," or under the more fitting title of "Criticism of the Writings of the Old and New Testaments," forms a special part of theology—a very extended and comprehensive branch, which, taken strictly, is throughout of an apologetic character. But yet, in all its details, it does not properly come under Apologetics. Not merely for the reason of convenience, since its very comprehensiveness would carry it far beyond the proper limits of this science, but for another—an internal reason, viz.: that such a "criticism" properly makes an "apology" (see § 3), and is not Apologetics, because it necessarily has to follow up and examine the objections, views, and hypotheses made at special times.

§ 8. *Historical Character—continued.*—Apologetics also examines the historical character of Christianity, and the attacks upon it, but in another way, under broader and more general points of view. It must

inquire into the possible points of attack, and develop the mode of defense in accordance with certain general principles. The historical fact of redemption presupposes the reality of another historical fact, viz.: of a rebellion, in time, of the will of the creature against the eternal moral law and will of God. Christianity—biblical, revealed Christianity—stands and falls with this preamble. The exact opposite of biblical Christianity, on this point, is found in pantheism and materialism. Pantheism looks upon moral evil, not as the opposition of the creature's will to God; not as a fall and corruption—in a word, not as sin; but, like its father, the devil (Gen. iii: 5), as a lower good—a process of development not yet completed, and even as a necessary means of transition to the good itself; and consequently holds that no Saviour is needed, excepting humanity redeeming itself; and the same is true of materialism, which teaches that humanity is developed out of an apish state. According to Pantheism, we find, in the history of mankind, only a constant progress from mere undeveloped to developed, and hence better, conditions. Whether this be really so is to be determined by investigating the *History of the Race*. As, in the first division of Apologetics, we appeal to the facts of nature and of consciousness, so, in the second part, our subject-matter is the *General History of Culture and Religion*, as well in civilized nations as in savage tribes, in order to find an answer to the question, whether it is a fact, that in the history of the human race there is a constant progress from the lower to the higher, or whether it is not historically established, that there is an incessant counter-tendency, viz.: a constant lapse and degeneracy from a higher to a lower state.

§ 9. *Historical Apologetics—continued.*—When we come to the study of Christianity as a historical fact, in its organic connection with the general history of religion, we encounter two remarkable phenomena. On the one hand, there is the historical proof of a fall of the human will from the divine; of a perversion of development into degeneration, as is seen in the documentary evidence of a lapse from primitive monotheism into polytheism, and a tendency to an ever-increasing savagery. But, along with this, we also find the striking fact, that precisely in that Semitic race, in which sin was first raised to a satanic degree of corruption, and the relation of religion to morals was not only glossed over, but perverted into a gross and fearful immorality, the Godhead being worshipped by lasciviousness and murder—in the midst, now, of this very race, a single branch, notwithstanding all its inclinations to the same corruption, did, nevertheless, manifest the very opposite tendency; so that we find in it a knowledge of the holiness, and consequently of the unity and personality, of God, as well as a

clear recognition of the curse and misery of sin, and of the necessity of an expiation; and this, too, for hundreds, yea, thousands of years—after every time of disturbance breaking forth anew. The object of our investigation is to ascertain whether this historical phenomenon can be explained in the sense of pantheism, and with the factors of naturalism; or whether we are not obliged, with the Scriptures, to recognize and confess a series of revealed acts of the living God redeeming man from the debasing progress of sin and corruption. And when, in fine, among the same Semitic people, we find the historical ground upon which Jesus Christ appears as the Redeemer of the world, then, too—apart from all special researches about the age and origin of the individual gospels—we have the double facts of the Lord's Supper and the Sunday observance, ever testifying to the historical reality of his death and resurrection; and also the testimonies of the Pauline epistles, bringing positive evidence of the supernatural character of his person. And further, Christianity can be tested in history, not merely by the advent of Christ and his entrance into the series of sinful humanity, but also by the effects it has produced upon history itself. It is not difficult to adduce the proof of the heavenly fruits of Christianity in history. And there is also the weighty fact, that every form of corrupt Christianity which has been drawn into the service of sin, and intertwined with lies, has produced much more abhorrent and pestilential corruption than were ever found in heathendom alone; and this, too, heightens the evidence for Christianity—just as the mouldering corpse of a man spreads much fouler taints than the carcass of a beast. Here, too, the history of religion, considered in the light of God, becomes, throughout, an apologetic—not of what is now and then called Christianity, but of what Christianity is in the Holy Scriptures. Hence the object of the second part of Apologetics may be given in the phrase—*Christianity as a historical fact, in its organic connection with the general history of religion.*

§ 10. *As to the Form.*—The character of Apologetics, in distinction from Apology, is secured when positive investigations are made the starting point, and the refutation of opposing theorems follows on after. This appears in the First Part of our division of the subject; here, in the *First Book*, we inquire after the facts of natural consciousness and of objective nature, in a systematic order; before, in the *Second Book*, we refer to the theories and systems opposed to Christianity, and expose their internal contradictions. In this Second Book of the First Part, too, where Apologetics manifestly becomes Apology (see above, § 1), it is distinguished from a bare Apology (in the sense of § 3) by bringing within the sphere of its examination, not

only such anti-Christian theories as spring up at the present time, but also all classes of theorems, in systematic grouping, which *can be* directed against any, or all, of the fundamental doctrines and presuppositions (*præambula*) of Christianity, in all the forms in which these have appeared *until now*. The future shapes of these theories it cannot, of course, conjecture in detail; and so far forth Apologetics, like every human science, is not complete, but growing in and with the times. The last holds true also of the Second Part of Apologetics in our division. The materials here used for the history of religion have been chiefly collected, in recent times, by the labors of Max Müller, Spiegel, Dunker, and others. Such an investigation as is given in this Second Part was not possible a generation ago. In ethnography, and the religious history of the savage races, our knowledge is still fragmentary. Here the first canon of investigation must be, not to fill up the gaps by airy hypotheses, but to restrict ourselves to deductions from what is surely attested. Thus the error will be avoided which is now so plainly in vogue on the side of the opponents of Christianity.

This Introduction to Ebrard's Apologetics gives a sufficiently full and fair view of the way in which this department of theology is now generally treated in Germany, and of the questions raised in relation to its extent and method. Understanding Apologetics in his sense and usage of the term, his treatment of the subject, in the body of his work, is full and able, more satisfactory on the whole than any other single treatise. We can give only a very general sketch. As already stated the whole material is divided into two parts. The First Part, comprised in the first volume, is entitled *The Eternal Truths of Christianity Measured by the Facts of Nature and of Human Consciousness*. This is divided into two Books, the first of which contains the *Positive Development*; the second, the *Examination and Refutation of the Systems Opposed to Christianity*.

Under Book First, after some general statements as to the nature of Christianity, and what is pre-supposed in it, there are three divisions of the subject matter. (1) *The Ethical Law and its Author*, pp. 17-222; (2) *On Sin*, pp. 223-281; (3) *Redemption and its Necessity*, more concisely treated, pp. 282-314. In the first division, the fundamental questions of ethics, of psychology, and of natural theology are discussed at considerable length. The facts of human consciousness, in respect to the world, to the human soul, and to the moral law are clearly analyzed and made the basis for the refutation of anti-Christian theories and speculations. Man's dependence upon nature is fully granted,

while his self-conscious independence is clearly vindicated. The whole of nature is viewed as a complex of laws filled with marks of design. Man's knowledge of God is shown to be natural and necessary. The author of the vast system of designs in nature must be a self-conscious being; there is no real contradiction between an absolute and a personal being. The correct form of proof of the existence of God is not to be found by asking "whether the Absolute *exists*, but rather by asking, *In what form does the Absolute exist?* Is it an abstract aboriginal unity, or an unconscious primitive force, or self-conscious Spirit?" (p. 199.) God, it is then shown, is essentially ethical; God is love; the moral law is the highest law.

In the Second Division the existence and nature of sin are considered. In opposition to the skeptical theories, it is shown that it is not physical but moral, not from necessity but by an act of freedom, involving the race, and also implying personal responsibility. Its origin is in the beginning of the race and the divine relation to it is one of permission and not of efficiency. It is all, however, subject to the divine disposal and government; nature itself, in fact, was arranged from the beginning in view of the possibility of sin.

Man, thus shown to be essentially a moral being, the subject of a moral law, and having transgressed that law, stands in need of redemption, which is considered in the Third Division. Man is unable to redeem himself, redemption comes only through the divine work of the God-man, which is grounded in the mystery of the internal relations of the persons in the Godhead. The Gospel is no human invention. The divine act of redemption corresponds to the human need. The incarnation and its miracles are conceivable and not irrational. The Second Book of the First Part is devoted to the examination and refutation of the anti-Christian systems of philosophy. (Pp. 315-443). The author treats: 1, Of the mechanical system, or the denial of the organic life-power; 2, Of the denial of final causes, design in nature (which he calls Aposkopiology); he here ably vindicates the teleological theory of the universe; 3, Of the Darwinian theory, which is thoroughly and acutely discussed; 4, Of the denial of the freedom of the will, and on moral statistics, where the positions and assumptions of materialism are candidly and fully exposed; 5, Of the Pantheistic philosophy, examining the systems of Spinoza, J. G. Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Von Hartmann, and Schopenhauer. He has evidently made a thorough study of these anti-Christian theories, and shows their inconsistency not merely with Christian doctrines, but also with the recognized facts of nature and of human consciousness. This work is as thoroughly done as his limits would allow.

The Second Part of Apologetics in Dr. Ebrard's arrangement presents Christianity as a Historical Fact in its Organic Connection with the General History of Religion. It is divided into two Books, respectively entitled the Religions of Men, and the Revelation of God. The first of these occupies some five hundred pages of the second volume, while the Divine Revelation is sketched in sixty-eight pages. Perhaps the best and most thorough portion of the whole work is contained in the author's elaborate investigations under the former head, comprising, as it does, the results of the latest ethnographic and linguistic studies by the most eminent scholars of Germany and other countries. Dr. Ebrard according to his own account prepared himself by protracted and extended study for this most important and difficult task, going through the writings of W. Von Humboldt, Buschmann, Schott, Von der Gabelentz, and others, collecting the facts from all attainable sources, and combining the whole in a narrative and argument of convincing force. We do not know where to find a more weighty reply to the assumptions and theories of those writers who persist in claiming, according to the unproved hypothesis of a merely naturalistic evolution, that the primitive religious state of mankind was the lowest and most debased form of polytheistic idolatry, and that the higher religions have been developed out of these base rudiments. Dr. Ebrard shows conclusively that the facts all lead to another conclusion, that gross idolatry is a degeneration of mankind from antecedent and purer forms of religious worship. He first treats of the civilized nations of antiquity, the Aryan and Indian religions, the Vedas, the Indra period, Brahmanism and Buddhism; then of the religion of the Eranians, the Avesta, and the Parsees; next of the Greeks and Romans, the Egyptians, the Canaanites, and the heathen Semitic forms of worship, including Phœnicians, Assyrians, and Babylonians. His Second Division is devoted to the half-civilized and savage races, in the North and West of Europe, in Asia and Polynesia (Tartars, Mongols, Malays, Cushites); then of America, including a minute examination of the relations of the different races here to the Mongol, Japanese, and old Chinese immigrations. This part of the work is of special interest, and contains many ingenious suggestions and speculations as to the connection between Asiatic and native American culture.

In summing up the results of these conscientious and prolonged investigations, the author claims that he has shown that there "is not anywhere the least trace of an upward and onward advance from Fetichism to Polytheism, and from Polytheism to a gradually dawning knowledge of one God; but that, on the other hand, it is definitely proved that among all the nations of the heathen world there has been

a fall and degradation out of an earlier and relatively purer knowledge of God ;" that even among the most abject and debased "there are reminiscences of an earlier worship of one invisible creator and ruler of the world." He also holds and maintains, that he has proved "the essential unity of the human race, and the unity of its primitive traditions, that is, the truth of its early history," as given in the Scriptures, and confirmed by the testimony of different races and nations. In their dispersion from the original centre of the race (the western part of Central Asia, in the Euphrates Valley), all the people and tribes "carried with them the memory of one God, who, in the beginning, revealed himself to man; of one sin of the first parents, in the eating of the forbidden fruit through the influence of the tempter upon the woman, and of the entrance of death as the consequence and punishment of sin; of the brother's murder, and of three brothers who invented the metallic arts, etc.; of a race of giants; of the flood; of the ark, and the mountain, and the birds sent from the ark; of the rainbow and the promise; of three sons from whom descended all the peoples; of a revolt against God, the building of the tower, the confusion of tongues, and the sundering of the nations."

But we must needs stop in our analysis and extracts from this very able, comprehensive, and timely work. It is a vigorous, learned, and high-toned contribution to our apologetic literature—well worthy of being reproduced in an English version. Before materialism and pantheism can win the day, they have got to disprove the positions and refute the arguments of such works as this. Their earth-born theory is of little avail against such an array of facts—facts of history, facts of nature, and facts of human consciousness.

In the concluding Book, headed "The Revelation of God," Dr. Ebrard sums up the results of all his investigations, and then treats, first, of the "Redeeming Acts of God," in his revelation under the old dispensation and in the incarnation; and, second, of the "Effects of Redemption" upon the individual, upon society, and upon races and nations. This is less fully treated than some other parts of his great theme, and leaves much to be supplemented. It might well be the subject of another volume.

The *System of Christian Apologetics* (1869), by Dr. F. Delitzsch, the eminent orientalist, of Leipsick, differs so much from that of Dr. Ebrard, and is handled in such an original method, that it may profitably be reviewed by itself at some future time.

Art. IX.—PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE IN GERMANY.

By J. P. K. BRYAN, A.M., Mental Science Fellow of Princeton College.

VAST and imposing as has been the political consummation of the German empire, and high as is the present national exaltation of this great people, there is another spectacle in their history, past and present, that is far more impressive to the thinking mind. To the student of human thought and human history, this is only the natural consequence of their achievements in the sphere of thought. To him, more profound and significant than this present effect is its cause, the thought and intellectual activity of a race preëminently the thinking race of the world.

A century ago, after England and France had passed the golden age of their literatures, and their civilizations were the ruling influence of Europe, Germany still slumbered. But suddenly a mighty people started into life; and for the last hundred years Germany has been the thinking shop of Europe, the birthplace of the new ideas of this later age. Though late in the field, her forces have swept its whole extent—marshaled as never a people have marshaled their intellectual hosts. In every realm of human thought and human activity these new factors in the world's great drama have been pushing onward with irresistible energy. No domain of human inquiry or speculation have they left untouched. On every question that men had thought upon they thought again, and in every realm they entered they startled the world by their boldness and originality. Armed with the single weapon of human reason, relying absolutely upon the human faculties in their legitimate exercise, and seeking truth, they went out into the universe to solve its endless and perplexing problem. They advanced upon the strongholds of established opinion in philosophy, theology, art, and politics. They have known no limit, they have recognized no bound, either in their examination of the phenomena of the outer world, or in the application of an unbending logic to the wonder and mystery of the inner world. In the history of German Rationalism human reason has had its deification. Never in the history of the race, not even in the Groves of the Academy, the School of Athens, or the Halls of the Sorbonne, has human thought had such free course, and the human mind performed such intellectual feats. Never has one century embodied so grandly the genius of a peculiar people.

In this great intellectual activity and development many are the fields of conflict whereon we see arrayed contending forces. And among

those conflicts one of the highest and gravest that can engage man is the conflict between Philosophy and Science, sweeping the whole domain of human knowledge and involving the whole interest of this civilization—a subject involving, on the one hand, the rights of exact science, its place in the vast system of human knowledge, its methods, its content and extent, its legitimate possibilities, and the meaning of its results; a subject which, on the other hand, involves a higher interest, the existence, powers, and capacities of a rational subject, a spiritual self, and its relation to the universe of which it forms a part.

My endeavor shall be to present briefly the historical and present relation of Philosophy and Science in Germany. I shall have occasion to dwell especially upon the absolute sway of the Idealistic systems, more particularly the Hegelian, as one extreme of thought, and the late reaction into Materialism and Positivism as another extreme; and I shall then consider the present relation of these two historical factors of German thought, and the ultimate prospect for the future.

To proceed historically, let us first look at the Idealistic systems of Germany, their absolute domination in the past, and their culmination in the Hegelian Philosophy, the ripest product of that tendency and development.

The German mind is essentially ideal. The history of German Philosophy is the most brilliant history of Idealism in the course of human thought. Even in the mysticism of the earliest speculators, in Boehme, for example, we can trace the distinctive ideal tendency. And when thought advances to a higher philosophic plane, we perceive most plainly the ideal feature. Leibnitz, the father of German Philosophy, found the last ground and reason of existence in the monad, an intelligent atom, an entity more spiritual than material, a microcosm, containing a reflection of the universe in itself. Kant reasoned away the basis for the substantiality of the outer world by demonstrating that time and space are not objective relations, but mere subjective forms of sensuous perception. And by his *Categories of the Understanding and Reason*, as forms of human thought, he paved the way for a yet more pronounced idealistic development. In Fichte, German Idealism comes forth full-fledged. The Ego is made the principle whence all is derived. By a dialectic that is unanswerable logic, he makes the Ego and non-Ego the inner and the outer world, the subject and object to be the creation of mind, the thinking personality. And as this creative mind is the spontaneous and active cause of its own presentations, so it is its own lawgiver, and in the exercise of its will and in the w¹ moral realm it is supremely sovereign, bound by no circumst as absolute as the expression of deity itself. This was the highest

of Ethical Idealism, a philosophical assertion of the divinity of the moral nature and the omnipotence of the moral law. After Fichte came Schelling. And here again prevailed a transcendental Idealism, whose chief feature was the so-called "Intuition of the Absolute." The mind is the creator of nature. Nature is the mere shell or organ of the universal mind. The universal mind, or world spirit, finds its objectivation in nature, and through nature returns to itself in human self-consciousness and intelligence.

The climax of this idealistic development was the almost contemporaneous system of Hegel, which was to the German mind the very goal of rational effort, the apotheosis of Philosophy. This Absolute Idealism was to them the brilliant culmination of the history, not only of German, but of all human thought. Presupposing and resting upon the past, it stood as the perfect and satisfying work of the human mind. It seized and possessed the German world. It ruled immediately. In the universities, in the church, and in the State, in art and jurisprudence, it held absolute sway. It was identified with the Prussian Government in the absolutism of that time. In all the Universities of North Germany it was the idol of their worship, the lawgiver to their activity.

To illustrate the spirit of these ideal systems, and to show the ultimate product of the *a priori* method, a statement of the chief features of the Hegelian Philosophy is necessary.

With Hegel the Universe is not only a mass of facts; it is not only a system of laws. In its essence it is cause, rational cause, mind, thought. There are not only phenomena, but noumena. These facts, these phenomena, are temporary and fleeting; they are but the momentary expression of abiding cause. These laws are enduring, eternal, as the cause whose mode of operation they are. We can know not only phenomena, we can also know noumena. The absolute is the noumenon. The knowledge of the absolute is the knowledge of the noumenon, of cause, of substance, of essence. The universe is the objectivation of *thought*; the laws of the universe are, therefore, the laws of thought; the logic of nature is the logic of the mind. As a simple notion is developed into its consequences by the operation of the mental laws, in the same way must this notion be developed in its objectivation in the universe. As thought moves in the mind, so must it move in nature. From one simple notion, from the primal, absolute, abstract notion of existence, pure being (Sein), Hegel would evolve dialectically the universe: There are certain primary notions, like that of being, universally known to every one, however limited his experience. The combination of these engenders all others; the laws of their mutual union

or antagonism are the primary fundamental laws of the universe. As in geometry there are two or three primitive notions, abstract, absolute, universal truths, from which are deduced the properties of lines, and from these the properties of surfaces, solids, and the numberless forms that nature can produce or the mind of man imagine, so from these elementary formulæ, these absolute and abstract notions, by their logical development, Hegel would educe the laws of the human mind, the mechanism of the heavens, the laws of our planetary system, the various laws of physics, chemistry, zoölogy, the origin and development of religions, the progress of civilizations, the course of human history and of human thought. The universal formulæ in their evolution will express the reality of each and all particular cases. First cause, law, and fact must be bound together, and their inner connection made visible. Chance must be banished, and deductive logic, the unerring power of mind, must forge every link that binds fact to fact, and unifies this multitude of phenomena and these systems of laws.

In one word, the Hegelian Philosophy is the boldest attempt in the history of the human mind *to rethink creation*, to demonstrate logically the way in which the Creator must have proceeded. It would follow the path of creative energy, and assert that such is the only path that philosophy can follow. From the notion of pure being, we have seen, Hegel would reason out the whole universe, as a necessary logical consequence. The Absolute Existence, the universal mind or spirit, or God (if such a term can be used in this idealistic Pantheism), by the necessity that inhered in infinite existence, must become finite, and that process, which is ever continuing, is the universe, a perpetual onflow, an unceasing self-objectivation of infinite mind in finite being. For mind and thought are the Alpha and Omega in the Hegelian system, and beyond them there is no reality. The universe itself exists only as thought. All nature in all her forms and manifestations, in all her laws and operations, is simply the phenomenon whose noumenon is thought. The whole animal world and all the forms of life that crowd upon our vision are simply the objectivation of thought. The history of this globe, the history of the human race, all human institutions, society, the state, the church, and this developing civilization, are all divine thought in their essence. Man himself, at the top of the scale of creation, the climax of this objectivation of the absolute mind, is only as he thinks. His thought is his existence. In man and through his mental operations, both as an individual and as a race, the Infinite mind. *Geist*, returns to self-consciousness after a developing manifestation through all the gradations of the forms of the mineral, vegetable, and animal worlds. Man is, in his essence, infinite mind become finite

conscious. In so far is he God. He can know the Absolute; in his consciousness he knows realities, causes, substances, principles, essences, noumena. In his mental development he becomes omniscient, and knows even as he is known.

And Hegel did not simply take this for granted. He would demonstrate it. His problem was to grasp the real, the abiding, the universe in its totality, from the standpoint of the Absolute. That is, to deduce the world—the Absolute mind and the necessary laws of logic that govern the universe of mind being given. (These laws are revealed in self-consciousness. The laws of thought are the laws of the universe, otherwise we could never know the universe. The Categories of Reason are those without which neither nature nor mind could be conceived of.) This was the problem for his deductive reasoning, which being solved, he asserted, we stand in the very presence of the Absolute and grasp its essence.

To deduce and establish the principle of the Absolute, Hegel goes beyond the mere speculative assertion of Schelling, who propounded an intuitive knowledge of the Absolute. Schelling jumped at one bound to the Absolute—"as if he shot it out of a pistol," are the words of Hegel. Hegel seeks the reason for this assumption, and finds it in two universal processes, which he unfolds as grounds whereon he founds the principle. He reaches the Absolute by showing, (1) The necessary progress of consciousness from sensuous perception to pure knowledge. In this dialectic development of consciousness from the concrete to the abstract, from the knowledge of facts to a knowledge of causes, from a knowledge of phenomena to noumena, he founds his principle of the Absolute. (2) Again, he finds the Absolute in the manifestations of the outer world, not as something fixed and stationary, but as developing, producing the finite and particular out of itself, and realizing itself in the finite and particular. This is the dialectic development of being in the totality of its form; and through this development he comes again to the principle of the Absolute.

With this principle of the Absolute obtained and defined, Hegel proceeds to show how absolute knowledge is reached. Human thought, in its effort to grasp the Absolute, must go through the same stages of development. It must follow the necessary outworkings of the logical notion that determines the form or manifestation of the Absolute in the given finite or particular. Let us take Human History as an illustration. It is an expression of the Absolute mind, it is divine thought realizing itself in the developing consciousness of humanity. To grasp the Absolute in history, human thought must follow the outworking of the laws necessarily contained in the logical notion of man; i. e., from the notion of man, the necessary stages of his development can be

dialectically deduced. The development of the race must move in the same way and with the same necessity as the notion develops logically, and resolves itself into its several necessary forms and stages. The laws of history are deducible from a universal conception. The facts of history must necessarily agree with the requisition of those laws. In his "History of Philosophy" Hegel himself has given us a brilliant failure as an illustration of these positions. In their application to the Natural Sciences I shall have occasion for further remark.

This mere outline of the chief features of the system gives us at least the secret of the Hegelian Philosophy. The *a priori* method is alone and of itself sufficient and absolutely true. Only in an *a priori* construction of the Universe is Absolute Knowledge possible. Only by a process of ratiocination, through deduction, from an abstract notion, a process determined by the universal and necessary laws of deductive logic, can we reach pure truth. Such was the system and method that held absolute sway in the philosophical realm in North Germany about the year 1830. The whole intellectual world was dazzled. An eager band of disciples proclaimed the system and elaborated its elements. They believed that in their method they had the key to all secrets, in their system the fulness of all truth and the consummation of philosophy. In every sphere of human thought it prevailed. It dealt with the whole realm of existence in all of its extent. Man and nature, the mind and body, law, art, history, government, society, and religion, were each in turn taken up and moulded in its forms.

Here we behold an original form of mind, bearing upon its front the impress of the peculiar German philosophic genius, producing a new metaphysics, theology, poetry, literature, philology, exegesis, and historical criticism; passing over into the realm of natural science, it would attempt to be the same transforming principle there that it has been in all others. The distinguishing feature of this unique style of mind, of which Hegel is the climax, is the faculty of forming notions—of producing general ideas, which grasp as one the various and the antagonistic, which make a profound unity out of contrasts and opposites, which embrace and unite in a common bond a multitude of facts. This is preëminently the philosophical faculty—the source of the vast mental activity and wonderful productiveness of the German mind during the last century in all the metaphysical, abstract, and deductive sciences. Here, too, is the source of their new method in dealing with the garnered facts of all time. Every nation, every period, every civilization, has its *idea* as its dominant cause. Its philosophy, religion, arts, and morals—all the elements of thought and ac

tion—are deducible from some fundamental quality. Once that quality is attained, the corpse of the dead past springs to its feet and stands a living, breathing form. It is the very principle of life. By it they have vivified dry studies which seemed only fit to occupy the pedants of the academy or the seminary. By it they have divined the involuntary and primitive logic which has created and organized languages; the great ideas which are hidden at the bottom of every work of art; the dull poetic emotions and vague metaphysical intuitions which have engendered religions and myths. By it they have perceived the spirit of ages, civilizations, and races, and transformed into a system of laws the history which was but a heap of facts. By it they have rediscovered or renewed the sense of dogmas; connected God with the world; man with nature; spirit with matter; perceived the successive chain, and the original necessity, of the forms whereof the aggregate is the universe. And, however much we withhold our consent to the legitimacy of the exclusive method, and the formal shape of this philosophy, we cannot overlook its manifest results. Protesting against its form, we must not disregard its *content*. That it has accomplished all that it has proposed, or that it will be able to accomplish it, no one admits. That it has been the great stimulus of modern thought and the first and greatest philosophical influence in Germany, no one can deny.

But there is another side to this picture. There is an inherent deficiency in the system, which exists not only as an abstract fact, but which has had its historical embodiment in the history of German thought since Hegel. It is readily manifest what the effect of such a method would be when applied to exact science—to all those departments of human knowledge wherein we rely almost altogether on Induction. It would be no difficult task to predict the result of a system that exalted unduly the Deductive method, denied the logical efficacy of the Inductive method, and despised the man who burrowed after facts with his five senses, when he had a rational faculty capable of thinking out the whole realm and content, not only of Nature, but also of the Universe itself—a mind capable of knowing substances and causes, as well as the phenomena of those substances and the effects of those causes. Proclaiming that mind and thought are the only realities—that the real is the rational and the rational the real—there is left no place for that impulse and spirit that would go abroad into the outer world, seeking facts, gathering the material from all nature, and by processes of analysis, coördination, combination, and elimination, seek to educe the laws of the outer world. Nature was made, not the laboratory for the slow labor of Induction, but the field for the

sport of his Dialectic. Why toil on through the endless maze of facts? Why seek a hopeless gaol—another Sisyphus, rolling the huge stone of ever-augmenting facts up to a summit never to be reached—the pitiful victim of a never-ending, still-beginning toil, when the faculties and instincts divine bring you to absolute truth at one bound? Having absolute confidence in his speculative *a priori* constructions of the material world, the philosopher blew his brilliant bubbles, as frail and empty as they were brilliant, and which broke the very moment they most delighted the eye. He construed the universe after his own arbitrary fashion, as his mind chose to move in its remorseless logic. This refusal to open his eyes in the presence of Nature, led the philosopher into some unique speculations that are extremely interesting, as illustrating the possible results of such a philosophic spirit and method. The following are amusing specimens of those absolute truths reached by his unerring dialectic brought to bear on Nature: “*The region between the planets is rational space—the abode of pure spirit.*” “The solar system is the only system of real rationality in the heavens.” “The other luminaries and fixed stars are mere ‘*gas-lights of the heavens—abstract points of light!*’” “*The earth is the only planet that is rationally inhabited.*” “The spirit (or mind) of the human race is the World Spirit (Geist), and its history is the history of the Universe.” Such is the result of the *a priori* method in nature—mere assertions, against which, in the same speculative spirit, we could oppose others directly antagonistic and equally plausible—arbitrary statements, into whose truth we cannot inquire with sure result, and against which is arrayed analogy from all known facts. In this way did this philosophy not only bring forth nothing in the realm of Nature, but it bound hand and foot every other method that would attempt anything.

But such a one-sided system could not satisfy the human mind. Its own disregard of certain elements in man’s mental constitution followed it as a remorseless avenger. The brilliant arch that had dazzled them with its beauty—that was to bridge the universe—was found but a rainbow, a beautiful image, a fond delusion, but no abiding, substantial reality. It was in those very realms where the system had most influence, and where its method was most rigidly followed, in theology and history, that it first broke. It was Feuerbach, a most earnest disciple, who in his discontent led the reaction. The stampede in its ranks was caused by its own followers. Feuerbach said, if God be but a thought of man, he has no objective existence, and exists only when man thinks of him. And doubt once entering, the whole bulwark gave way before the rushing tide of a host of critical enemies. Then, in disgust and despair over a broken dream, Feuerbach went further. Human

Subjectivity became the Absolute, and man a mere animal, till at length a once most enthusiastic Hegelian came to say, "*The study of man is Physiology!*" "Without phosphorous no thought!" "Man is just what he eats!" Here appear suddenly two of the greatest extremes of human thought. From Absolute Idealism to Empiricism, Naturalism, and the grossest Materialism!

It was evident that German thought had reached a crisis, and a turning point had come. The circumstances of the time also contributed to it in a great measure. All Germany was rising against the political Absolutism of the past, and an irresistible popular voice was demanding constitutional government. The French Revolution of 1830 had done its work abroad, and was having a marked influence on public opinion throughout Europe. And not only against the Absolutism of government—church and state—did political radicalism direct its attacks, but, through its philosophical minds, more especially against that philosophy which was identified with those absolute principles of government. It was in this way, together with the effect of the restlessness among the Hegelian disciples themselves, that the influence of this great system was weakened, and the intellectual energy of the nation was directed into other channels of thought. Once the spell was broken, there was a complete reaction, and although the Hegelian Philosophy is the most perfect and most comprehensive of all the philosophical systems of Germany; although its influence on German thought has been the greatest, and its permanent influence on German culture incalculable, still the German mind could not rest chained in that prison-house of the *notion*, and reduced to that barren dialectic as the only process in the search of truth.

Such a state of disappointment in their ideal dreams and their restlessness, resulting from their constant mental activity, was the most receptive attitude for the impulse that at this time came from France and England. The study of the natural sciences had been almost altogether neglected in the past. The most convincing evidence of this statement is the fact, that there is no work of any importance on Exact Science from the German pen before 1825. To the German people, little practical and delighting in speculation, the inductive sciences had hitherto no attraction. Now, in this vacancy of mind, the whole active thought of the nation turned toward this realm, and Germany commenced a new era, which finds its consummation in the material prosperity of to-day, and with it, too, has brought a phase of materialism never before known in the land. Where before there was speculative world-building, and a rational deduction of the whole order of creation from one principle, by a necessary process of logic,

there now appeared an eager band of workers, gathering facts day by day, and with the utmost patience and zeal seeking their laws. Where abstract thought once reigned supreme, there now prevailed an exercise of sensuous perception. Where world-formulas were once sought, world-facts were now pursued. The rise of the historical school in theology, in jurisprudence, in politics, as opposed to the speculative tyranny of the past, was an expression of the prevailing tendency. The enthusiasm with which all the Inductive Sciences, especially the Natural Sciences, were pursued, bespoke the future development. In astronomy, in geology, in physics, chemistry, zoölogy, physiology, and anthropology, a whole army of workers had advanced. The Inductive Method and Exact Science possessed the German mind. The brilliant successes in pursuit of the Natural Sciences, not only in the acquirement of truth, but also, and more especially, in the amelioration of the physical need and poverty of the nation, and in the development of their material and industrial resources, enhanced the tendency already strongly pronounced. The Germans entered fully into the heritage that the father of the Inductive Philosophy bequeathed to the world. They were imbued with the spirit, and they adopted the methods of that philosophy, of which, applied to the Natural Sciences, England's greatest historian and essayist has so well said: "It has lengthened life; it has mitigated pain; it has extinguished diseases; it has increased the fertility of the soil; it has given new securities to the mariner; it has furnished new arms to the warrior; it has spanned great rivers and estuaries with bridges of form unknown to our fathers; it has guided the thunder-bolt innocuously from heaven to earth; it has lighted up the night with the splendor of the day; it has extended the range of the human vision; it has multiplied the power of the human muscles; it has accelerated motion; it has annihilated distance; it has facilitated intercourse, correspondence, all friendly offices, all despatch of business; it has enabled man to descend to the depths of the sea, to soar into the air, to penetrate securely into the noxious recesses of the earth, to traverse the land with cars which whirl along without horses, and the ocean in ships which run ten knots an hour against the wind. These are but a part of its fruits, and of its first fruits. For it is a philosophy which never rests, which has never attained, which is never perfect. Its law is progress. A point which yesterday was invisible is its goal to-day, and will be its starting post to-morrow."

Into this realm of Exact Science the Germans entered, and since 1830 they have given to it their whole mental energy, insomuch that the scientists of the world to-day reckon their German allies as among

their first and most progressive workers, and many a famous scientific specialist will find worthy rivals among the German Universities or in the great cities of the Empire.

But not only did the Germans strike out into this new path; they have done more. They have rushed, as usual, into an extreme. The leaders of this positive movement, those pseudo-philosophers whose philosophy was founded solely on the facts of science, became most intolerant of all the past of German thought, and their whole polemic was against it. They would annihilate it utterly. They denounced Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel as arch-sophists; they laughed at their vague jargon, and denied them their logic and its validity; ridiculed their reputed absolute knowledge and rebelled against all philosophical dogma. This they did, and up to a certain point most men will think they were wise and justified in their action. But they did more. They came eventually to deny all knowledge save the empirical, to dispute all sources of knowledge save through experience. They not only denied certain results of the exercise of the intuitive and discursive faculties, but they denied the faculties themselves; denied not only the legitimacy of certain excursions in the speculative realm but denied the speculative realm itself. They asserted the supremacy of the five senses, and laughed at the fancies that mad philosophers considered truth. And, relying upon the sensuous understanding, they went out into the Universe to solve its vast problem. With these five senses they are as confident as Hegel with his creative logic. The facts that these senses give are to them as the kernel of truth, and the idea the mere shell or husk that holds them. To reach these facts they have invaded every domain and have known no limit in their research. To such an extent has this extreme prevailed, and so great has been the confidence in the method, and such the presumption and audacity in the application of it, that they have even attempted to penetrate the very mysteries of consciousness, and solve its hopeless problem by Exact Science, approaching it from the physical side through the Inductive Method. This attempt is so bold and so fruitless, and illustrates so well the utter folly of the extreme I am considering, that we must dwell upon it more at length.

When the study of anatomy and physiology, in their modern aspect, was initiated in Germany about 1820-1830, through the influence that came chiefly from France, and when the natural sciences were yet in their infancy, Materialism looked forward to them as promising rich results for itself, and regarded them as the future foundation of its system. Feuerbach gave the watchword of Materialism and expressed the hopes of modern German materialists in the words, "The study of

man is *Physiology*." Amid this tendency the nerve system became eventually the great centre for the scientific labor of the age. It was approached from every stand-point; studied and examined and experimented upon in every conceivable way. The experiments were most startling in their results, and Materialism became more confident. The impulse from France had taken hold of such men as Huschke, Müller, Schal, and Vogt, and for many years there was earnest work upon the hypothesis that each thought, each idea, had its corresponding nerve-cord and brain-cell, and the molecular process within the the nerve-cord or brain-cell constituted consciousness. Vogt held that thought was a secretion of the brain as gall is of the liver. Such were the hypotheses that were set up, and from such suppositions was the problem attempted to be solved. But the more the subject was studied, the profounder and more complex the mystery became; the further it receded from their grasp, the loftier it towered above all their hypotheses and conjectures. In the utter fruitlessness of this long study and examination, in despair of obtaining a satisfactory hypothesis, and in the utter absence of an approximate idea of the nature and activity of the brain in its relation to mental phenomena, most of these men and their co-workers and disciples fell back to the theory of a localization of brain action, according to the different functions of intelligence, emotion, will, etc., and an oft-repeated and refuted phrenology played its *role* once more; and though this Phrenology was not necessarily connected with Materialism, still most of the Materialists declared for it, Vogt maintaining that it was true to the minutest detail.

But the question did not rest here. Another attempt, still continued in the present, was made to solve the great problem by reducing all mental activity to a mechanical principle, and the hypothesis was propounded that the *reflex nerve motion* was the fundamental element of all psychical processes. Upon this hypothesis there has been a vast amount of labor already expended. A whole Comparative Animal Psychology has been founded, and a world of most important and interesting facts has been revealed.

But the more the problem has been pondered from this hypothesis, and the facts and results of the innumerable experiments applied to its solution, the more has the hypothesis been found to be altogether disconnected from the facts that it would explain; and after all this vast material was gathered, and all these facts analyzed, compared, and coordinated, the laws deduced, and an almost perfect mechanism established, still, in the last instance, there remained fixed and impassable the gulf between all their labor and the object of it. And there was left the unsolved and hopelessly insoluble (as the wise and more influential of

them now think) question of consciousness. They had amassed an endless number of facts ; as exact scientists they had gone around the subject from every stand-point; they had exhausted the resources of Induction; they had founded a Comparative Animal Physiology and a Comparative Animal Psychology (which they would regard as a branch of Physiology); they had fixed the physiology of brain and nerves ; they had created a new science, "The Physiology of the Senses," and had given it rank and dignity, and in all this, within the short period of two score years, they had given to the world an amazing product of scientific zeal and industry. They had, too, been eminently successful in establishing the relation of certain parts of the brain to sensation, motion, and other organic functions, but further than this they could not go. All attempts at localization of brain functions, especially those of the higher mental activities, have been utterly fruitless ; and finally, before the question of self-consciousness they have turned back appalled as before an overwhelming mystery.

One of these scientists, Du Bois Reymond, Professor in the University of Berlin, regarded as one of the first scientists of Germany, and with Helmholtz, leading the scientific world in Berlin, a name well-known by a long and popular academic career, and held as the first authority, in his specialties—"Animal Electricity" and "Muscular Action"—has lately stated most clearly his own conclusion and conviction, and that which he maintains must eventually be the conclusion that Exact Science must accept on this subject. He is speaking of the limits of Exact Science as a general theme. He is referring in particular to the exactness of all science, and the degree of exactness depending upon the degree to which mathematics are applied—a position similar to that of Kant, and fully illustrated and confirmed by the history of mathematical physics in this century. In this connection he says : "If we could say that with each given mental process a certain motion of certain atoms took place in certain ganglia and nerve-cords, this would be a high triumph. This established mechanism, of which the laws would be known to us, would give us a clear insight into the *material conditions* of mental processes, but the mental processes themselves would be just as inexplicable and inconceivable under these conditions as they are now. An 'astronomical' knowledge (*i. e.*, a knowledge as perfect as our knowledge of the mechanism of the heavens) of the brain, the highest that Exact Science can demand, would only reveal to us matter in motion. By no imaginable arrangement or motion of material molecules can the gulf between this simple mechanism and consciousness be bridged over. All the mental activities remain unsolved, and not only so, but they must remain *insoluble*. The limit

here is unconditional and absolute, and is not to be crossed by any possible conceivable progress of Exact Science in the future." The folly of this extreme, and the utter helplessness of the efforts made under it, is thus urged upon his fellow scientists by one of Germany's leading workers: "Still the effort is continued, even to-day, by a rabid school of specialists, who are as philosophically blind as they are scientifically zealous. Where we once beheld Deductive logic attempting to evolve from abstract notions the laws of the material world, we now find Inductive Science endeavoring to reduce the mind to a mere mechanism of atoms, and from the mechanical laws of molecules to establish the nature of the activity and the laws of the operation of the rational Ego. The one extreme would make matter a phenomenon of mind; the other would make mind the mere function of organized matter."

If we glance back over the ground we have traversed, we see two distinctly marked tendencies—two periods of thought and development—wholly antagonistic; the one in which Philosophy in its purest speculative form ruled; the other, where Science in its most concrete and empirical form prevailed. These two historical elements of German thought have, in the past, been almost altogether diagonally opposed one to the other. They have been, in their extremes, mutually exclusive. *In their method*—the one being *a priori*, the other *a posteriori*, the one deductive, the other inductive—they stand at the antipodes of logical procedure. *In the faculties they use*—the one employing the intuitive faculty, pure reason, and the discursive powers; the other the sensuous understanding. *In the object*—the one grasping pure being, substances, absolute entities, principles, causes, and attaining pure knowledge; the other perceiving phenomena and attaining laws through Induction. In the one, Reason would create the universe; in the other, Sense would compass the universe.

These are the two elements of German thought of the past, and the one is as pronounced as the other. It is these two factors that present thought, critical and speculative, is considering, and out of which there have sprung the various eclectic systems of the present, and from which, we think, will issue a higher philosophy for the future. Notwithstanding the fierce antagonism of the past, there is now a partial approach, one toward another, and a more and more successful effort to join hands by the soberer thinkers and more influential and advanced leaders on both sides. Philosophy is recognizing the claims of Science in the person of every great thinker in Germany. Science is coming out to Philosophy and is realizing the fact of their intimate connection, and the necessity of her allegiance. In support of this proposi-

cite the German Universities; and when we look for the dominant thought of Germany, we must look to these Universities. They have been the birth-place and the nursery of all the great intellectual, social, and political movements in Germany. They have been the arena whereon the great struggles of the nation have been waged—those struggles that tell of the inner conflict and clash of contending mental and moral forces. The history of the German Universities is peculiarly the history of the intellectual activity of the German mind. In this particular they find no parallel in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or the French Universities. It was within their walls that the great thought of the Reformation was conceived and developed. It was within their walls that they fought that long and bitter fight against Absolutism—a period the Germans have called “*Die Sturm und Drang Periode*” (The Storm and Pressure Era); and it was their influence that sustained the patriots of 1848, and brought about that silent but mighty political revolution—the first step taken by Germany toward constitutional liberty. It was there that there sprang up that sentiment of German unity which has found its latest embodiment in the great world-power of the German Empire—a political realization of that thought which in the past had bound the Universities of the several German kingdoms into an abiding union, as a confederated republic of letters. It was from the Professor’s chair, in the University of Königsberg, that Kant exerted an influence on Modern Philosophy that has brought to him the title of the Copernicus and Kepler of modern thought. It was from the Universities of Jena and Munich that Schelling ruled in his day. It was from the University of Berlin that Fichte not only moulded the formal philosophy of his time, but wielded a potent sceptre of moral influence over the whole German people. In the same chair, in Berlin, Hegel became a very god, and from this intellectual throne bequeathed, as a heritage, thought that is now wrought as an essential element in modern German culture. And finally, it is in the German Universities that zealous scientific leaders, and an eager band of disciples, have been laboring for the last forty years with results, in the present, that startle the world, and force from France, England, and America the confession, that in Exact Science even—a realm hitherto regarded anything but German—the German specialists are outstripping their cotemporaries. It is to the German Universities, therefore, that we must look for the expression of the dominant thought and present tendencies. Testimony from this source carries with it peculiar force and significance.

And, first, let us look at the standpoint of Trendelenburg, of Berlin (died 1872), who sat in the chair of Fichte and Hegel at the Univer-

sity. While working against Hegelian Philosophy, his whole life was devoted to the harmonizing of the teleological, mechanico-causal, and ethical views of the world—all of which he believed to be true absolutely. Trendelenburg held, moreover, to the Absolute in a modified form, and was a promoter of the Ideal-Realism movement.

Zeller, himself originally of the Hegelian school, the eminent historian of Greek Philosophy, and latterly the author of a History of German Philosophy—who now occupies the chair in Berlin made vacant by the death of Trendelenburg, maintains a position that fully confirms the statement made above. He holds that the reaction against the exclusiveness of the Absolute Philosophy, and the rich results that the Inductive Sciences, especially the Natural Sciences, have furnished since this reaction, plainly intimate that the new philosophy must enter into a close connection with these sciences; must apply their method and results, and must supplement a too-exclusive Idealism with a well-founded Realism.

If we go to Heidelberg, we find Kuno Fischer occupying the first philosophical chair there. As the first German historian of Modern Philosophy, he wields a great influence throughout the intellectual world. He, too, is in perfect accord with the tendency I have intimated, and holds almost an identical position with Zeller. He is the author of the best philosophical German work on the Baconian Philosophy and method; and all his work, and the spirit of it, bear the impress of this liberal philosophical development.

Lotze, in Gottingen, the leading mind there, is an earnest worker in this new philosophy. He was once a physician, a medical professor, and through the Natural Sciences, especially physiology, and through psychology, he has come out to philosophy. He is to-day regarded as the greatest thinker in Germany. He holds to all that science can give him, and insists upon a conjoint use of the Inductive and Deductive methods. I need only refer to the zealous Ulrici, of the University of Halle, long the chief editor of the first philosophical magazine (*Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Philosophische Kritik*) in Germany, and his great literary activity in this special realm. The now aged Fichte (the younger), of the University of Bonn, has given the best years of his life to the movement we are considering. The whole Herbartian school of Realism, whose stronghold is Leipzig, and their no less zealous, though less numerous, followers in Berlin, have long boasted of their attitude as helpers of and co-workers with science. These are the great centres of thought in Germany, and these the names of the first philosophical thinkers.

And, further, as a negative illustration of the present philosophical

spirit, and the commanding influence of this tendency, I would mention two facts peculiarly striking in this connection. I do not know, nor have I heard, during my stay at the German Universities, of a Professor of Philosophy at any one of them who taught philosophical Materialism. Again, the most vivid illustration of the complete downfall of the Hegelian Philosophy, *as a system*, was the weekly scene at Michelet's lecture on Hegel during the Spring Semester of 1874, at the University of Berlin. *Nine* out of nearly three thousand students attended this course, delivered by the eloquent Michelet, the life-long friend and disciple of Hegel, the most earnest and brilliant advocate and expounder of the Hegelian Philosophy. And this, too, on the very spot where it had its birth, and which was the scene of its domination! Out of the window of the lecture-room I could see across the campus the great bronze bust of Hegel, the single monument within the walls of German reverence to German genius. So much for the attitude of Philosophy toward Science.

On the other hand, Science is recognizing how much it owes to Philosophy; how closely its very existence and progress are bound up with philosophic thought. It is beginning to realize with how many metaphysical notions and hypotheses it is working as with first principles. The atomic and dynamic theories of matter—the one specially serviceable in chemistry, the other singularly adapted to mathematical physics—are altogether philosophical. Science is calling to mind that she was bound as a captive in her own chains, until the father of the Inductive Philosophy struck the fetters from her limbs, raised her to her feet, pointed out her path and lofty goal. Philosophy gave to her her method—the wand of her magic power in the material world. Scientists are finding out that they cannot rest in their science. By an irrepressible impulse they go irresistibly beyond it; if not in harmony with the soberer thought of the age, then most surely in a materialistic direction. These results of Natural Science surely have some meaning beyond their being a mere collection of facts, and that meaning scientists are as eager for as philosophers. They must be made the whole or a part of some comprehensive view of the world. That they are not altogether interpreted as if they were all the facts of the world, the position of Helmholtz, in Berlin, the first scientist in Europe, and Du Bois Reymond, whom I have referred to above, and many others, fully confirm. Helmholtz has come out through physiology and mathematical physics, to speculative thought and abstract conclusions; and, strange to say, in his theory of knowledge, and in his metaphysical position, he holds views analogous to those of Kant.

But one of the most striking instances of science, speaking through

one of her leaders, is that of Wundt, the eminent physiologist of Heidelberg. From physiology he went over to psychology, and after many years of profound study of those phenomena in that realm where physiology and psychology meet—the inter-relation of mind and body—he propounds, as a scientist, and not as a philosopher, a theory of Knowledge to which the results of his scientific study bring him. Materialism he rejects, because it is unable to explain psychological experience, and is in conflict with the surest established truths of cognition. It cannot account for the notions of causality, substance, etc., which are of psychological origin. He holds that Idealism is in harmony with all that psychology demands, and remains victorious so long as it is combatting the claims of Materialism. But when it proceeds to interpret Nature, the inflexible reality is ever at war with the subjective conception, and finally the confession is forced from it that the ideas of causality, substance, etc., are themselves only possible through the experience of the objective world. He finally proclaims Realism as his philosophical creed, which seeks to regard and combine all these different sources of Knowledge—granting, however, *the priority of the inner experience.*

These, then, briefly, are the evidences of a spirit and effort in Germany to reconcile these two antagonistic features of their historical development. That such a reconciliation is the key-note of present, as it will be of future, philosophical movements, there can be no doubt. This recognition of the supplemental factors of Knowledge, the poles of human thought, and complementary substances, will have a most wholesome effect upon future speculation. The spirit that will prevail will be conciliative, and cautious of extremes. There will be a conjoint use of the two great logical methods indisputably established, and equally useful in their respective spheres. Their aims will be more in accord with the limits of the human mind; neither despairing of its powers, nor proclaiming it omniscient or omnipotent. Their goal will be more reasonable and attainable, even if it be not so exalted. Indeed, the leading features of present attained Knowledge and of future thought are of no uncertain nature. Sure it is, that in the last instance the formal laws of our thought have a *priori* certainty, while, on the other hand, all definite content of our thought is possible only through experience, or judgments founded upon experience. Deduction cannot reach all the real, or be confident that it has compassed the Universe. If such a system as that of Plato, Fichte, or Hegel, were possible, Induction would be necessary to prove that all the real had been included. As a deductive knowledge of the Universe and its *a priori* construction is impossible, it remains only to go out from that

which Induction has established, and combine the two methods, using Induction for observation and proof of results, and Deduction, in manifold ways, in the derivation of laws and causes. They must be mutually complementary. The method of each real science is compounded out of Induction and Deduction ; still, every science is, in its whole tendency, either synthetic or analytic. Both methods are present, but one is always subordinate to the other.

And finally, philosophy itself must be regarded as a science, *scientia scientiarum*, a necessary result of the existence and advance of the other sciences, bound intimately with them, and realizing its aim only when working with them and through them ; a science necessary for the existence and progress of all other sciences ; a science which deals with the common basis and common content of all the sciences, examines the general laws of knowledge and scientific method, and all the notions of whatever kind used in the several fields of science ; reduces the real to its ultimate ground, and brings all the realms of knowledge into organic connection and union. In thus uniting the single sciences, it should combine the results of these sciences in a total view of the universe and its last ground and cause. The methods of philosophy must be those of every other science, Induction and Deduction. If it were possible from one point, in a dialectic way, by the logical development of a notion, to determine the whole possible realm, and the content of the realm, of human knowledge, this would be undoubtedly best for philosophy, because the appropriate place and significance of each part could not be made so readily apparent by any other method, nor could any other method furnish such a clear picture of the connection and relation of all existence. But since such an *a priori* construction of the Universe is impossible, philosophy, as every other science, must proceed from the inner and outer perceptions, by analyzing, testing, and combining psychological experience, to establish the laws of cognition, the scientific method, and the notions in regard to the essential reality and ground of things. And to this end it must employ both Induction and Deduction.

Moreover, philosophy cannot reach that absolute knowledge, the ideal of which it has so often confounded with the reality. By the very laws and nature of our faculties all human knowledge is necessarily finite, imperfect, and in its quality more or less adulterated. Yet if it is not given to attain immediately the ideal of absolute knowledge, it is most surely given to be ever approaching the same, and, in this ever continuing advance toward perfection, to possess so much as has been possible to the individual in every age and in every land. Still, great as is its possession, greater far is its goal. This is an infinite universe

that we enter with our finite faculties ; its problem is endless. There is not only the whole realm of the outer world, and its operations and its laws ; there is also the profounder and more mysterious realm of the inner world, with its phenomena and its laws. The existence, relation, and harmony of the outer laws among themselves ; the existence, relation, and harmony of the inner laws ; and, moreover, the adaptation, interdependence, and harmony of the laws of the inner and outer worlds ; these constitute the vast problem. And when we remember that all these laws of nature and of mind which we now know, were for centuries unknown, when man had his present faculties for knowledge, what infinite possibility is opened for future advance ? And if it has taken so long to open the way to that world that lies at the very door of our senses, what infinite progress in coming time may there not still be in the knowledge of that inner world of consciousness—the laws and nature of mind ? What revelation may there not still be awaiting the eager and devout seeker after truth ?

Art. X.—CURRENT NOTE.

CHURCH UNITY.—If we do not share the enthusiastic hopes of the speedy ecclesiastical unification of all evangelical Christians, so forcibly advocated and predicted in the able article on that subject in this number of the REVIEW, we welcome such a presentation of the grounds of encouragement to these hopes. The recent great unions of disrupted churches are certainly cheering. Besides that of the Reformed and Free Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, elsewhere noticed by us, that lately effected between the Methodist Churches, North and South, is a welcome movement in the same direction. It does not yet go the length of organic union, but gives promise of it in the not distant future. It has been effected on terms of “perfect equality and reciprocity.” We have no doubt that fraternal relations will soon be established between Northern and Southern Presbyterians on a like basis. Both Assemblies having reached the point of expressing their construction of their previous votes excepted to on either side, in precisely the same language, the interchange of delegates on this basis cannot long be delayed. While it is, in our judgment, true, that the Northern Assembly has always been ready to enter into fraternal re-

lations on such a basis, it does not follow, as some have urged, that no progress has been made since 1870 toward this consummation. Certainly, as discussion has proved that neither side could claim to be immaculate in the matters complained of, the demands which have prevented their coming together have been much abated; and, at all events, both Assemblies have succeeded in making their respective attitudes better understood, and narrowing *apparent* grounds of difference. Much less does it warrant the inference we have seen made, and held up *ad invidiam*, that the Northern church continues to affirm the language used in the former Old School and New School Assemblies which offends our Southern brethren. It has simply and clearly from the outset declared the acts containing it "null and void," as respects our present re-united church; thus disclaiming all responsibility for them.

We desire the speedy restoration of fraternal relations, letting bygones be bygones, because we believe these churches, thus united, might be in many ways helpful to each other; and that neither can say to the other, "I have no need of thee."

Art. XI.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND RELIGION.

The Preaching of the Cross and other Sermons, by THOMAS J. CRAWFORD, D.D. Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. Dr. Crawford, late Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, was formerly one of the ministers of St. Andrew's church in that city. He was a sound and able divine, and is well known in this country by his works on the "Fatherhood of God," the "Mysteries of Christianity," and the "Atonement." He was also an impressive and instructive preacher; clear and forcible in the presentation of his subjects, and earnest in his address. The first sermon in this posthumous collection gives the title and key-note to the volume, in fact, to the preacher's whole system of theology and to his religious life. It is the "Preaching of the Cross," as containing the sum and substance of all religious and saving truth for the human race, so that it cannot be superseded by any scheme of man's devising. For however times may change, there ever is and will be the same sinfulness and the same need of redemption, met and satisfied only by the Cross of Christ. The whole number of sermons here given is nineteen. Among the

more striking of them are—"God's first Gift the Pledge of Every Other," "Retribution a Law of God's Moral Government," "The Unbelief of Thomas" (two discourses), "Faith's Victory over the World," Christ's Living Epistles," "Faith, Hope, and Charity." They are excellent examples of great themes, thoroughly worked out, and yet adapted to an intelligent popular audience, omitting the technicalities of theological expression, and the mere routine of pulpit exhortation, yet full of doctrine and of life. They will reward a diligent perusal, and help almost any preacher in his work.

The Three Gardens by J. B. BITTINGER D. D., consists of three discourses, the first on the Garden of Eden, the second on that of Gethsemane, the last on the Heavenly Paradise, which set forth in the racy and sententious style, of which our readers have had a refreshing taste, the rich lessons doctrinal and practical, to be learned from the close consideration of them.

The Union of the Free and Reformed Churches of Scotland, the latter of which was severed from the established church nearly two centuries ago, for nearly the same cause which led to the disruption of the former, viz. the refusal to submit the ecclesiastical administration to state control, was happily consummated on Thursday, May 25, 1876. We have received two pamphlets touching it; one, the Report of Proceedings in the Free Church Assembly Hall on that day; the other, the Substance of an Address to the Reformed Congregation at Eagletown, Friday, May 19, 1876, by the Rev. J. H. Thomson. In both these, full accounts and expositions of this great measure, which will be hailed as another important movement toward Presbyterian and Christian unity, will be found. The speeches of some chief leaders in both churches, and from others at the evening sederunt; among which we find the well-known names of Drs. Dykes, Begg, Calderwood and Rainy, Sir Henry Moncrieff, and others of distinction, are vigorous, eloquent, soundly orthodox and catholic, and will well repay perusal.

Longmans, Green & Co., London, have issued new editions of "*The Types of Genesis briefly considered, as Revealing the Development of Human Nature*," and of "*The Second Death and the Restitution of All Things; with some Preliminary Remarks on the Nature and Inspiration of the Holy Scripture*," by ANDREW JUKES. The former has reached its third and the latter its fourth edition. It was also brought to the notice of our readers when originally published. Its topics are, The Work and Rest of God; Adam, or Human Nature; Cain and Abel, or the Carnal and Spiritual Mind; Noah, or Regeneration; Abraham, or the Spirit of Faith; Isaac, or the Spirit of Sonship; Jacob, or the Spirit of Service; Joseph, or Suffering and Glory. In his treatment and unfolding of these types, the author, if sometimes fanciful, is never stale or common-place; if calm and meditative, he is never dull or heavy; if unpretending, he is rich and suggestive; while devout, he is free from all cant and affected solemnity.

The other work, as its title sufficiently intimates, is a plea for Restoration, to some form of which, or of Annihilation, an increasing tendency has wa

regret to say, for some time past appeared among persons in this country and Britain as well as on the continent, hitherto accounted orthodox, and in other respects still actually so. Mr. Jukes urges, that, as death itself dies when the Christian dies as to his body; so for others who are passed over to the second death, this latter is its own destruction, the birth-throe of a sinless and joyful life. In order to obtain Scriptural sanction for this, the author is obliged to ascribe to Revelation an enigmatical character, which seems to us inconsistent with its normal authority as the Word of God. He carries the principle that God, in revealing, hides, and, in hiding, reveals truth, beyond its true and safe limits, to a length which is untenable. So also the principle that representations of the same truth sometimes involve apparent inconsistencies or contradictions, because not yet fully developed, or addressed to minds imperfectly developed, is pushed to a degree that throws doubt over the most explicit and didactic statements of Scripture. This leads him to adopt the common universalist shifts in wrenching out the eternity of punishment from the passages that indubitably affirm it. This is placing the spirit above the letter to an extent which makes the written word of God no longer a sufficient rule of faith and practice.

God's Dealings with our Nation is the title of a Centennial Discourse, by REV. R. M. PATERSON, in which the hand of God in our national history and development is very vividly and instructively traced.

Hell and Damnation; the Theories of Annihilation, Purgatory and Universalism Disproved, and the Orthodox Doctrine Demonstrated, by Rev. G. H. HUMPHREY, of Pittsburgh, Pa., is issued from the *Earnest Christian* Office, Rochester, N. Y. It is not dainty or delicate in its style of maintaining a great truth of Scripture, which is so far assailed, obscured or ignored, not only by avowed adversaries, but in quarters where better things might be expected, that it is quite seasonable to proclaim and defend it boldly and decisively, as is done in this trenchant argument. The author's proofs are generally clear and cogent. There is, however, a style of handling the most awful terms and ideas, which imparts more weakness than strength. The title-page, and the author's reasons for it, show our meaning. He says, "every body should have, or seek to have, spiritual stamina enough to read the title of this book without wincing or getting angry. The title is used for two reasons; First, because it is exactly the subject of this treatise; and secondly, because there is need of reaction from the sickly mawkishness that prevails on this subject. If there is a hell, why not speak of it under its Scriptural name? Why nickname it?" Even so. But we need not swing from one extreme to another. The allocation of the phrase "Hell and Damnation" in the title-page is more after the manner of those who use these terms lightly, not to say profanely, than of those who use them solemnly and tenderly.

The Bible and the Republic by Rev. ARTHUR MITCHELL, D.D., of Chicago, is a powerful exhibition of the conservative and purifying influences of Christianity upon our social and political life.

Dr. H. A. BOARDMAN'S Letter of Resignation, of the Pastorate of the Tenth Church, Philadelphia, and the action of the session, congregation, and presbytery, thereon, are all such as befit the close of one of the longest and most honored ministries in the Presbyterian Church.

The charge and the Inaugural Address, delivered at the Induction of the Rev. William S. Karr, D. D., into the Chair of Systematic Theology in the Theological Institute of Connecticut, May 11, 1876, give good promise of able and orthodox theological teaching in the Hartford Seminary during the incumbency of one yet in the beginning of his career.

The British and Foreign Evangelical Review for July has a number of interesting and valuable articles. The first on the "Basis of Religious Belief," by Rev. T. F. Henderson, explains the unsatisfactory theories of nescience in religion, propounded by Mansel in his "Limits of Religious Thought," and by Gregg in his "Supernatural in Religion." The former of these, in its efforts to undermine rationalism by maintaining the incapacity of human reason to cognize the infinite and absolute, in reality undermines the foundations of all religion, natural as well as revealed. The latter undertakes to assert the impossibility of a revelation to man on the absurd principle, that the "human mind cannot receive an idea which it cannot originate." The Rev. J. B. Paton in the second article, summarizes and discusses the proceedings of the Second Union Conference at Bonn, held August, 1875, between the representatives of the Old Catholics, the Greek, and Anglican Churches, to which non-episcopal delegates were also invited, among the latter Mr. Paton himself, whose testimony and judgment are therefore those of an eye-witness. It is a valuable paper, and presents judicial estimates of the progress made by the conference toward an understanding in regard to the constitution of the church, the Papacy, and Christian doctrine, including the *filioque*. This is shown to be of higher moment, or of wider bearings, than has been commonly supposed. The third article, on "Pioneer Presbyterianism," by Rev. George Bryce, Professor in Manitoba College, is a compendious and instructive account of the planting, growth, and organization of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and of the causes of the recent coalescence of all its branches in one body. Professor W. R. Smith, of Aberdeen, contributes an able discussion on "Progress in Old Testament Studies," indicating the necessity of corrected translation and exegesis in the light of modern linguistic, geographical, and other accompanying lights. Rev. J. C. Jones, of London, under the title "Jesus Christ the Centre of History," shows that in him "God changed" his relation to man; the God over us is a God in us; the God who created our nature is a God in our nature; the Law-giver has become a sin-bearer." Professor T. K. Abbott, of Trinity College, Dublin, sifts and shows the insufficiency of the historical evidence to establish the "Miracle of the Holy Thorn." James Mathieson, Esq., of London, pleads for an advanced "plan of Foreign Missions in the work of the Church," and contends that by a vastly greater outlay of men, clerical and lay, and of means, in this

cause, it would be moved forward to speedy triumph, and with the utmost advantage to the church at home, thus apparently depleted to further it. The last article on "Priestly Life in Ireland," by the Rev. William Irwin, is a review of the book of sermons, lectures, and missions of Michael B. Buckley, of Cork, a superior specimen of a Romish priest, prepared by the Rev. Charles Davies, in which some peculiarities and anomalies of Irish ecclesiastical and Catholic life are portrayed with a lively and discriminating pen. The usual review of current periodical, and other literature follows.

BIBLICAL.

Lectures on the Gospels for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Year, by JOSEPH A. SEISS, D. D., is issued complete in two beautiful volumes of excellent mechanical finish, by the Lutheran Bookstore, Smith, English & Co., Philadelphia. The matter of this book is quite in keeping with its beautiful paper and type. Of course we look for a treatment of topics in accord with the Lutheran Standard, and an occasional variation from our own way of putting things. But the substance and body of the work are rich in evangelical truth, and in happy homiletic applications of it. The meaning of the Scripture is discussed with a true spiritual insight, and expounded with remarkable aptness of thought and felicity of diction. The work is fitted for the edification of private Christians, and would form a valuable addition to the libraries of clergymen.

HISTORY.

The Historical Discourse, by Dr. George D. Armstrong, preached June 25th on the completion of twenty-five years of his ministry as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Va., is before us, and is for several reasons especially interesting and valuable. It impresses us with the great superiority of permanent pastorates to all other agencies for sustaining and advancing religion, and *ceteris paribus*, of long pastorates to short ones. No man remains pastor of the same church for a quarter of a century without some sterling qualities, as a man and as a preacher, such as all know Dr. Armstrong possesses, who know him at all. His church has gone through some sad vicissitudes, especially during one season when Norfolk was desolated by yellow fever, and another during its occupancy by the Union Army under General B. F. Butler, who imprisoned Dr. Armstrong for fifteen months, and issued a most ridiculous order purporting to depose him from the ministry, because he refused to pray for the Union cause, and expressed gratification with the confederate victory at Manassas—an atrocity of which we devoutly trust, no other Union commander could have been capable, even amid the fierce excitements of war.

Amid much which this discourse suggests, we desire to call attention to its account of a recent revival in the author's congregation, which strikingly illustrates, 1. How, with a right and prayerful use of the ordinary means of grace, great awakenings and in-gatherings into the church may be vouchsafed now as of old, without the presence of professional revivalists or

other outside helpers. 2 How it may be noiseless and long-continued under the quiet and persevering use of these means; more thorough and enduring in its effects, than if beginning and ending in a sudden, paroxysmal, and self-exhausting way. Such revivals were common in the earlier half of the century, of which letters in the appendix to Dr. Sprague's volume on Revivals, give some grand illustrations; notably those of Dr. Alvan Hyde and Dr. John McDowell describing the revivals that occurred under their respective ministries, that of the former in Lee, Mass., and of the latter in Elizabeth, N. J. These and many more the like were great ministries, crowned with a glory exceeding all glories of earth. We are glad to observe in the *N. Y. Evangelist* of Aug. 17th, accounts of a similar work under pastoral and sessional supervision, running through two years in the Central Church, Rochester, N. Y.—a church which has also been largely blessed under the labors of evangelists; thus showing that we may not limit the Holy One of Israel, and that he worketh when, where, and how he will. We hope that our pastors and churches will never lose their faith in the efficacy of the stated means of grace, duly used for their healthful maintenance and enlargement, under the refreshing rains and dews of the Spirit. Of the revival in Norfolk Dr. Armstrong says:

“During the latter part of 1870, and throughout much of 1871, God blessed our church with a remarkable revival of religion, and to some brief historical notes on this revival I will now ask your attention: Early in the Autumn of 1870, indications for good appeared in the increased size of our congregations, and in the greater attention with which the preached gospel was listened to. By the first of January such serious attention to religion was shown, as led to the appointment of a meeting in the pastor's study for such as desired particular instruction in Gospel truth—God's way of salvation for sinners; and the meetings thus begun were continued every Sabbath afternoon for a period of five months.

“At the first of these meetings thirteen were present, and from that they increased in numbers, one or more being added every Sabbath, until thirty or forty were regularly present. In these meetings no attempt was made at personal conversation, but after singing and prayer, some practical topic, of especial interest to those inquiring after “the way of life,” was made the subject of remark, such, for example, as the nature of true conviction of sin, and its place and purpose in conversion to God, the nature of saving faith, and the Scriptural evidences of regeneration; and then with prayer the meeting was dismissed. Opportunities for private conversation with those who attended these meetings were sought and obtained at other times.

“Usually some one or more of the elders attended these meetings along with the pastor, and frequently private members of the church came with inquiring friends; but with these exceptions, the meetings were made up exclusively of those who were inquiring after the way of salvation. I kept a record of the names of all who came to these meetings, in order that I might know whom to visit throughout the week, and on looking over that record, at the close of the revival, I found that those who attended, almost without exception, afterward came forward and made a public profession of faith in Christ; not all at one time, but all before the revival had ceased.

"With the exception of this Sabbath afternoon meeting in the Pastor's study, there were no extra services in the church, and the preaching, with the exception of a single sermon in May, was all by the pastor, God's blessing throughout this revival coming as a blessing upon the diligent and faithful use of the ordinary means of grace. What renders this the more remarkable is, that the year before we had held a protracted meeting, and had with us a brother who preached night after night for a week, and preached, as it seemed to me, some of the best sermons I ever listened to; and yet, in so far as I could learn, his preaching did not result in the conversion of a single soul to God. If I attempt to explain this, I am compelled to trace it, not so much to any difference in the preaching from that of ordinary times, as to a difference in the praying, the praying of the church. In the first great Christian revival in Jerusalem, of which we have an account in the opening portion of Acts, the Spirit begins the story with the record: 'They went up into an upper room, where abode both Peter and James and John and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James, the son of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas, the brother of James. These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary, the mother of James, and with his brethren.' (Acts i: 13, 14). And such, I believe, is the history of the beginning of every great revival of religion from that day to this.

"At our regular February communion that year, thirty-eight were added to our members; at an extra communion in April, thirty-one were added; at our regular communion in May, twenty-one; and in the course of the year closing with February, seventeen more, in all one hundred and seven, most of whom were added on profession of faith in Christ. This number embraced persons of every age, from the man of more than eighty years, tottering on the brink of the grave, to the child of eleven; the oldest and youngest it had been my privilege to admit to the Lord's table stood side by side, as they made their public profession of faith in Christ. An unusually large proportion of the number admitted were persons of middle age, settled in life, and the heads of families. Of the number then gathered into the church, 'the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep'

"The especial lessons of this revival, as it seems to me, are *first*, a true revival is not the work of one man, in so far as human instrumentality is concerned, but the work of a united living church, a church in which pastor and people 'continue with one accord in prayer and supplication;' and *second*, that there is no need to await some season of extra service, desirable as such extra service may be at certain times, or the coming of some celebrated preacher or evangelist, in order that we may pray for and expect a revival of religion. God can hear our prayers, and bless the ordinary means of grace to the abundant revival of a church and the salvation of many souls. Brethren, let us remember these lessons, that we may live and labor accordingly."

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Eastern Origin of the Celts, by JOHN CAMPBELL, M.A., Professor of Church History, Presbyterian College, Montreal, is a paper of ability and learning on a subject of historical interest.

A number of notices of books and pamphlets, in type, are postponed to the next number for want of space.

Art. XII.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Part III. 1876. The first essay by Gustav Roesch is on the "Myths about Jesus in the Islam"—a careful collection of all the allusions to Jesus in the Koran, with abundant literary references. In Germany, Luther was the first among the reformers to publish on this general subject, by republishing a work of "Brother Richard on the Koran," written about 1300. The Islamite "Myths" about Jesus come to an end with his crucifixion; nothing is said of his resurrection or ascension. The article of Roesch is a valuable contribution upon the relation of Mohammedan religion to Christianity. The second article, by Hermann Schmidt, of Stuttgart, investigates "the Ethical Antagonisms in the present conflict between the Biblical and the Modern Theological Theory of the Universe." It exhibits the wide differences between the two in their views on the relation of God to the world, on human nature, on freedom and sin, on the ethical ideal as compared with Christ, on the conditions of moral life and progress in relation to soteriology, on social life and the church, and on the whole doctrine of a future life, including of course the eschatology. The writer draws out the antagonistic views between Christianity and mere ethics on all these points, and argues the questions in a lucid manner. Prof. Dr. Lechler, the church historian of Leipzig, gives a rapid and interesting sketch in twenty pages of the Conversion of the Germans to Christ in its Historical Order and Progress. It is an excellent specimen of condensed historical narrative. Among the "Thoughts and Notes" contained in this number of the REVIEW are Strack on the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bible in St. Petersburg; Seidemann, Contributions to the History of the Reformation, particularly a noted letter of Luther to his wife, carefully edited and explained; Harnack on Hebrews ix : 3-4; Kamphausen on Gebhardt's edition of the *Græcus Venetus*, the Venice Manuscript of the Septuagint; and Prof. Riehm on Dr. Christlieb's edition of Hundeshagen's Select Minor Writings and Treatises—a thoughtful series of theological and ecclesiastical discussions.

Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie. Parts II., III. 1876. This new theological quarterly, now in its second year, is edited chiefly by the Professors of Jena University, aided by leading representatives of other theological faculties. It has taken at once a high rank for ability and research, without committing itself to any one theological tendency. In the second number Dr. August Baur institutes a critical comparison between the systematic theological treatises of Dr. Schweizer and of Dr. Biedermann, both Professors at Zürich. The former is essentially a follower of Schleiermacher, while Dr. Biedermann is a disciple of Hegel. Both are able works, among the very ablest dogmatic publications of recent years in Germany; and they are, also, instructive, as exhibiting the theological results of the two strongest tendencies in modern German speculation. Dr. Baur gives a clear and candid account of the differences and respective merits of both of them, with a decided leaning to Schleiermacher rather than to Hegel. Biedermann's system is acute and consecutive, but it ends, as does pure Hegelianism, in transforming theological doctrines into philosophical abstractions. In the same number Dr. Holtzmann, of Heidelberg, continues his summary sketch of recent works of New

Testament criticism, here devoting himself to the literature of the Epistles. C. Holsten continues his criticism on the Epistle to the Philippians, arguing against its Pauline authorship, in reply to Hilgenfeld and others. The writer is ingenious, but his style of criticism is such as would undermine the evidence for almost any ancient work. In the third part, August Trümpelmann, Superintendent near Gotha, continues his skillful refutation of Darwinism, in its relations to "the Monistic Philosophy of Nature and to Christianity." H. Tollin contributes an article on Servetus' Doctrine about the Sonship of Man and the Fatherhood of God; he is preparing a work in vindication of the Life and Opinions of Servetus, but is spinning out his discussions at too great length. Prof. Otto Pfeiderer has an interesting analysis of the views of Hamann ("the Magus of the North") worked over from an address at the *Singakademie* of Berlin; Carl Siegfried, Rabinic *Analecta*; H. Hagge, critical notes on the two Epistles to the Corinthians; Friedrich Nietzsche, on the Causes of the Reaction against Scholasticism, and of the Advance upon it in the thirteenth century—a useful and compendious historical sketch, including a just estimate of the influence of the Arabic philosophy, much less highly wrought and more trustworthy than is found in some of the later English and American works bearing on this subject, which exaggerate Arabic learning and science for the sake of depreciating Christianity.

Journal for Church History (Zeitschrift f. d. Kirchengeschichte). Edited by Dr. Theodor Brieger, with the aid of Drs. W. Gass, H. Reuter, and A. Ritschl. Gotha: Perthes. Vol. I. Part I. This Journal of Church History takes in some sort the place of the Journal of Historical Theology, so long published in Leipzig. It is to be devoted to Church History in its wider application, including the History of Doctrines, Archæology of Art, Christian Culture, and Ecclesiastical Geography and Statistics. Its chief object will be to promote strictly scientific and methodical investigations or "essays," (which word is now naturalized in Germany); and it will also give extended critical sketches of works in the different departments of ecclesiastical literature, etc. The first article in this number is an excellent sketch (to be continued) of the History of Monasticism in the Post-Constantine Period, by Prof. D. H. Weingarten of Marburg (pp. 1-36). Dr. H. Reuter, the distinguished church historian, writes on the life and opinions of Bernhard of Clairvaux (pp. 37-51). The most important essay, however, is by Dr. A. Ritschl on "the Origin of the Lutheran Church" (pp. 51-110), arguing strongly against the position that there was such a marked original difference between the views of Melancthon and of Luther. Their differences (on the freedom of the will and the Lord's Supper) were recognized by themselves in a friendly spirit, and considered to be secondary. And Melancthon favored the calling "the Church of the Augsburg Confession" by the name of Luther—an unfortunate designation, the source of much misunderstanding and prejudice. Dr. Adolf Harnack (pp. 111-148) gives a critical sketch of all the recent important works on Church History up to the Council of Nice. This is a useful and candid summary. Among other things, we notice that the author, in view of recent criticisms by Overbeck and others, assigns the Epistle to Diognetus to somewhere between the "third third" of the second century, and the beginning of the fourth. As far as both internal and external evidence goes, it is difficult to fix on a period. The critics who bring it down so late seem, sometimes, to forget that there is not a single idea in it which is not found in Paul's epistles; it is much more like Paul than any of the Apostolic or even Nicene fathers.

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